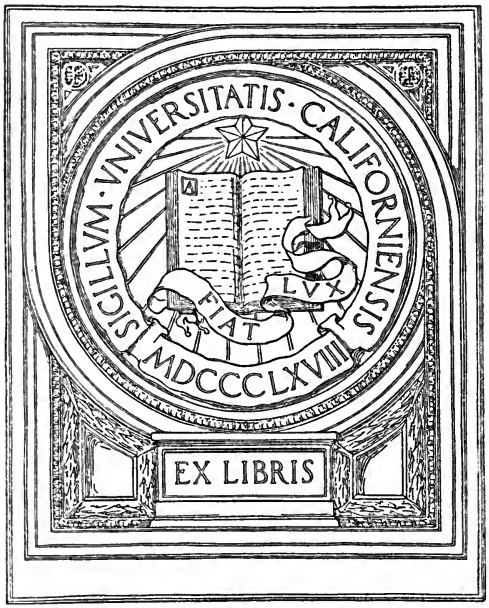

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ANDY AND SAM'S TRICK.

"The mettlesome creature bounded from the earth with a sudden spring, that threw his master sprawling on the soft, dry turf. Sam made a dive at the reins, but was overturned. Then he and Andy ran and shouted—dogs barked here and there—and Mike, Mose, Mandy, Fanny, and all the smaller specimens on the place, both male and female, raced, clapped hands, whooped and shouted with outrageous officiousness and untiring zeal." —Page 39.

British and foreign anti-slavery society, Lon

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE GENERAL

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

CALLED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

AND

HELD IN LONDON,

FROM

TUESDAY, JUNE 13TH, TO TUESDAY, JUNE 20TH, 1843.

BY J. F. JOHNSON, sh.
SHORT-HAND WRITER.

LONDON: JOHN SNOW, 35, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND TO BE HAD AT THE OFFICE OF THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
27, NEW BROAD STREET.

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DEFINITION OF SLAVERY.

"ENSLAVING MEN IS REDUCING THEM TO ARTICLES OF PROPERTY—making free agents chattels—converting *persons* into *things*. A slave is one held in this condition: in law, 'he owns nothing, and can acquire nothing.' His right to himself is abrogated. If he say *my* hands, *my* body, *my* mind, MY*self*, they are figures of speech. To use *himself* for his own good, is a *crime*. To keep what he earns is *stealing*. To take his body into his own keeping, is *insurrection*. In a word, the profit of his master is made the END of his being, and he, a mere means to that end—a mere means to an end into which his interests do not enter, of which they constitute no portion.

"MAN, sunk to a thing! the intrinsic element, the principle of slavery;—MEN, bartered, leased, mortgaged, bequeathed, invoiced, shipped in cargoes, stored as goods, taken on executions, and knocked off at public outcry! Their *rights*, another's conveniences; their *interests*, wares on sale; their personal, inalienable ownership, a serviceable article or a plaything; their deathless nature, conscience, social affections, sympathies, hopes,—marketable commodities!

"This is slavery. The eternal distinction between a person and a thing trampled under foot—the crowning distinction of all others—alike the source, the test, and the measure of their value, the rational immortal principle, consecrated by God to universal homage in a baptism of glory and honour, by the gift of his Son, his Spirit, his word, his presence, providence, and power; his shield, and staff, and sheltering wing; his opening heavens, and angels ministering; and a great voice in heaven proclaiming eternal sanctions, and confirming the word with signs following."—*Weld.*

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PREFACE.

It is stated by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in their Report of the proceedings consequent on the last Convention, that, "The idea of holding a Convention of the philanthropists of various countries for the purpose of promoting the universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade, was a novel and a bold one." A second experiment having been made, the novelty has passed away, and the response with which the call of the Committee met on both occasions, proved that the "bold idea" had only to be clothed in language, in order to call forth the sympathies of the brightest ornaments of humanity.

But however august may be such an assembly,—however sublime the object at which it aims,—however benevolent its designs,—however judicious the plans devised,—however eloquent the addresses delivered,—however fervid the zeal enkindled,—and however deep the impressions produced, it is manifest that no lasting benefits would be secured without an accurate and a permanent record of its transactions. To secure such benefits to the cause of humanity, is the motive in committing to the press the following pages.

While the sentiments therein contained demonstrate that the cupidity of the slave-owner, and the relentless cruelties of the slave-dealer remain unabated, they nevertheless prove that time, talents, energy, and property, consecrated to the rescue of the oppressed, have not been disregarded by Him who hath "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth;" and who has enjoined upon each to "do unto others as he would that they should do unto him."

It will be seen that since the first Convention was held, Great Britain has consummated her act of justice to the African race, inhabiting her West India colonies, by extending the blessings of freedom likewise to the subjects of her Eastern dependencies. In America there has been a growing feeling, that a country, boasting of the popularity of a constitution, the fundamental principles of which are, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and yet retaining in bondage nearly three millions of the human family, tends to excite the contempt of the civilized world. The exposure of the iniquities connected with the internal slave-trade, and the detestable means by which it is

sustained, has aroused many of the churches of that country to a sense of the enormities inseparable from slavery, and induced them not only to pass, but rigidly to enforce resolutions, excluding from Christian fellowship all who participate in the crime. CUBA and BRAZIL, by whom the African Slave Trade is principally fostered and perpetuated, are suffering the punishments of a retributive Providence; and the unrighteous means adopted for amassing wealth are threatening to involve those Islands in commercial ruin. EUROPEAN NATIONS, desirous of emulating Great Britain in power and wealth, are sensible that her philanthropy places her so immeasurably above them in the scale of humanity, that they cannot approximate to her greatness until they have imitated her example and released the bondsman from his chains. Even AFRICA herself has sympathised in the general movement; and one of her princes has emancipated his slaves and abolished the slave market, to quote his own emphatic words, "For the glory of mankind to distinguish them from the brute creation."

These animating results are to be ascribed instrumentally, in no small degree, to the plans evolved by the Convention of 1840, and the vigorous and judicious mode in which they have been worked out by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to whom their execution was confided. Abundant testimony to this fact will be found to have been borne by the Delegates from America and other countries. It may safely be affirmed that the advances made towards the overthrow of slavery, and the establishment of universal freedom, during the last three years, have been unrivalled in any former period of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. With equal certainty, it may be predicated that the ensuing three years will not be less auspicious than the past in their influence upon the destinies of the still enslaved portions of mankind.

With regard to the work itself, the utmost pains have been taken to ensure accuracy; and the commendations bestowed upon the report of the proceedings of 1840, it is confidently hoped, will be found equally due to this volume. To those Gentlemen who have revised their speeches, and to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, by whom the official documents have been supplied, and under whose sanction the work is published, the warmest thanks are tendered.

JOHN FLUDE JOHNSON.

2, *Charles-square, City-road,*
Dec. 16, 1843.

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PROCEEDINGS,

&c.

OPENING OF THE CONVENTION.

The Convention met, pursuant to the arrangements made by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at Freemasons' Hall, on Tuesday, June 13, 1843. The hour appointed for the commencement of the proceedings was ten o'clock, at which time a considerable number of delegates were present, but as others continued to arrive, a delay of a few minutes necessarily occurred in receiving their credentials, and furnishing them with tickets of admission. Increased accommodation was on this occasion afforded to visitors, and the judicious arrangement of the Hall reflected great credit on the gentlemen to whom it had been intrusted. At the extremity of the room was suspended, Haydon's Historical Picture of the last Convention, a copy of which, printed in oil colours, will speedily be published by Baxter, the inventor and patentee of that beautiful art, and will form an elegant appendage to the drawing-room of every abolitionist. Over the chairman, was most appropriately suspended, a portrait of Thomas Clarkson, Esq., and opposite to it, a Scene on the Slave Coast of Africa, to which allusion was afterwards made by several speakers. A number of ladies were present during the entire sittings of the Convention, and evidently took a deep interest in its proceedings.

APPOINTMENT OF PRESIDENT.

Mr. WILLIAM T. BLAIR rose and said—My respected friends, I have been requested to submit to the Convention the following resolution,

"That Thomas Clarkson, Esq., announced as the President of the Convention, being unavoidably absent, Samuel Gurney, Esq., be invited to act on his behalf, during the business of this Convention."

In moving this resolution, I cannot avoid briefly expressing my deep regret that the revered and venerable individual whom we had hoped would occupy the chair to-day, and who throughout a long life has stood forward the firm and devoted friend and champion of the rights of insulted and injured humanity, has been prevented from again coming amongst us to cheer us on, and to encourage our proceedings by his presence. I am confident that I only anticipate the feelings of every one present when I express the ardent hope that

the remainder of his days may be cheered and brightened by witnessing the advance, if not the final triumph, of those great principles to which his life has been devoted; and that the best blessings of those who are ready to perish may descend abundantly upon him.

Rev. Dr. RAFFLES.—Participating as I do, in common with the whole of the assembly, in the regret expressed by the mover of the resolution, I most cordially second the proposition.

The resolution having been put and carried,

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., took the chair, and on so doing, observed,—I believe the first duty that devolves upon me is to call to your remembrance the excellent practice pursued by the last Convention—that of commencing its sittings with a short period of devotional silence.

The suggestion was instantly adopted, and the same course followed throughout the Convention.

The CHAIRMAN.—It seems desirable to myself that I should offer a brief explanation on undertaking the very important situation of occupying the chair on the present occasion, which, but for his absence, arising from the want of health, would have been so very worthily filled by our friend THOMAS CLARKSON. It was his intention to have been here at the present time, and he made arrangements accordingly, but the feeble state of his health, consequent upon his advanced age, has prevented him from carrying out that design. I cordially respond, as does every one present, I doubt not, to the remarks which have fallen from our friend W. T. BLAIR. Much do I desire that the mantle of THOMAS CLARKSON may descend on this Convention. It was at first proposed that our dear friend WILLIAM ALLEN should have represented him; but here again we are met with the same trial. He had intended only yesterday morning to have accepted the situation, but his health prevents him from undertaking the duty. I need hardly say, that in representing two such men in such a cause, I feel the great responsibility that devolves upon me; and I undertake the duty with a strong feeling of my unworthiness so to do. However, when called upon to undertake the duty, and considering the greatness of this cause, my own abhorrence of slavery, in each and in all of its features, its opposition, not only to every principle of the gospel, but also of sound policy, I felt that it was impossible for me to refuse my aid, however feeble it may be. I have now to request that JOSEPH STURGE will make a communication, for which he is prepared, respecting the absence of our friend THOMAS CLARKSON.

ADDRESS OF THOMAS CLARKSON, ESQ.,

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—It is due to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to say, that they would not have held out the prospect of our friend THOMAS CLARKSON being present, had they not confidently anticipated, that notwithstanding his advanced age, he would have been here to-day. His own family so fully expected it, that they wrote to request that accommodation might be provided for him. It was only four or five days ago that he was obliged, in consequence of an unfavourable turn in the malady with which he has been long afflicted, to relinquish his design. His heart has been for some time set upon being here, and no person can regret his absence more than he does himself. In reference to which, in a letter which I have in my hand, he says,—"I wrote you yesterday, with tears starting in my eyes, to think that I should disappoint myself and so many others; but this day has proved that my resolution, though a painful one to me, was a wise one. I must conclude immediately, but not without expressing again the deep sorrow and affliction which has been brought upon me by the impossibility of being

removed to London. You can have no notion of what I feel; but I am conscious of having done every thing in my power." He had so much calculated on being with us, that he committed to paper what he intended to read if he were not able to address the Convention without such assistance. When I state that I know it was his wish that this address should be communicated to the delegates now assembled, I feel it needless to make any apology for reading it. It is as follows:

"My Friends,—When I was last here, I never expected that I should have lived to be present at another Convention, but Providence has given me a short respite, and I have yielded to the entreaties of my friends to attend this meeting, though I fear from the shattered state in which I am now, and the loss of my memory, whether I shall be able to recollect even the little which I had intended to say on this occasion.

"When I look back to past times, to times when I first embarked in the great cause of the abolition of the slave-trade, and when I knew of no one to help me in that work, I have reason to be thankful for the wonderful progress of our cause; and I think, therefore, that I cannot do better, than lay before you a few facts relating to this progress, as it will give you encouragement to proceed with the great work, which you are now assembled to promote. And first our own country stands foremost in the glory of the abolition cause. Not only has she put an end to the slave-trade, but she has put an end to slavery also in her West India Colonies, thus giving liberty to not much less than eight hundred thousand slaves. But she is not satisfied with having done this. She is now turning her eyes to her possessions in the East. Instructions were sent out some months ago for the entire abolition of slavery in the settlements of Malacca, Penang, and Singapore; and intelligence has been since received that the Governor-General of India in Council, in obedience to the decision of the Imperial Parliament, has given notice of an act, which is to lay the foundation for the complete abolition of slavery in the whole of British India. Now, my friends, what most important news is this! British India contains not much less than one hundred millions of people.

"I come now to France; France has also abolished the slave-trade. She has not yet abolished slavery; but the drafts of two laws are ready to be presented to the Chambers, by one of which the duration of slavery is limited to fifteen years, with some advantages to the slaves in the interim. We cannot, of course, approve of any law, which gives a legal sanction to crime even for an hour; but we ought to rejoice to think, that at length a day has been proposed when slavery is to cease. Whether the Chambers will ratify this project, I do not know; but let me bring to your remembrance, that when the debate on the right of search took place in these Chambers, some of the eminent leading men in both of them, agreed in saying, that the slave-trade was an evil too monstrous to be permitted to exist, but that it was not to be done away by the right of search, but by the abolition of slavery itself—that is by doing away the market-place for slaves. Can these gentlemen, who spoke such language, falsify their own words? To these remarks I may add, that there has existed for several years, a society at Paris to promote the abolition of slavery in the French Colonies.

"The next country in point of local situation is Spain. This country has by law abolished the slave-trade, but she has not yet abolished slavery in her West India possessions. Cuba is the richest jewel in the crown of Spain; the treasure which she is frequently sending to the mother country is immense, and it is the mistaken fear lest emancipation, by producing convulsions, should diminish her revenue, which deters her from following our example. There is

yet a hope that she may come into our measures in the course of time. There are several individuals both in Cuba and Spain itself, some of whom in the latter are members of the Legislature, who desire such a change. One of the newspapers at Madrid has also lately taken up our cause. It tells the Government boldly, that every Spanish Government since the Congress at Vienna has violated her treaties with England, and that Spain is bound to fulfil them; and here it may be observed, that there is yet a resource left us. For if our Government were peremptorily to insist upon the fulfilment of a treaty made some years ago, Emancipation in Cuba must follow to such an extent, that perhaps two thirds of the present slaves, who amount altogether to six hundred thousand, must be set free, and it is obvious that in such a case the remaining third could not be kept in bondage.

"Next to Spain is situated Portugal. She has also put an end to the slave-trade, but not to slavery. Having lost her dominions in Brazil, she has no sugar or cotton plantations on which to employ slaves. But she has other possessions in India and Africa; and happy am I to say, that a law has been lately proposed by a commission consisting of three peers of that country, which, when carried into effect, gives freedom to the slaves in the former in three years; and the commission hopes to see this law extended to the latter, so that all the Portuguese dominions in a short time will probably be free from the stain of slavery.

"Holland comes next under our consideration, which has under her dominion about 100,000 slaves. She also has put an end to the slave-trade, but has not yet extinguished slavery; but there are well-founded hopes that this great event will be brought about at no very distant time. Three years ago the people of Holland had not directed their attention to the subject, but hundreds now think of it, and are anxious for the measure. The most enlightened citizens of Rotterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Groningen consider freedom to be the undoubted right of the slave. Two writers have publicly advocated the cause. Two anti-slavery societies have been formed; one at Rotterdam, and the other at the Hague; each of these has addressed the king in behalf of abolition; and to this may be added the interesting fact, that an individual at Surinam has written to the governor of that colony and to the authorities at home, stating his conviction that the abolition of slavery there is urgently required to prevent the utter ruin of that colony.

"Denmark and Sweden come next under our notice. Neither of these has anything to do with the slave-trade. Denmark, indeed, abolished the trade many years ago, and before we ourselves had done so. But neither of these has yet abolished slavery in their colonies. They have, I believe, only been prevented doing this by that ill-founded fear of consequences, which has operated upon rulers of other nations: but as the royal families of both kingdoms are kindly disposed towards the slaves, and as the King of Denmark has made some little regulations in their favour, as if preparatory to liberty; and as the Crown Prince of Sweden is favourable to the measure, with many other distinguished persons in that country, I cannot but entertain a hope that our wishes will be gratified there; and particularly as emancipation is going on so successfully in the British colonies, which circumstance cannot but have an influence in removing their fears.

"From Denmark and Sweden we go to the Mediterranean Sea. A committee has been established at Malta to work with our own. Through the exertion of the British consul, the Bey of Tunis has abolished the slave-trade in his dominions. He has followed up this measure by a decree, that all the children of slaves are born free. He has also stopped all the caravans which were bringing slaves into Tunis. It was the custom with the Shicks in North Africa to make

war against the people in the negro countries there, for no other purpose than that of procuring slaves, which were sent for sale to Tunis and other parts. Now, it must be obvious, that as there are now no markets for slaves at Tunis, there must be a diminution of the slave-trade, so far as relates to those countries from which captives used to be sent before. But the committee at Malta are extending their views towards Tripoli, and they have been so successful at Damascus as to have prevailed upon several of the Jews and Christians to liberate their slaves there. This fact, though it may appear insignificant in itself, may yet be of great consequence, if it be viewed in the light of setting an example to others to do the same.

"Finally, I turn to the United States, which, although mentioned last, I consider in point of importance as standing in the foremost rank; and where, though no decisive step has yet been taken for removing the only yoke of bondage from nearly three millions of slaves within her dominions, there is a noble and steadily increasing number of her citizens indefatigably and resolutely engaged for the accomplishment of this great object; and there are cheering indications that at no distant period their labours will be crowned with success. The devotion of our fellow-labourers in this cause in that country is proved by the numerous deputations, that at this, as well as the former Convention, have crossed the Atlantic to render their valuable assistance in our deliberations.

"I come now to Russia, which has no colonies of black people, whereby to furnish a similar example to those already mentioned. But the present Emperor of Russia has forbidden the African slave-trade to his own subjects, and he has also forbidden the use of his flag to foreigners to carry it on. He has, therefore, done all he could, as far as relates to those two evils of which we complain. But, alas! his predecessors, the rulers in former ages, have left him the mournful legacy of slavery, or serfage, as it is called, in his dominions. The late emperor, Alexander, with whom I have conversed both in Paris and Aix-la-Chapelle on this subject, had determined to put down this wicked system as far as he could, and his brother Nicholas, the present emperor, seems to have been carrying out his wishes in this respect by an Ukase not long ago, for this purpose. The following is the substance of it. It allows contracts to be between the seigneurs or the nobility and the serfs or slaves. Care, however, is to be taken that the property of the former be not endangered by the change, and that this change be made without prejudice to the interest of the latter. The name of serf is to be changed to that of peasant. It is left, however, to the choice of the nobility to make these contracts or not. These are the contents of this Ukase, with the exception of directions to certain officers to carry it into practice. It is a pity that something more coercive on the nobility could not have been introduced into it; but when we consider the vast power and influence of the Russian nobility, and how ignorant and vindictive many of them are, (not hesitating to plot against the life of the emperor himself, if he should offend them,) no other way than that of voluntary contract probably could have been proposed with any chance of success. But will the nobility accede to the terms proposed? It is known that many of them will, but others will probably refuse to do it, and what then will the ultimate result of the Ukase be? I have a hope that as the estates cultivated by the peasants will assuredly be much more profitable to their owners than those cultivated by the serfs, that (every man being alive to his own interest) the example will be followed even by those who at first objected to the measure. This measure is a great step in the cause of freedom, as there are many millions of serfs in the Russian dominions.

"Such, my friends, has been the wonderful progress of our cause. Nine

different nations, which include all the European powers which have foreign colonies, have abolished the slave-trade; and five, three of which have abolished, or are apparently on the eve of abolishing slavery also. What is the lesson which we should learn from this state of things? We ought to derive from it encouragement or courage to proceed with fresh vigour in the great work to which we have been this day called. My motto has always been, 'Go on,' regardless of difficulties. But I think that we should derive encouragement from another consideration, for I cannot help thinking that it is within the design of Providence that the evil, both of slavery and the slave-trade, should be swept from the face of the earth, and that he has been working, and is now working to this effect; and that this is to be done by human agency, and if so, that we are his instruments. The finger of God, I think, is now visible in the work. How else should it have happened that the rulers of so many nations, differing in language, customs, modes of thinking, and religion, and in some instances hostile to each other, (and one of these potentates a heathen,) should have come, all of them, into this same measure; and this a measure, too, apparently, though not really, against their own interest.

"I have only now to say, as far as relates to myself, that I rejoice at being present at this Convention, were it only for the opportunity it has afforded me of testifying my love and affection for this sacred cause; and as for you, my friends, my earnest desire is, that God may be present with you in your deliberations, and assist them, and bless them, and that you may return home in health and safety to your families and friends.

"Feeling that my general career is drawing to an end, it cannot but be pleasing to me to have lived to see that our triumph is advancing. That work which one of the departing generation begun, will be, I trust, accomplished by you of the rising one; for the same Power, which blessed the beginning will not withhold his support from the end; and therefore I now say farewell, and in that beautiful word I include my prayer for the blessing of God on all that concerns you both temporally and spiritually."

Mr. JOHN SCOBLE then read the following paper on

THE CONSTITUTION AND CALL OF THE CONVENTION.

At the close of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London, in June, 1840, in was unanimously resolved:—

"That it be left to the discretion of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to decide, after consulting with the friends of the cause of abolition, the time and place of holding the next Convention."

Impressed with the conviction of the importance of this step, from the experience of the beneficial results of the former Convention, several distinguished friends of the anti-slavery cause, both in the United States and in England, suggested to the Committee the propriety of holding another Conference in London in the year 1842.

After several special meetings, in which they were assisted by the presence of friends from the country, and by an extensive correspondence with the United States, France, and Great Britain, it was finally resolved that the next Convention should be holden in London, on the 13th of June, 1843.

A circular invitation was forthwith transmitted "To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause, in various parts of the world," from which the following extracts are made, to show the principles on which it was to be constituted, and the elements of which it was to be composed:—

"1. That, so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most

effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character;* and that no measures be resorted to in the prosecution of these objects but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

"2. Where societies for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, or bodies, though not bearing that name, uniting in these great objects exist, the Committee trust that an effort will be made to secure, by specific appointment, the attendance of one or more gentlemen, as their representatives; and express provision will be made for the admission of gentlemen uniting in the objects and principles of this Society from foreign countries, where, from any circumstances, such associations do not exist.

"Such gentlemen are, therefore, cordially invited to meet the representatives of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and those of kindred institutions in Great Britain and Ireland, on this important occasion."

In accordance with the terms of this invitation, 402 nominations have been made by various Societies established in Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States, for the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade; and by ecclesiastical bodies, missionary societies, and benevolent institutions, sympathizing with the great objects the Convention has in view.

In placing before their assembled friends the list of the nominations, the Committee would express their earnest hope, that the spirit of wisdom may preside over all their deliberations, and guide all their efforts; and that their united counsels, their earnest prayers, and their associated exertions, may be so crowned with the Divine blessing, as greatly to accelerate the period when the oppressions and degradation of slavery shall cease to the ends of the earth, and the benign spirit of Christianity shall link the whole human family in a holy brotherhood of peace and love.

Mr. SCOBLE then read the roll of delegates, a list of whom will be printed, arranged alphabetically, for the convenience of reference, at the close of the volume.

APPOINTMENT OF VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Mr. EDWARD NORTH BUXTON moved—

"That the following gentlemen be appointed Vice-Presidents of the Convention:—RICHARD PEEK, Esq., of Kingsbridge; JOHN WIGHAM, Esq., Edinburgh; D. R. ROSS, Esq., M.P., of Belfast; Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT, of Boston, Mass.; JOHN CROPPER, JUN., Esq., of Liverpool; Rev. J. H. JOHNSON, A.M., of Tilshead, Wilts; and the Rev. JONATHAN BLANCHARD, of Cincinnati, Ohio."

The Rev. A. A. PHELPS seconded the resolution, which was put and carried.

APPOINTMENT OF SECRETARIES.

Rev. THOMAS SPENCER.—I rise to move:—

"That the following gentlemen be requested to accept the office of Secretaries of this Convention:—The Rev. THOMAS SCALES, the Rev. AMOS A. PHELPS, JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., WILLIAM BALL, Esq., and WILLIAM MORGAN, Esq."

I cannot but remark, in reference to the absence of our President, that it is incumbent upon all, who have health sufficient to perform that work which he is no longer able to perform, but who are yet departing from the stage, it is incumbent upon them to inoculate the younger portion of society with their spirit and principles. We see it constantly commanded in the Old Testament, that when the children should ask their parents, from time to time, "What mean ye by these statutes, or these ordinances?" they should particularly explain their meaning. It becomes us, then, to tell others what we know, to

tell them what has been, and to impress upon them that they must never rest satisfied till the foul blot of slavery be wiped off the very face of creation. In that document of Mr. CLARKSON'S, which has been read by Mr. STURGE, there occurs the motto, "Go on, fearless of difficulties." I have also a motto, "Justice to all." I do not wish that any particular class should be favoured, rich or poor, white or black. I therefore consider this matter in two points of view. First, is it our duty to God; secondly, is it our duty to our fellow-creatures. I cannot think that the Divine Being, who made man in his own image, can ever look with approbation upon any human being who will degrade that image: and slavery does degrade it. Neither can I regard that human being as one who loves his neighbour as himself, and does to others what he would have others do to himself, when I find that he treats that neighbour like a beast, and regards him as mere goods and chattels. I therefore regard our object as quite consistent with my favourite motto, "Justice to all." I have therefore great pleasure in moving, that those gentlemen who have been so active in time past should assist in carrying forward the business of this Convention; and before I sit down, I would allude to one cheering circumstance in our present meeting. What are our chances of success, what are the difficulties which meet us? Some time ago I attended a Conference, which was held while the slaves were yet in a state of apprenticeship; now that apprenticeship system has been abolished. We have gone forward instead of backward: and that which we have seen done in our own dominions, we may see done all over the world; consider, then, that freedom is advancing; and that this makes it the more incumbent upon us, who have yet the ability, to come forward and take the place of those who can no longer do as they have done in this great work.

Mr. JAMES CANNINGS FULLER seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Rev. THOMAS SCALES.—On behalf of those with whom you have been pleased to associate my name in the resolution which has just been passed, I beg to express our sense of the honour which you have conferred upon us in appointing us to an office, so honourable in itself, and in the duties which it imposes, in connexion with the great and glorious objects for the promotion of which we are this day assembled. Standing, as many of us do, in the same relation to this Convention, as we stood to the former one which met within these walls three years ago, we cherish a grateful sense of the kindness and candour with which you were pleased to construe and acknowledge our services on that occasion; and we hope that you will receive our efforts at this Convention in the same kind and liberal spirit. I think I may pledge those with whom my name has been associated this morning—(I know them enough to feel that I have a warrant for the pledge)—that they will devote their best energies to carry out the generous intentions of those who have called us together, as well as of all those who have responded to the call by repairing hither, under the impulse of a pious philanthropy, to serve and promote the best interests of the oppressed, and to hasten, I hope, that happy day when the fetters shall fall from the hands of every slave, and universal liberty shall prevail through the globe. I do feel, I must say, peculiar pleasure in being again present on an occasion like this: assembled, as we are, not merely as Englishmen and as fellow subjects, but as men, as fellow men, as citizens of the world, and I hope I may say without offence to any, and without any violation of the truth itself, as Christians, as fellow Christians, the servants, the faithful servants of our heavenly Master. Oh that whatever breadth of land or sea may have hitherto divided us, whatever colour, or clime, or customs may have distinguished us, we may feel here that we are the children

of the same heavenly Father, and members of the same family, having one special and paramount object in view; aiming with all the energies which we can command at one great end, to hasten, as much as possible, the emancipation of all our race who are held in unnatural bondage. Whatever may be the struggles, or labours, or services, or cost, which it may involve, let us resolve that we will not leave this work undone. It is a work which must be done, and must not be delayed. Let us, therefore, remembering the sacred relation in which we stand to God as our heavenly Father, and to each other as a common brotherhood, exert ourselves vigorously in this work until death; and if it should then remain incomplete, let us deliver it, with our last injunctions and with our dying breath, into the hands of our children, that they may carry it forward to a happy and a glorious issue. It is the cause of God, and the cause of truth, and must prevail.

Rev. JONATHAN BLANCHARD.—I desire, on the part of the American delegation, to express our sense of the kindness and confidence which you have manifested in selecting two of our number as Vice-Presidents of this Convention. I cannot help saying, now that I am upon my legs, that it is impossible that any one in this Convention should feel more deeply than the American delegation that event by which a merciful, wise, and righteous God has deprived us of the pleasure and profit which we should have derived from the presence of the venerable and majestic CLARKSON. For myself, I confess that one of the strongest, among the many strong motives which impelled me, in an indifferent state of health, to seek to be present on this occasion, was, the hope of setting my eyes on that godly man in the land of the living. It may not be impertinent or wholly uninteresting to those who are here this morning, to state, that although there intervenes between this place and that where I generally reside, a distance equal to one-fourth of the circumference of the globe, the first work which ever taught me how to pity slaves, and how to render wise and efficient assistance to them, was CLARKSON's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, (hear, hear.) While yet at school, I read how he stood upon the Liverpool dock, and saw one hundred vessels fitted out for the slave-trade, the owners of which vessels resided in the city, and where his life was in jeopardy because of his exertions in the cause. I followed him as he went from port to port, and from ship to ship, until he had visited every port, and every ship in every port, until he came to the last man of war, and there found the individual of whom he was in quest. I say it was that majestic act that taught my heart how to pity, and instructed my understanding how to aid, the slave. And I will confess, that the very age and infirmity, which, in the providence of God, have deprived us of the pleasure and advantage of his presence, are not among the least of the circumstances which made me ardently desire to look upon his venerable form. By a beautiful ordinance of God—and all God's ordinances are beautiful—what age loses in vigour, it invariably gathers in power; and the hand outstretched, is never more powerful to move the hearts of men to right feeling and right thoughts, than when it trembles through the multitude of years. But though the privilege of looking upon him is postponed, I hope it is not denied. It may yet be, that in answer to our prayers, we shall see him before the close of the sessions of this Convention.

APPOINTMENT OF PRESS AND FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Rev. THOMAS HARWOOD MORGAN, proposed:

"That the following gentlemen be appointed a Press and Finance Committee:—JOHN BEAUMONT, Esq.; JOSEPH COOPER, Esq.; HENRY TUCKETT, Esq.; HENRY STERRY, Esq.; WILLIAM SHOTWELL, Esq.; and Rev. JAMES CARLILE."

Rev. Dr. RITCHIE, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

MR. CLARKSON'S ADDRESS ENTERED ON THE MINUTES.

Rev. JOHN BIRT said: he was not aware whether any special resolution had been prepared for entering the address of Mr. CLARKSON upon the minutes of their proceedings; but he begged to move, with the permission of the Chair,

"That the address of Mr. CLARKSON, read this morning by Mr. STURGE, be entered upon the minutes of the Convention."

Mr. FULLER having seconded the resolution, it was carried unanimously.

Mr. HENRY CHARLES HOWELLS, moved the adoption of the following:

"REGULATIONS FOR CONDUCTING THE BUSINESS OF THE CONVENTION:—

"1. That this Convention do sit twice in each day, commencing at 10 o'clock in the Morning, and at 4 o'clock in the Afternoon; and that the Vice-Presidents be requested to preside alternately in the absence of the President.

"2. That all original papers, propositions, and resolutions, be submitted in writing to the Secretaries, the day before it is proposed to introduce them; and that all amendments and propositions arising out of business under discussion, be submitted to the Chairman in writing at the time.

"3. That the Secretaries be instructed to report at the close of each day to the Chairman the subjects upon which it is proposed that information shall the next day be communicated to the Convention, and that such subjects shall be regularly disposed of before any other matter be introduced.

"4. That as occasions may arise, Committees shall be appointed to draft Addresses, prepare Resolutions, &c., to be passed through the hands of the Secretaries to the Chairman.

"5. That no Member of Convention shall be allowed to speak twice on the same subject, except in explanation; or the opener, by way of conclusion, in reply.

"6. That all documents shall be signed by the President.

"7. That all letters and documents addressed to this Convention, or to the Chairman, be referred to the Secretaries.

"8. That no new business be introduced in the morning sittings, after 1 o'clock, P.M."

I did not intend to say a single word this morning; but the portrait of Mr. CLARKSON brings sadness to my heart. A gracious Providence gave me a son. I knew not for some time what name to select for him, until, at last, my thoughts settled upon the name of CLARKSON. As a Christian, a philanthropist, and a self-denying man, devoted alike to the service of his God and to that of his fellow-men, I was anxious that my child should tread in his footsteps. I wished to inculcate, as far as my capacity enabled me, those great principles for which he lived, and in the holding of which he will in all probability die. But it pleased the gracious Providence which gave, to take away; and the little darling of my heart now lies in the great valley of the Mississippi, there to await the morning of the resurrection. We must forget the sorrows of the past in the labour in which we are now engaged. We must wipe away the tear and remember that we are engaged in an arduous warfare,—in a conflict which I trust most of us have determined never to abandon so long as we have a heart to feel, or a tongue to speak. Nor are we engaged in a conflict, which is uncertain as to its issue. We are as certain of the result, as we are certain of the truth of the eternal word. We are certain that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ; we are certain that Christ shall reign until every enemy has been put beneath his feet. Consequently, every obstacle which now impedes the progress of the kingdom of Emmanuel, must be entirely removed. Oh, the blessed time is approaching, when men of every clime and every colour, shall be united by

common feelings and kindred affection, and when they shall rejoice together in the blessings of a common salvation.

Mr. ISAAC CREWDSON having seconded the resolution, it was carried unanimously.

Mr. WILLIAM MORGAN read the following:

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS CONSEQUENT ON THE LAST CONVENTION, Presented by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

"The idea of holding a Convention of the philanthropists of various countries, for the purpose of promoting the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, was a novel and bold one, yet it was happily realized. Three hundred and eighty-three delegates responded to the call, besides twenty-six admitted visitors who sympathized with the great objects the Convention had in view. There were present at its sittings, which lasted ten days, not only the representatives of the anti-slavery bodies of Great Britain and Ireland, but of the United States, France, and the British West Indies; and it may be truly said, that, both with respect to the objects contemplated, and the influence exerted by the Convention, it must be regarded as one of the noblest gatherings which the world ever witnessed.

The large amount of valuable information brought under the attention of the Convention, together with a faithful record of its proceedings, has been preserved in a volume of six hundred pages, a copy of which has been placed in the libraries of all the Universities, Collegiate and Theological Institutions of this country, besides the general circulation which it has had in Great Britain, the United States, and on the continent of Europe. It may also be stated, that copies of the volume have been placed in the hands of the principal Ministers of State in this country and France, and of various royal and other distinguished individuals in different parts of the world, and it is hoped not without great advantage to the anti-slavery cause.

Among the papers submitted to the Convention were the following:—

On the objects of the Convention, by the Rev. Thomas Scales.

On Slavery in Cuba, by R. R. Madden, M.D.

On Slavery in India, by Professor Adam.

On the Condition of the Free People of Colour in the United States of America; reprinted from the U. S. Examiner.

Report on Free Labour, by John Sturge, Esq.

The Essential Sinfulness of Slavery, by the Rev. B. Godwin; and on

The Moral Influence of Slavery, by the Rev. W. Bevan.

These, printed in a separate form, have had a wide circulation in almost every part of the civilized world; and are admirably calculated, both by the style in which they are written, and the facts which they contain, to show the true character of the anti-slavery enterprise, and to awaken the deepest interest in behalf of the suffering and oppressed portion of the human race.

Besides these admirable and useful pamphlets, the answers to queries relative to slavery and the internal slave-trade of the United States, prepared, with great care and accuracy, by the executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, have been published in a volume of 480 pages, and very extensively circulated in this and other countries. Copies of this valuable summary have been presented to many public institutions, colleges, and libraries; to missionaries, and to many distinguished persons in Europe, America, and the West Indies.

By the extensive circulation of the information contained in the foregoing volumes and pamphlets, light has been diffused; and, it is believed, an interest excited equal to the most sanguine expectations of the friends of human free-

dom. It may not be improper to notice, also, that the most important of these works have been favourably received by the leading journals and periodicals of this country, and their influence thereby still further extended.

So far the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have endeavoured to fulfil the wishes of the Convention, in the diffusion of knowledge on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade, and the duty of seeking their immediate and entire abolition.

They would now call attention to another class of labours, devolved on them by the last Convention. Among these was one of pre-eminent importance, namely, the circulation of the resolutions on the duty of Christian churches to withhold fellowship from slave-holders. They were as follows :—

"1. That it is the deliberate and deeply-rooted conviction of this Convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form, or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of Christianity ; and is, therefore, a sin against God, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly Christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

"2. That this Convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed in a great degree to the countenance afforded by many Christian churches, especially in the western world, which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion, without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

"3. That this Convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned, in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

"4. That it be recommended to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in the name of this Convention, to furnish copies of the above resolutions to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various Christian churches throughout the world."

These resolutions, embodying the deliberate and unanimous decision of the Convention, have been sent to all the ministers of the different denominations and ecclesiastical bodies throughout this country, the West Indies, and other British possessions, and 200 written copies, as well as a large number of printed ones, were addressed to ecclesiastical bodies and ministers of religion in the United States, besides the churches of various denominations which sent in their adhesion to these resolutions. The Wesleyan Conference, the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the Baptist Union, the Northern Association of Presbyterian Churches, and the Southern Irish Baptist Association, have expressed their approbation of the principle laid down therein; and they are happy to find that the example of the British churches and religious associations has been followed to a considerable extent by churches and ecclesiastical bodies in the United States. This cheering circumstance cannot fail to be productive of the most salutary practical results.

The next duty in importance was the presentation to the heads of governments of the memorial addressed to them by the Convention. That to Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt, was presented to him in person, by Dr. Madden,

accompanied by the British Consul-General, Colonel Hodges; that to the President of the United States was transmitted to him; whilst that to the crowned heads of Europe was presented to them through the medium of their ambassadors resident in this country, with the exception of the Emperor of Russia, the Grand Seignor, and the Kings of Holland and Hanover, whose ambassadors declined to receive it; and the Kings of Belgium, Naples, and Wurtemberg, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Dukes of Modena, Parma, Lucca, Hesse Darmstadt, and Hesse Cassel, the resident of the Hans Towns and the confederate cantons of Switzerland, from a suitable opportunity not having occurred for its presentation. Subsequently, however, it was presented to the Kings of Holland and Hanover. The deputation appointed by the committee to wait upon foreign ambassadors with the address were not received in every case in the most courteous manner, but were generally assured of their sympathy and co-operation, so far as it was practicable. In addition, the committee may observe, that the reception of the address has been specially acknowledged on behalf of their Majesties the Queens of England and Portugal, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria. Copies of this address were also transmitted to the governors of the different slave states of the American Union. It appears, however, from the information which has been received, that, with one exception, they were treated with scorn and contempt—a proof, if others were wanting, of the debasing effects of slavery, even in the minds of men elevated to distinguish rank in society.

In addition to the address to the crowned heads of Europe, others addressed to the French nation, and to the people of Holland and Denmark, were disposed of agreeably to the wish of the Convention.

The two memorials to the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston—the first, on British functionaries residing in foreign states holding or hiring slaves; and the second, requesting the intercession of her Majesty's Government with the Grand Seignor for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the Turkish dominions, were in due course forwarded to his lordship, who, on their reception, stated that her Majesty's Government concurred in the benevolent views of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, as expressed in those papers, and would be glad to assist in carrying those views into practice.

The Committee also placed under the attention of the British Government memorials relative to the security of the free people of colour in Upper Canada, the captives of the Amistad, and the liberated Africans in Cuba and Brazil, and are gratified in being able to report not only favourable of the manner in which they were received, but also of the steps which have been taken to give them full effect. With respect to the captives of the Amistad, most of our friends are aware, that they have not only been acquitted of the charges brought against them, and delivered from bondage by the decision of the Supreme Court of Judicature in the United States, but through the liberality of American abolitionists have been restored to Africa under circumstances highly advantageous to themselves, and calculated to prove beneficial to their countrymen.

Other points of interest were committed to the care of the Committee, all of which have obtained their attention, and although, in reference to some of them, the Committee have not been able to accomplish much, they hope that the steps they have taken to give full effect to the resolutions of the Convention relative thereto, will ultimately be crowned with success.

The Committee have had great satisfaction in carrying out the views of the last Convention, believing them to have been eminently calculated to advance the cause of human liberty and happiness; and now present to this Convention this brief report, together with the papers which more fully illustrate the points to which it refers."

Rev. J. BURNET.—I cannot but express the pleasure which I feel at seeing so large an assembly of delegates from different countries, met, as we are, to promote one of the noblest causes—the emancipation of the human race from slavery. I rejoice in the presentation of this Report, because it gives a continuity to the history of the Anti-Slavery movement. It reminds us, too, that this is not so much a new Convention as it is an adjournment of the old one. Since this report has been presented I have been reminded that Conventions must continue to be held till our object be finally secured. That very conviction seems to impress upon my mind that this is only the report of our last Convention; and we shall soon, I trust, meet again to renew our sittings, and receive the report of the present. Let us go back in thought, for a moment, from the period in which we now live, and the circumstances in which we are now placed, to the period, and the circumstances connected with the Anti-Slavery cause, when first of all the grand idea was formed that slavery should be abolished. The rude laugh of all was excited against the few who engaged in this high undertaking. Statesmen and philosophers, and some who would call themselves philanthropists, thought that it was a Utopian attempt to endeavour to abolish slavery, considering the circumstances of the world, the character of the slaves, the interests of commerce, and the combinations of policy. But onward the cause went; no one asking at first for the abolition of slavery itself, but of the trade; and they got it. That was not enough; onward the cause went. The success which attended the efforts of those who had sought the abolition of the trade encouraged them to go further; they sought to abolish the system of slavery, and this was considered still greater extravagance than the former. However, onward the movement went, and the abolition of the system, so far, at least, as the colonies of this country were concerned, was achieved. Then it was supposed that the fever would subside, and that nothing more would be heard of the slavery question. The question which had rung in our ear for so many years; which had agitated so many assemblies; which had occupied the time, and tried the patience of so many individuals for so long a period, it was supposed would be set at rest. But no: here we are, assembled in a country which has abolished slavery; and assembled with as deep an interest in the question as if slavery had never been touched. Now this shows that the first impression produced upon the minds of sound-thinking philosophers still continues, increases, and deepens; and has always connected itself with the feelings and interests of the world. We are not merely Britons, but cosmopolites; we go to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south, to seek for misery, and to endeavour to relieve it. The Report which has been presented to you shows that the Conventions held from time to time, have got into the form of connecting their sittings, and making known their movements; and there can be little doubt that the feelings created on these occasions will continue and be diffused. We do not now look upon a few individuals; we do not now look upon a numerous assembly; we do not now look to a nation struggling for the cause of humanity, and triumphing in that cause, after having herself imposed the fetters of slavery; what we behold is the world coming together and seeing how far philanthropy can help the men of every clime, and every country, under every degree of suffering and oppression which attend the slavery of human beings. I cannot therefore see how there can possibly be any termination of the Convention, which from time to time must sit, until there has been a termination of slavery from the rising to the setting of the sun. We are identified now with the cause of freedom. The nations of the earth have found out that our agitation in that cause is perfectly harmless, perfectly peaceful. I have not heard that any one now condemns our sittings; I have not heard that

any political power is jealous of them. Slave-owners will, of course, dislike our proceedings; but the constitutions of the world are not trembling to their bases merely because there is an assembly, called by the old and once violent name, "Convention." We have redeemed the term from its odium; we have brought it back to the character of peace and love; and though the crowned heads of the world may hesitate a little, and their ambassadors may shrink from the novelty of the thing, yet they are not indisposed to receive the information which we are able to communicate. Some of our friends who met with us formerly are not present with us on this occasion; some of them are no more. We may expect, therefore, that the history of the successive Conventions will be the history of the onward movement of ourselves, and our friends, to the grave. That movement, however, will be characterised by the creation of an impression, as we move onwards, in favour of man, and in favour of humanity —an impression consistent with our professed attachment to the great principle of universal liberty, and an impression without making which we ought to feel that we can scarcely, with a quiet conscience, descend to the grave. Several important works have been referred to in connexion with the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society. May I be permitted to say that any person who wishes to possess them, may be furnished with them by applying to the office of that Society. These documents are of great importance; and as we are to have continued activity on behalf of the cause of liberty, we ought to have the connected history of the movement.

Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT.—The world's Anti-Slavery Conventions are now a part of the world's history. The novelty of the first called forth some ridicule; but of all the men in the world who may be inclined to cast ridicule upon the world's Convention, the slave-holders of my country are the least disposed to do so. It has deepened the conviction in their minds that the world is against them. We have seen great results from that Convention. The brief sketch which has been given in the address of Mr. CLARKSON, and in the report now presented, show, that however insufficient the means might have appeared at the time, there have, in fact, been great results. Look to the shores of Northern Africa, and see a Mahomedan Prince there proclaiming the cessation of the slave-trade; and mark the principle on which he did it, "For the glory of mankind, to distinguish them from the brute creation." O what a noble sentiment! I trust, like the previous speaker, that this is but a continuation of a series of meetings which shall continue to be held until slavery is abolished. Not that I would have another meeting to forward the abolition of slavery, if it could be abolished before that period. O that we might have another meeting three years hence to celebrate its abolition throughout the world! Let us not, however, lose sight of our difficulties. It is a great undertaking. We have accomplished a little, and but a little, in comparison with the whole. There are many strongholds of the enemy yet to be carried; I am sorry to say that, as far as human judgment can reach, the strongest of them all is in the country of which I am a citizen. I do not say that, on a London platform, without deep emotion. I know that I am on English ground; I know that I breathe an atmosphere which the slave cannot breathe. But although English blood courses through my veins, and I am in the land of my fathers, yet I am an American citizen. America is the country which especially I love, for which my ancestors shed their blood: and for which,—not in the bloody field, I hope, but wherever, should duty call me,—I feel that I could freely give my life. That country is the land of slavery; and we, all of us who are here, have our destinies linked in more closely with this question than those of any other people. I hope our position will be appreciated by our friends with whom we meet. We have to go home;

we have to give an account of our conduct, of what we say here, and what we do here, and what we listen to here. We have to meet inquiry in the Free States; we have to meet it in the Slave States; we have to meet it as Christians; we have to meet it as citizens; we have to meet it as men. I do not say these things because I fear anything. I know that I am among friends, I feel a perfect freedom here; I feel as perfect a unity with the friends of this cause who are assembled in London, as I should feel if I were assembled in Boston, where I live. But I say these things because I feel them, and I think that in the position which I occupy such remarks are not altogether inappropriate. Let me remark that the last Convention has done great things in my own country. The resolution which was read here by the Secretary in regard to the duty of churches has, as we shall be prepared to show, produced the most happy results. The addresses to the President of the United States, and to the Governors of those States, rejected though they were with scorn, are not forgotten. We have, since the last Convention, succeeded, in a very considerable degree, in our own country,—and I wish we may accomplish something of the same kind here—by disconnecting in the minds of the people the two ideas, slavery and America. We have multitudes of good men and sagacious politicians among us, who no longer consider slavery as America, nor America as slavery. We have brought them to a state of mind in which they can listen to the truth with regard to slavery, without feeling that their patriotic sentiments must be buried in order that they may look at the question. We have, at these Anti-Slavery Conventions, set an example for others. Other benevolent bodies now seek to bring together their friends from different nations to consult and to co-operate; and by a beautiful propriety of arrangement, this meeting is to be followed by a Peace Convention in this hall, in which I trust my own country will be represented. I say there is a beautiful propriety in this; because I cannot but regard the question of slavery as one which more than any other threatens the peace of nations at the present time. There are considerations in connexion with this question which, as it seems to me, have not attracted their due share of attention, and I hope that as the Convention proceeds they will be seasonably regarded by those whose duty it is to attend to these things, so that the question of slavery and the slave-trade shall not be allowed to force itself into a position which will jeopardise the peace of the civilized world. The men who, in the face of all the light and knowledge, and influence which now exist, have connected their destinies with slavery, united themselves irrevocably with slavery, the men who could do that will do anything; and if in their judgment, the interest of their detestable institution can be benefited or secured by plunging the civilized world into a desolating war, a war they will have—if they have the power to create it—between this country and France, between this country and the United States, or the United States and Mexico, or among all these powers. I need not labour to show that so far as peace is concerned, it is more in jeopardy from the questions connected with slavery, than from any other. In looking over the arrangements for our proceedings, I have been struck with the name of the Convention—the Convention for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade. That is putting matters right-end foremost. We have had many experiments to abolish the slave-trade, and then abolish slavery. Let me ask, whether the abolition of the slave-trade has been accomplished? No; you must abolish slavery first, and then, if there is any slave-trade going on, you will probably be able to abolish that.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON, (a coloured Gentleman.)—The coloured people of the United States are not, and never have been, reconciled to slavery; they never can be, unless it be possible to divest them of humanity.

We believe that slavery, like every other species of oppression, is contrary to the genius of Christianity. The principles which have brought together the members of this Convention are in the heart of every coloured man. We are abolitionists, and should be so, if we had not a friend to stand by us. You will therefore conceive the high pleasure and encouragement which it affords us to see friends from all parts of the world assembled for the promotion of this great object. Situated as we are, in a country which has not yet done us equal justice, we still feel bound to love her; we mourn over her faults with all good citizens, while we rejoice in her prosperity, and pray for her welfare. In our country we are continually rejoicing at the additions which are made to the number of the friends of the slave. We have a deep conviction, that just in proportion as Christianity extends its influence, slavery must be abolished; and thus are we realising the object of our faith when we see the friends of the human race multiplying around us. As long since as I can remember I have been an abolitionist, and in like manner, all with whom I am associated are abolitionists. You will conceive, then, with what pleasure, with what unspeakable delight we have seen the cause of abolition progressing in the land, the standard raised, and friends flocking round it day by day. You will conceive, too, with what pleasure we heard of the proceedings of the previous Convention. It gives me great pleasure to bear my testimony in this Convention to-day to the cordial wishes of the coloured population of the United States, and especially of those who profess faith in Jesus Christ, on behalf of this Convention. It is, I believe, calculated to carry out still further the good which was commenced by the last Convention; and I heartily concur in what was said on this subject by the gentleman who has just taken his seat. He has spoken the sentiments of my own heart, and without attempting to follow him, I would only say that, in all his remarks, he has my full concurrence.

The CHAIRMAN.—Before I put the resolution, I wish to make one or two remarks. There is no part of the conduct of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society which has in my judgment been more practically useful than their constant vigilance over the West India colonies, under the change from slavery to freedom; and it may not be very inappropriate for me to state, connected as I have been in interest with this Society, and also largely with the mercantile community, that in my judgment emancipation has been attended with the most perfect success. It is not for me to say that there are not individuals who have, in a pecuniary point of view, felt the change to be injurious to them. I apprehend, however, that such individuals are few in number. It has been customary to speak of our West India colonies for many years as in a state of depression, and in some respects that statement is borne out even now. I can also bear my testimony, from my intercourse with the mercantile community, that it was the case long before the abolition of slavery. I admit that there are some cases of pressure, but it is my conviction that they are to be laid to the account and to the effect of slavery, and in a much greater degree than to the abolition of slavery. I thought it might not be inappropriate to make these remarks, applicable, as they certainly are, to the services of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, in relation to the West India colonies under the change which has taken place.

Mr. FULLER.—I entirely concur in the sentiments to which my friend Samuel Gurney has given expression. I cannot, however, but express a little sorrow at one omission in the opening of our proceedings. I had hoped that we should, in a resolution, have recorded our sentiments upon this subject. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are entitled to all the commendation, and to more than all the commendation, which our friend has bestowed upon them. I believe in the sentiment expressed by our venerable

friend THOMAS CLARKSON, that our Almighty Parent works by instrumental means; and I hope that this will be borne in mind, both by those who dwell in this land, and by those who come from the United States. I hope that while this Convention records its approbation of the conduct of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, it will at the same time return thanks to the Giver of all good, who has blessed all the efforts which have been used, and entreat Him to give success to future exertions in our great cause.

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

Rev. JAMES CARLILE.—Though the resolution is not, in fact, a resolution of thanks to the Committee, but merely a resolution in reference to the report, I think I shall not be out of order in saying that the Committee will feel greatly encouraged by your expression of confidence; and that by the Divine blessing, it will persevere in the "work of faith and labour of love" in which it has been engaged.

The Convention then adjourned until four o'clock.

FIRST DAY'S SITTINGS, TUESDAY, JUNE 13.

(EVENING.)

SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I have now to present to the Delegates the following

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE SINCE THE LAST CONVENTION.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE EAST INDIES AND BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST, SCINDE, &C.—CLAIMS AND COMPENSATION FOR LIBERATED SLAVES BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS.—THE CREOLE.

In reviewing the history of the anti-slavery cause during the last three years, we have reason to congratulate ourselves and the friends of human freedom throughout the world on the advance which it has made, and we may gather assurance from the past, that if we steadily pursue our course, in the use of appropriate means, and in a spirit which becomes our great enterprise, we shall achieve the noble end we have in view.

It will be impossible, within the limits we have assigned ourselves, to do more than give a bare outline of facts connected with the progress of the anti-slavery cause, since the last Convention met within these walls; but meagre as our statement must be, it will be found full of interest, and cannot fail to inspire us with gratitude to ALMIGHTY GOD, for the blessing he has deigned to bestow on our labours, and with exalted hopes for the future.

We purpose to consider, in the first place, the progress of our sacred cause in reference to Great Britain. The abolition of the African slave-trade, so far as British subjects were concerned, and subsequently of the iniquitous system of slavery in the British colonies, left the philanthropists of this country free to direct their efforts to other departments of anti-slavery labour; and a little consideration soon taught them, that, however desirous they might be to co-operate with those of other countries in advancing their common cause, there was a wide field for exertion at home. The slave-trade and slavery yet existed in our Asiatic dominions and settlements; British subjects were still, in various ways

and in various countries, devoting their wealth, enterprise, and skill, in supporting and extending these iniquities; the laws of the emancipated colonies required to be brought into harmony with the great Act for the abolition of slavery passed in 1833; and other points, though of less importance than these, yet viewed in connexion with the general question of abolition throughout the world, were of high interest to our cause.

1. Doubts having for many years existed whether the Acts passed by the British Legislature for the suppression of the slave-trade, extended to British India, which had led to much discussion and inconvenience; an Act was passed during the last session of Parliament, by the British Legislature, viz., 5 and 6 Vic., cap. 101, to extend the provisions of the 5 Geo. IV., cap. 113, commonly called the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act, to "the several and respective Presidencies and places within the territories under the Government of the East India Company." Thus has the defect of jurisdiction been cured, and henceforth, in that part of the empire, as well as in all others, the slave-dealer will be adjudged a pirate and felon, and punished accordingly.

2. It had long been the subject of complaint, that slavery had been permitted to grow up and extend itself at the British settlements of Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley; and that this evil system was fed by an equally iniquitous system of slave-trading, carried on chiefly by China-men and Malay pirates. At length, the remonstrances and memorials of the friends of abolition in this country have had the effect of terminating these abominations, and henceforth, at these settlements, the free only can exist. The Act which secures this triumph for humanity, was passed, it is believed, at Fort William, Calcutta, on the 1st May last, and is as follows:—

"Whereas, in certain parts of the Straits' settlements, slavery has never had any legal existence, and in other parts, in which it is doubtful whether formerly it had such legal existence, it is no longer warranted by custom, or the supposed rights connected therewith have been expressly abandoned;

"It is hereby declared and enacted, that in no parts of the Straits' settlements shall the *status* of slavery be recognised as existing by law. And all courts and officers of law are hereby prohibited from enforcing any claims founded on any supposed rights of masters in regard to slaves within the settlements aforesaid, and are enjoined to afford protection to all persons against whom any supposed rights of slavery are attempted to be enforced."

By this time, probably, the Act has reached the settlements and been proclaimed, and from 8,000 to 10,000 emancipated slaves are exulting in their freedom, and a foul system of slave-trafficking has been put down.

3. By the Act which renewed the Charter of the East India Company in 1833, viz., 3 and 4 of Gul. IV. cap. 85, it was enacted, that the "Governor-General in Council shall forthwith take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout the territories of the East India Company, so soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe." Instead, however, of adopting measures for the purposes specified in the Act, inquiries only were instituted; but, finally, yielding to the pressing instances of the abolitionists of this country, who were prepared to besiege Parliament in behalf of the Indian, as they had previously done in behalf of the negro slave, an Act was passed on the 6th of April last, by the Governor-General in Council, which virtually abolishes slavery throughout the whole of British India. It is as follows:—

"An Act for declaring and amending the law regarding the condition of slavery within the territories of the East India Company.

"1. It is hereby enacted and declared, that no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of court, or for the enforcement of any demand of

rent or revenue, sell, or cause to be sold, any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

" 2. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave, shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court or magistrate within the territories of the East India Company.

" 3. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

" 4. And it is hereby enacted, that any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery."

This Act, although defective on some points, will give liberty to millions whose bondage reckons its existence by centuries; millions will be born free, who otherwise would have followed the degraded condition of their parents; and millions more, born free, will be prevented from becoming slaves by sale and purchase, to perpetuate that system of cruelty and sin. Kidnapping by the wandering Brinjarrie and Megpunnah Thug will then find no scope for its diabolical arts and atrocious murders; whilst a host of other evils, as disgusting for their impurities as they are hateful for their impiety, will rapidly disappear. The Christian missionary can be brought into contact with the most miserable, debased, and helpless of our race; and the holy and benign religion which he teaches, win for itself new triumphs from among the heathen.

This great triumph of abolition principles cannot fail to strengthen the hands of our fellow-labourers in all parts of the world, and prove an additional incentive to increased and persevering exertions.

4. It usually happens that when men have had the moral courage to apply themselves to the solution of what may be deemed delicate and difficult questions, they have had less hesitation in giving them effect thenceforward; hence we find that in the orders respecting the future government of Scinde, the Governor-General has promulgated the following important regulation:—

" The Governor-General is pleased to direct, that all Acts of Parliament for the abolition of slavery and for the suppression of the slave-trade, shall have full force and effect in every part of Scinde, which is now, or may hereafter be occupied by the British army."

It must not be supposed, that in speaking with approbation of this Act, we sanction the means by which that country has become a British possession; as that would be to connect the sacred cause of human freedom with devastation, rapine, and blood.

5. One of the great practical difficulties which the British Legislature has had to deal with, in its efforts to suppress the foreign slave-trade, has been to prevent all British subjects resident at home or abroad from participating therein. Availing themselves of what they believed to be defects in the letter of the law, or in the difficulties of proof, arising out of the covert and indirect way in which they have aided and abetted the iniquity, some British subjects, to their disgrace be it spoken, have vested large capitals in mines and plantations worked by slaves; and, by their agents, have become the buyers, and in some instances the sellers, of their fellow men. Others have undertaken to supply the miscreants more directly engaged in the traffic with the means, that is, with goods, for their unholy barter, and in a multitude of other ways to give

vigour and activity to the trade. Strenuous efforts have been made by the abolitionists of this country to expose these guilty practices, and to bring some of the parties implicated therein before the tribunals of their country; but the difficulties they have had to encounter were said to be insurmountable under existing laws, and all that remained for them to do was urgently to petition the Legislature to adopt measures which would prevent the continuance of such criminal practices in future. In this matter Lord BROUGHAM has taken a deep interest, and has laid before the House of Peers a bill which, if it pass into a law, will extend the provisions of the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act to all British subjects residing abroad,—which prohibits British subjects every where, and all persons within the dominion of the Crown, from dealing in slaves in any manner of way, and which extends the description of slaves to pawns, and all persons held in any kind of constraint. The bill also provides for the trial of offenders, and for procuring the evidence necessary to conviction; and with a view to prevention, gives the Crown power to make Orders in Council for regulating the lawful African trade, so as to prevent slave-trading—to inhibit British companies engaging therein—and to empower British Consuls to examine and watch the proceedings of British trading companies abroad, and to take evidence touching the same.

The bill, it is understood, was drafted by Mr. BELDAM, and appears to be well adapted to secure the object in view; though probably some of its provisions and exceptions may be amended or altered with advantage.

6. It might have been expected that the termination of the apprenticeship system in the British colonies on the 1st August, 1838, would have been followed by a spirit of conciliation on the part of the planters; and that, at all events, the Acts of the Colonial Legislatures would have been made to harmonize with the principles laid down in the great Act for the abolition of slavery passed in 1833. This, however, was not the case. Actuated either by fear, or by a determination to coerce labour and enforce obedience under the new state of things, laws of a most unjust, restrictive, and penal character were passed, and went into operation in most of the legislative colonies. To obtain their repeal or amendment was a duty of great importance, and much has been gained in this respect by the activity of the friends of freedom, both in this country and the colonies. Most of the obnoxious statutes have been repealed, and others have been so greatly modified as to have become innocuous for evil; nevertheless, there yet remains much to be done in this important department of labour. It is due both to the late and to the present Government to observe, that they have admitted the force of the objections urged against the bad portions of colonial legislation, and have interposed the veto of the Crown, when they have deemed it necessary to prevent the continued operation of bad laws. The disposition of the dominant party in the colonies, at the present moment, is to place an undue amount of taxation on the emancipated classes; but this is an evil which will no doubt be soon corrected, as it cannot be supposed that the mother country will allow high duties to be levied on imported goods, to restrict her market in the colonies. Indeed, the Government have already intimated to the Governor of Jamaica, that on no account whatever will they allow him in future to give his sanction to a tariff, so unjust to the poor as that which is now in operation, but which is to terminate on the 31st December next.

7. The treaties and conventions into which Great Britain has entered with foreign powers for the extinction of the African slave-trade, are important, as indicating the views entertained by different governments of that atrocious traffic. All the maritime powers of Europe, with the exception of Greece, Belgium, and Hanover, have negotiated treaties for the suppression of the

slave-trade, as have all the powers of America, with the exception of the United States, New Grenada, Ecuador, and Peru. There can be no doubt, however, that with the exception of the United States, all the other powers, both in Europe and America, will follow the example of neighbouring states. New Grenada and Ecuador are bound, in common with Venezuela, by the Columbian treaty with this country in 1825, and Peru is bound by the Peru-Bolivian treaty of 1837. Their having separated into different states is not held to vitiate the treaties they entered into when they were confederated together.

8. In compliance with the memorial of the last Convention, presented to Lord PALMERSTON, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on British functionaries holding or hiring slaves in foreign countries, his lordship caused a circular despatch to be forwarded to them, intimating it to be the wish of Her Majesty's Government that they should neither hold nor hire slaves for any purpose whatsoever. The effect of this intimation was most beneficial, and followed up, as it no doubt has been, by the present noble Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, will operate as a standing testimony, on the part of Great Britain, against the system of slavery wherever it exists.

9. Nor has the application of this principle been confined to British functionaries. The concurrence of other powers has been sought to give it effect through the medium of their representatives residing in slave-holding countries. Among those who have given in their adhesion to the recommendation of Lord PALMERSTON, the Mexican Government deserves special mention; for it appears that they have not only instructed their agents abroad to refuse to hold or hire slaves, but to use their advocacy with the governments and countries in which they reside, with the same zeal in behalf of slaves as they would for their own countrymen, in as far as is compatible with the exercise of their functions.

Besides which, the influence of the British Government has been used in other directions in entire harmony with the suggestions of the last Convention. The Turkish and Persian Governments have been addressed, through the medium of the British ambassadors, who have been instructed to lose no opportunity of representing that it would be extremely acceptable to the Government and people of this country if decrees were issued prohibiting the further importation of slaves into their respective territories, and making it penal to purchase slaves. They are also instructed to follow this up with steady perseverance, never omitting to take advantage of favourable opportunities to press upon Mohammedan rulers the wishes of the British Government on these points.

An event of considerable importance, connected with the anti-slavery cause, took place in October, 1841. An American vessel, the *Creole*, having on board a considerable number of slaves for the southern slave-markets of the United States, was brought into Nassau, New Providence, one of the Bahama islands, by nineteen of their number who rose upon the captain and crew, and, after having overcome them, took possession of the vessel, for the sole purpose of securing their liberty. The Committee felt it to be their duty to bring the subject under the attention of Government and of Parliament, having understood that demands would be made by the Federal Government of the United States for the delivery of those engaged in seizing the *Creole*, as felons, and for compensation for the loss of the others. The proceedings in the House of Peers, consequent upon the affair, were of the highest interest and importance, and were decisive of the question that the slaves were fully justified in the steps they had taken; that they had committed no offence, either against British law or the law of nations; and that no claims of the United States, in reference to them, could be entertained for a single moment. Thus stood

the question up to the period when the treaty of Washington was negotiated; then certain concessions appear to have been made by the British Envoy, at variance with the understood principles of British and international law. But whatever hopes these concessions may have raised in the minds of the slave-holders, the Committee are persuaded they never will be realized; for, henceforth every slave touching British soil in the West Indies must be free, whatever may have been the circumstances under which he sought the protection of British laws.

Looking, therefore, at what has been done in this country since the last Convention was assembled in this place, viz., that the law for the suppression of the slave-trade is now in force in every part of the British empire; that slavery has been abolished at the British settlements of Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley; that it is virtually terminated in British India; that it is no longer suffered to exist in Scinde; that the state of the colonial laws for the government of the emancipated classes is greatly improved; that foreign powers, with but few exceptions, have declared slave-trading to be a crime; that British functionaries residing in foreign states are not allowed to hold or hire slaves; that it is the determination of the Legislature, as far as it may be possible, to prevent British subjects from aiding and abetting the slave-trade in any part of the world; that the British Government are actively and peacefully engaged in using their influence with foreign states to aid in exterminating slavery and the slave-trade; and that the rights of slaves seeking refuge within our borders have been affirmed by the highest legal authorities in the realm. Looking at these things, there is every reason to take courage and persevere in the great and good work to which we are devoted.

Such is the report which I have been instructed to lay before this Convention. It contains various most interesting and important particulars. We have not to struggle for the abolition of slavery in British India, as we formerly had for the overthrow of a kindred abomination in the West Indies. It appears from the document I have read, that by the voluntary act of the British Government itself, urged on, no doubt, by the pressing entreaties of the abolitionists of this country, slavery is virtually abolished, and from ten to twelve millions of slaves are now free in the eastern portion of our Empire. Since I came into this room, a newspaper, *The Friend of India*, has been put into my hands, which fully corroborates the statement in the Report. This paper also conveys another piece of information, of a most gratifying character, relative to Ceylon. In that island there has existed a system of slavery as atrocious in some of its features as that which formerly disgraced the West India colonies. The number of slaves in that colony, in 1837, was estimated at 37,000. The paper I hold in my hand informs us that slavery in Ceylon is also virtually abolished, and that we have to congratulate ourselves, on the present occasion, on this happy event. "We give prominence," says the Editor of *The Columbo Observer*, (which is here quoted) "to the following extract from a letter of a correspondent in the Northern province :—'Some months ago, a circular letter from the London Anti-Slavery Society, containing queries on slavery in India, was put into my hands. I collected a mass of curious information, which may hereafter, if time permit, be rendered available towards a history of the system which too long existed in Ceylon, but which I hope and believe is now for ever numbered with *the departed*. I delayed replying to the circular until after the 1st January, when the effect of the late ordinance would be seen. The result has been such as must give pleasure to every friend of freedom. The sun of the 31st December, 1842, set on about 4000 men, women, and children, in this district (Wadermoratchy,) bearing the name of slaves; that of the 1st

January, 1843, beheld them all *free!* not a single slave has been registered in this court; and I am happy to be enabled to inform you, on the best authority, that such also has been the result in the Northern districts: Jaffna, Malajam, the islands Temoratchy and Putchelepaly.

"'In addition, I am enabled, on the authority of a respectable correspondent at Trincomalee, to say, that before the passing of the late ordinance, slavery had no longer any existence in that district.

"'The number of slaves in Ceylon was recently set down at 30,000, the vast majority of whom belonged to the Northern districts. Seeing the effect of the ordinance here, I think I may safely assure you, that the same result has followed in every district of the island, and that slavery no longer pollutes our isle. If in any part it is otherwise, I should feel much obliged to any correspondent who, through the medium of your columns, will inform me of the fact.'"

It is to be hoped that the interesting fact here announced will receive an ample official corroboration. One other interesting fact I beg to state, in connexion with the progress of the anti-slavery cause, namely, the repeal, during the last session of Parliament, of a disgraceful statute. It will be remembered by the abolitionists of this country, that an interdict was laid, I think as far back as 1810, on Hayti, which forbad any of its vessels or subjects visiting Jamaica, under the heaviest penalties. That statute no longer exists, and the freest intercourse can now be enjoyed by the inhabitants of the two islands. Taking all these facts together, it will be seen that a mighty advance has been made in the great cause of human freedom throughout the British empire; and permit me to hope that the United States will not be slow to follow the example, and that before long we shall have to congratulate our brethren there, as they now congratulate us here, upon the overthrow of slavery in all parts of that great and growing empire.

Mr. JOSEPH TREGELLES PRICE.—We have indeed received this evening delightful intelligence, both in the Report which has just been presented to us, and in the verbal communications made by JOHN SCOBLE. It seems miraculous. I did not expect that we should have, I am disposed to say, such glorious news on the present occasion. I feel thankful to the individuals who have been so assiduously occupied, for the services they have rendered during the three years that have elapsed since we last met, a feeling in which I am sure all who are present will participate. But above all, as JAMES CANNINGS FULLER said at our last meeting, we must feel truly thankful to Divine Providence for the manner in which it has pleased Him to bless the efforts made in this cause. I believe that our cause rests upon a rock, and that, sooner or later, slavery will disappear from the face of the earth. The resolution which has been prepared for me to submit to the Convention, is—

"That this meeting, in receiving the Report of the progress of the anti-slavery cause since the last Convention, is called to unite in devout thanksgiving to God for all the happy and beneficial results which have now been announced; and for the sound wisdom and discretion, and persevering self-denying zeal with which He has enabled the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to prosecute the work and objects assigned to them by that Convention."

We shall all, I feel, entirely coincide in the language of this resolution. I hope and trust that the effect of that information, when diffused through the medium of the press, will be twofold; first, to encourage those who advocate the complete abolition of slavery; and secondly, to make those who uphold slavery quail beneath the sinful system they foster. I trust that our present proceedings will most materially contribute to the same objects. Great Britain

has been compared to a lion. The mane of the lion seems now to be shaking, but I hope the time is not far distant, when the lion and the lamb will lie down together.

Rev. H. H. KELLOGG.—It might appear that some one more conversant with the proceedings of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society than myself should have been called upon to second this resolution. I live a thousand miles nearer the setting of the sun than my brother who addressed you this morning. But I am happy to say that I have some little acquaintance with the operations of the committee of that society. The people of America have learned from their proceedings for some years past, that they may look to them for encouragement amidst the arduous labours in which they are engaged. It was in connexion with the exertions of the fathers of this enterprise that those abolitionists spoken of in the morning first learned to appreciate their duty to the slave; and multitudes are there across the Atlantic who sympathise in those sentiments. In the devotion of GRANVILLE SHARPE, when he consecrated himself to the study of the law, that he might be enabled advantageously to oppose the unrighteous, and, as he deemed it, illegal opinion of YORK and TALBOT; in the devotion of CLARKSON, as he consecrated himself in retirement to this work; we learn to feel as men towards a brother who labours in chains, who toils under the lash, and who bends under the degradation to which he is subjected. But we are called upon, in this resolution, to render thanksgivings to GOD for the blessings bestowed upon the labours of this committee, and for the progress of the anti-slavery cause since the last Convention. I will not recapitulate these results, which have been so recently and so perspicuously presented before us; but we have abundant cause for gratitude to GOD in what has taken place in reference to the East Indies, and in the results of the *Creole* case. The *Creole* case is one which excited, as has been remarked in the Report, very great attention at the time at which it occurred, and with which most of you are familiar. In my own land it led to the proposing of resolutions which were based on the decision in *Somerset's* case, viz., that slavery was the subject of local law, and that when the slave escaped, he became a free man. Mr. GIDDINGS, who presented the subject before our national legislature, was censured for the presentation of these resolutions. He retired from the body, returned to his constituency, and they again re-instated him in his place in the house. The principles which he maintained are now very extensively recognised in the United States as the principles of righteousness. But why should we render thanks to GOD? Is not the slave GOD's creature, GOD's child; and is he not, when he has been reduced from his manhood to the condition of the slave, wrested from the Divine care and protection? Does he not become a subject of GOD's subject instead of being a subject of JEHOVAH himself? And when his fetters are broken off, his manacles unlocked, when he is restored to the condition of a free man, does he not stand forth GOD's child, restored to the Divine government, and at liberty to yield obedience to the law of GOD without any prohibition from the law of man? But not only are we called upon to render thanksgivings in view of the restoration of millions to the Divine government, but we are called upon from the fact, that during the whole arduous labours of this committee they have continually looked to GOD for his blessing, and therefore thanksgivings should be rendered to him for success. Was it not this same GOD whom we profess now to adore and bless, before whom THOMAS CLARKSON knelt after he had written that essay in which he had portrayed the evils of slavery, and in the review of which he had come to the solemn determination to consecrate himself to the cause of the oppressed? Was it not the same GOD before whom he bowed when he implored the Divine blessing upon his efforts? When we see the blessings so richly poured into his bosom and our bosoms,

should we not bless the God of the oppressed, that we have been permitted to live to see this day, and that we ourselves are permitted to hear these glad tidings? I then second the resolution: but one word more before I close, with regard to the labours of the committee. Their labours have been self-denying, persevering, and directed by sound wisdom and discretion; all who have been witnesses to their labours, and are witnesses of the results, must testify to this fact. But they have had a powerful influence to propel them onward; they have had the example of their fathers before them, of those that preceded them in the work: being successors of such men, how could they be recreant to duty? But now that they have been faithful, the same God that guided their fathers will guide them, and to Him belongs the praise.

Mr. SCOBLE.—May I correct our American friend on one point? He attributes what has been done to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Allow me to say that it ought to be attributed, under the Divine blessing, to the activity of the various anti-slavery societies which exist in Great Britain and Ireland.

Rev. H. H. KELLOGG.—I spoke of the committee as the organ of the whole body.

Mr. JAMES STANDFIELD.—I experience great delight in being permitted to be one of the delegates to this Convention, more especially as I had the honour of taking part when the first link was broken in the chain of slavery. Mr. Kellogg rather made an apology for rising to second the resolution now before the Convention; but I think he was a most appropriate person to undertake that duty. We ought to be delighted to see and know that so many friends from the United States are joining in our deliberations. In Great Britain and Ireland, to advocate the abolition of slavery is creditable to those who stand forward in the cause; but in America it is done at the peril of life; the bowie-knife is prepared to be plunged into the breast of those who advocate the rights of humanity; and nothing but the Spirit of God can sustain that noble band who are exerting themselves to rub out that foul blot that stains the star-spangled banner, and to remove that disgrace from a nation that otherwise is entitled to the respect and the admiration of the civilized world. I trust, however, that the day is not far distant when, as Mr. Scoble has said, we shall be able to congratulate America upon having followed the example of Great Britain; and that in whatever part of the United States—as was once said by a countryman of mine, in reference to our own happy land—the slave treads, he becomes free, his chains fall from around him, and he stands forth ennobled by the genius of universal emancipation.

Rev. JAMES PEGGS.—Having been in India, I wish to submit to the Convention a few extracts illustrative of the nature and extent of slavery in that country, and therefore tending to show the value of that boon to which reference has been made. T. H. Baber, Esq., magistrate, in Malabar, declares, "Nothing can be more abject and wretched than the slaves of Malabar; their huts are little better than mere baskets, and their diminutive stature and squalid appearance evidently show a want of adequate nourishment." Mr. Greme, in his report of Malabar, in 1822, remarks, "The slave alone has his sieve of a hut in the centre of the rice lands; but on the coast, at least, he is an industrious and not an unintelligent being, in good condition, and nothing deficient in bodily frame. In the interior, he is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature, stinted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; whose state demands that commiseration and melioration which may confidently be expected from the British Government." The Madras Board of Revenue, in 1818, justly stated, "The treatment of slaves necessarily depends principally on the individual character of their owners;

and when we reflect on those evils which are inseparable from even the mildest state of slavery, and consider how large a portion of our most industrious subjects are at present totally deprived of a free market for their labour—restricted by inheritance to a mere subsistence—and sold and transferred with the land which they till,—policy, no less than humanity, would appear to dictate the propriety of gradually relieving them from those restrictions which have reduced them, and must continue to confine them, *to a condition scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough.*" There are the most remarkable discrepancies relative to the probable number of slaves to be found in India. From Parliamentary papers, ordered to be printed in 1828, it would appear, that they amounted to rather more than 800,000; but our excellent secretary (Mr. Scoble) states that they amount to millions. In the Presidency of Bengal there are, he says, upwards of four millions; and he is satisfied that there would be found as many more in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. Malcolm, in his travels in Hindostan, affirms that the whole number of slaves in British India has never been ascertained, but is supposed, on an average, to be at least one in eight, that is, about ten millions. Many consider them twice as numerous—twenty millions! These contradictory statements show the extreme ignorance that has prevailed in reference to the state of slavery in India. It is, however, a matter of very great gratification that a measure, concise, comprehensive, and apparently adapted to meet the evil, has recently passed the legislative council; and I do exceedingly rejoice in hearing that our countrymen in India, in the exercise of their functions, do not recognise the *status* of slavery. This seems to be the prominent idea of the interesting measure to which reference has been made. We may now receive great encouragement in the prosecution of the objects of the Anti-Slavery Society. I have been reminded of a pertinent observation by an eloquent friend of our cause, O'Connell. He remarked, in reference to the overthrow of slavery—"*Hunt it to death.*" I transferred this remark into one of our periodicals, but by a strange blunder of the press it was converted into "*Print it to death.*" I thought, however, that it would do very well. *Yes, let us hunt slavery to death! and print it to death!* The facility with which slavery has been abolished in India is very striking. Our countrymen have "commanded and it was done, they have spoken and it will stand fast." As Bishop Heber said, "In India our will is our law." How great is the influence of our country in the East! I have often thought of the lines in the prize essay of Lord Glenelg, written in 1805, on *The Revival of Learning and Religion in the East.*

> "Britain! thy voice can bid the dawn ascend,
> On thee alone the eyes of Asia bend;
> High arbitress! to thee her hopes are given!
> Sole pledge of bliss, and delegate of Heaven!
> In thy dread mantle all her fates repose—
> O'erspread with blessings, or o'ercast with woes,
> And distant ages shall thy mandate keep,
> Smile at thy touch, or at thy bidding weep.
> Oh! to thy godlike destiny arise,
> Awake, and meet the purpose of the skies;
> Be these thy trophies, Queen of many isles!
> Yes, it shall come! e'en now mine eyes behold,
> In distant view, the long'd for age unfold.
> O Asia! destined from thy woes to rise,
> Look up and meet the purpose of the skies;
> And mark the hour, whose stedfast steps to thee,
> Through time's pressed ranks, bring on thy jubilee!"

Mr. JOSEPH SAMS.—I feel disposed, (though a task to me to address this assembly,) having passed about much among slaves, and having seen slavery in various distant parts of the world, to add a few words with reference to the motion before the Convention. It appears to me that we can all cordially unite in it; for surely all the benefit that has arisen from the labours of the Anti-Slavery Society, has been the result of the blessing of Divine Providence upon its exertions. I may add, that, in visiting Nubia, the Ethiopia of the sacred volume, I was exceedingly struck with the peculiar kind-hearted disposition of the blacks, amongst whom my lot was cast. They are remarkable for their tenderness of feeling towards strangers, towards white people even, that come kindly among them; and it is my apprehension that they possess this feeling to a greater degree, than any other class of people with whom I am acquainted. Affecting illustrations of this their disposition have come remarkably under my notice. Hence are we, I think, additionally called upon (were it not, as it is, our bounden duty) to assist, as much as possible, in promoting the entire destruction of that dreadful scourge—the slave-trade. The black people are, I consider, fully equal to us, in every respect in which their advantages approach to an equality with ours. But I wish not to enlarge: I shall conclude, at present, with mentioning a short, authentic, and interesting anecdote respecting a black African chieftain. The encouraging circumstance occurred recently. He was applied to by the captain of a French schooner, to supply him with a cargo of slaves. He made answer, "I have entered into an agreement with the Queen of England, and have signed a pledge to that effect, that I will not again sell slaves; and I certainly shall not break the pledge. But if you like, I will give you *oil* for your goods." It is surely delightful, as well as encouraging, to see in a native and powerful African, the influence of England, and of our amiable Queen, thus operating.

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—I concur most cordially with that resolution. I have been many years a sort of sentinel on the walls, carrying my firelock over my shoulder, and watching to see what were the signs of the times. When the question has been put to me, "Watchman, what of the night?" with regard to this, that, or the other point of interest connected with this cause, I have replied, "All's well," because I have ever felt a solid assurance that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society would be found at their posts; and that if clear discernment, unflinching firmness, wisdom of plan, and courtesy of manners, could effect any good in the promotion of our common cause, it would be achieved. I am sure that the Report we have heard has confirmed that impression, and I cordially concur in expressing thanks to Almighty God, that he has endowed these honoured brethren with that discrimination, and that wisdom which the circumstances of the case have required. In many respects, the post which they have been called to occupy for the last three years has required peculiar measures of these particular qualities and gifts. It is an easy thing (using military phraseology) to gain a battle, but it is a great thing to secure the fruits of a victory. It requires only the ordinary talents of a mere warrior to do the one; but in order to accomplish the other, it is necessary that there should be all the varied talents of the statesman, the philosopher, the financier, the philanthropist, and the jurist. I could not feel satisfied to say less than this with reference to the Report; and having said this, I beg to call attention to one single point in connexion with that document, on which I, for one, shall be glad to have further information laid before the meeting—that is, the case of the *Creole*. In our country we are fighting the battle of slavery according to law. We have commenced the warfare where it began here seventy years ago, and we have succeeded so far as to feel greatly encouraged. We know, as Granville Sharpe did, when he

originated the conflict in the case of the negro *Somerset*, that slavery is against law. You are accustomed to say that it is opposed to British law. I say that it is opposed to all law. It is an enormity, not only a crooked thing that cannot coincide or coalesce with any law, but it is the enemy of law. We feel that this is its character. We have seen, to a certain extent, *habeas corpus* struck down before it. According to the decision of the highest court in America, a man may come to his fellow-man and say, "You are my slave." He may imprison him, take him from county to county, and from state to state, and according to that decision, there is no court which can interpose between the kidnapper and his victim, and inquire under the *Habeas Corpus* Act, Why do you so? We are then fighting the battle of law against slavery—not British law merely, not *habeas corpus* merely, which our fathers took by inheritance, which is in America not statute, but a part of the common law, but we are fighting the battle for that which *habeas corpus* was designed to subserve as a means to an end—the right to personal liberty against lawless force. Now we know it is the nature of all evil, of all iniquity, that if you give an inch, it will take an ell. We have no place on which we can successfully meet the question of slavery but the frontiers. We must come up to the very line that separates law from violence; and in that connexion it becomes a matter of the most intense interest to us, that all those who assume to act against slavery should show themselves to be exactly on the line, and nowhere else. Especially should we deplore that there should be the slightest wavering or giving way in those whom Providence has constituted the front rank of the host. With regard to the *Creole*, and to kindred cases, allow me to state, that so far as the best authorities with which I am acquainted may be considered as decisive on the point; slavery is a thing that is confined to the territorial jurisdiction of the state or country which establishes it. I believe it has never been recognised as a just occasion of complaint, still less of war between country and country, that because one nation chooses, within its own bounds, to consider a portion of its subjects slaves, without those territories, its laws of slavery are treated as a nullity. There were two cases of shipwrecked slaves, the *Comet* and the *Encomium*. They were driven by the violence of the sea to a British port prior to the year 1834, and by the decisions of the local courts of those islands, the persons who had been held as slaves on board were treated as foreigners and passengers, and if they did not choose to depart in the same vessel that brought them, they were not compelled. There was no process of British law by which they could be constrained to take a passage across the ocean, unless they were so disposed. A representation was immediately made to the British Government on the subject. In the negotiations between the two countries, in the year 1836, the American ambassador was instructed, by his Government, that there was no subject deemed so important as the claim on account of these shipwrecked slaves. The Boundary question, respecting which we have been within an inch of being plunged in war, was then, in the sight of slave-holding rulers, considered of no importance compared with the demand of remuneration for these liberated coloured men. What was the great object in view? It was not simply a question of dollars and cents—of pounds, shillings, and pence. It is said that we are very sharp in America, but I do not think that, with all our keenness, the pecuniary part of the question was considered paramount to all others. There was a principle involved, and it was this; that the slave law of Virginia should be held binding in the dominions of Great Britain. After a long negotiation, the late administration in this country granted that compensation, and by that act conceded the principle. Had you stood where we did, in the heat of the battle; had you felt how that one act weakened our hands, you would not complain of me for

the little portion of time that I am now consuming. That is past and done, and all we have to do is to fight the battle over again, and to say that the act by which this concession of principle was made was a grand blunder. The case of the *Creole* has been set forth in a very simple, decided, and satisfactory manner, in the document we have heard. I happened to be in Washington city, watching the course of things in Congress, when the news of that extraordinary affair reached our country. I can attest the intense, agonising interest it excited, both among slave-holders and ourselves. We felt that this was another test whereby to ascertain how the British Government would meet these cases, and the slave-holders were aware that it involved momentous questions. The news had not reached Washington more than twenty-four hours before the slave-holders were making speeches on the subject on the floor of the Senate; they dared not do it in the other house because there was John Quincy Adams, and they were afraid of him. They brought up the topic five several times, and on each occasion two, three, or more of the slave-holding senators made inflammatory speeches; and I regret to say, that of all the senators from the free states, there was not one that opened his mouth. So much are they under the fear of the slave-holding power in our country, that the most extravagant assertions, the most atrocious principles were put forth on this occasion, without a word being said in reply. It was there distinctly announced that they would either have compensation for those slaves, or they would have war. A senator of Louisiana declared in his place, in my hearing, that unless Great Britain put a check to those proceedings of her subordinate authorities, Louisiana would desolate those islands with fire and sword. (Laughter.) I hardly think that she could do it; but that is what was said. It was announced by the leading political newspapers, North and South, that compensation must be had for the slaves, and a guarantee against future occurrences of that kind, or we must go to war. They saw that they could not carry on the domestic slave-trade, unless they could put a stop to these practices. If you will look at the map, you will perceive that the course of trade between the slave-breeding states of Virginia, Maryland, and the district of Columbia, and the slave-consuming states of Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri, and Texas, lies through a narrow channel between the Capes of Florida and the Bahama Islands. It is a dangerous navigation, and requires a great deal of nautical skill to make the passage without coming within British jurisdiction. The claim put forward by the disgraceful letter of Mr. Webster, was met by a direct refusal on the part of the English Government. So far so good. Then came the negotiations of the treaty of Washington, and that is a point to which I wish to call your particular attention. It was said by the influential slave-holders, and I firmly believe that it was the fixed determination of the President, when Lord Ashburton arrived at Washington, that no treaty should be formed, or if formed, none should be ratified by the Senate, unless it contained a guarantee with regard to shipwrecked and mutinous slaves. The correspondence, whatever it may have been, that took place during that negotiation is, whether for good or bad purposes, under an impenetrable shroud. Even we, who are so apt to print every thing that pertains to matters of government, have tried, and tried in vain, to obtain the slightest trace of the negotiations, which led to that treaty. There are, however, certain letters written shortly before it was signed, that have been brought forward and published; and the general understanding is, that they were very carefully and skilfully drawn to serve the very purpose that they have served. We have then a letter by Mr. Webster, and the reply of Lord Ashburton, on the *Creole* case. Mr. Webster maintains that there was a direct and unauthorised interference by the British authorities on the deck of the *Creole*, by which

these slaves were set at liberty. The original statement prepared by the American Consul at Nassau, with a good deal of skill, and intended to serve as a fire-brand at Washington, implied that fact; and stated certain circumstances intended to create that impression. A few weeks afterwards, there came a protest and affidavit from the owners of these slaves, at New Orleans, made for the purpose of charging the underwriters; and for the purpose of bringing the case within the terms of the policy, they swore distinctly that they lost possession of that vessel on the high seas, and never recovered it till it was put into their hands by the British authorities at Nassau,—directly contradicting the basis of Mr. WEBSTER's claim. But Lord ASHBURTON in his reply seems to have had an eye to another object, which was to get the treaty through the Senate in the face of the positive declaration of slave-holding senators, to which I have referred. He, therefore, distinctly assures Mr. WEBSTER, that if any cases of the kind hereafter occur, and the slaves become actually free in a British sea-port, there is, as had been stated by Lord PALMERSTON in a former correspondence, no British law by which they can be recaptured, and delivered over to the owners; but that he would pledge the British government, that the local authorities should be instructed not to interfere in the case. I call attention to this point, for the purpose of asking, whether it is British law that a hapless stranger, brought either by his own act, or the act of an enemy, or by the providence of GOD, within your jurisdiction, in the hands and power of his enemies, should be left unprotected, or whether it is the duty of the British authorities to interfere, and to rescue the poor from his oppressor? This may not seem a point of great importance to you, who live in safety, where no slave can ever be brought, and where public opinion throws its potent shield around every man. Here no slave-owner could obtain any countenance; but with us it is a matter of great moment that the authorities of this country should not concede a hair's breadth. You will observe that by making this single concession you have given up the case. You have admitted that the law of slavery, as established by Virginia, is, in certain circumstances, law in Nassau. That is the way it is understood by us, by Mr. WEBSTER, by Mr. CALHOUN, and all those senators who made speeches in favour of the ratification of the treaty; and it is the way in which the language reads. I hope, therefore, that at some period, during the proceedings of the Convention, the case of the *Creole* will undergo examination by a committee that shall embody amongst its members men learned in the British law; and that the letter of Lord ASHBURTON shall be fully canvassed, in order that it may be clearly understood. I have stated the case as it lies on the surface, and if there is no law which can justify Lord ASHBURTON, this principle will wrest those weapons out of the hands of the slaveholders which otherwise they are disposed to use against us to the utmost of their power. We desire to see slavery abolished in the United States, according to law; we desire to see slaveholders and slaves dwelling together under the protection of just laws; we do not desire to see emancipation accomplished by violence; but if we are to have it accomplished by law, we must have the principle of law clearly laid down, and fairly settled, and fully sustained by diplomatists as well as by courts of justice.

Mr. ARNOLD BUFFUM.—I wish to call the attention of the Convention back to the purport of the resolution about to be submitted for our adoption. It is an expression of our obligations to our heavenly Father for the success which he in his good providence has been pleased to give to the great cause, for the promotion of which we are now assembled. I would particularly refer to the fact brought under notice relative to an African prince giving a pledge to the British Queen that he would sell no more slaves. When the circumstance was

mentioned, I felt that we ought to turn our minds back to the providence of God in moving upon the hearts of Christian philanthropists in this land, and inducing them to stand forth as the advocates of the abolition of slavery, and the slave-trade, until, by the operation of God's Holy Spirit on their minds, they have succeeded in producing that enlightened public sentiment in this kingdom, that has led the Queen on the throne to use her influence even with the princes of Africa, and obtain from them a pledge that they would sell no more of their subjects into slavery. This blessed and glorious cause is thus going on from "strength to strength," and we are therefore most deeply called upon to express our sense of high obligation, not to the instrument, but to the Giver of all good.

The CHAIRMAN.—I do not think that in the whole course of my experience I have ever heard a Report so satisfactory as that which has just been presented. When the former Convention assembled, slavery in British India and its dependencies appeared as an impassable mountain before us, but we must acknowledge that it has been removed in a way quite marvellous to each of us. I speak the truth in saying that, in point of successful operation, it is almost unprecedented. While upon the one hand we can all unite in this resolution, may we not, on the other, take courage and believe that slavery, as it now exists in the United States, in the French colonies, where it has already received a shock, and in the colonies of other kingdoms, will be speedily annihilated?

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER.—It has been suggested to me, that as the resolution which has just passed has reference to the proceedings of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, it is proper that it should be noticed by one of the members of that committee, and I have been requested to do so. I do not intend to say many words; for we are met for other purposes than passing and acknowledging votes of thanks. But there is one consideration in connexion with it to which I feel inclined to advert. We are all agreed as to the cause we have to express our gratitude to the Almighty for the manner in which he has blessed the feeble endeavours of the friends of the slave in this country. I unite with my friend in the chair in thinking that a mountain has been removed, and that our hands are now much more free than they would otherwise be to render any service in our power to our transatlantic friends, and to those who are struggling on the continent, to effect the emancipation of the slave. On the formation of the present Ministry the committee felt it to be a duty to call their attention to slavery in India. They sought an interview with the Premier; it was afforded them, and I entertain the hope that it will not be without its beneficial effects. I mention this circumstance with the desire that similar conduct may be manifested by the President of the United States. I trust that our American friends, and all others, will be cheered in their arduous work by the success of our humble efforts in this land. We are not surrounded by one half the difficulties with which our friends from America—and with whom we deeply sympathise—are beset. It is gratifying to us to find that so many of them have evinced their intense interest in the cause of the slave by crossing the Atlantic in order to come and visit us. I regard this not only as a pledge of their success, but of the ultimate triumph of that struggle which is being carried on for the abolition of slavery in every country in which it exists.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.—DISCLOSURES OF THE CENSUS RELATIVE TO THE DOMESTIC SLAVE-TRADE, AND THE MORTALITY CONSEQUENT UPON IT.

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—The subject on which I am now to address you is, the disclosures of the census of the United States, with reference to the

question of Slavery. We have had the census of the population taken six times since we have been a government, at distances of ten years, respectively. At the first census, there were slaves in all the states, excepting Massachusetts. Since 1790, the slaves in what are called the free states, have been gradually reduced from 40,375 in a population of 1,968,455 to 1,120 in a population of 9,728,854. There are three or four states where there are a few slaves remaining, but as the number is so small, and they will all be free with perhaps a dozen exceptions before the next census, and as they have no political effect, I shall pass them by, and confine my further statements to the slave states. By the census of 1790, we had in those states 657,437 slaves; by the census of 1840, we have 2,485,683. The whole population of the slave states in 1790 was 1,271,580, of which the slaves were then 52 per cent.; in 1840 they were but 34 per cent. The increase of slaves in ten years, ending with 1800, was 30.5 per cent.; and in ten years, ending with 1810, it was 35.8 per cent. This increase is to be accounted for by the fact, that in 1803, the state of South Carolina and some others repealed the law prohibiting the importation of slaves, and this continued until 1808, so that for five or six years there was a free importation into those states. In the next ten years the increase was 30.5 per cent., and in the next 32 per cent. This maximum of national increase I suppose is owing chiefly to the fact, that when the country became adapted to the condition of having the slave-trade prohibited, the preservation of slaves became a more important object with slave-holders. In the last ten years it has fallen to 24 per cent., I suppose from the extraordinary mortality growing out of the sufferings incidental to the American domestic slave-trade. The only slave states which have actually diminished the number of slaves since 1790, are, Delaware and Maryland. Delaware has lost 70 per cent.; Maryland, 13 per cent. The whole increase of slaves from 1790 to 1840, is 1,828,296, or 278 per cent. Had this increase been confined to the original slave states—that is, had slavery not been allowed to spread itself, in violation, as we contend, of our constitution, certainly in violation of all equity, to new territories, those which are now called slave-breeding states,—a horrid name for a horrid thing,—would, instead of their actual number, 1,113,942, have had 2,316,849 slaves, showing a difference of 1,202,907. This difference agrees, as nearly as we can measure it, with the numbers that have been exported, and the children that have grown up from those exported. How many have been exported, and how many born, subsequently to exportation to the new states, we have no means of ascertaining. I may here remark, that the census and all the other arrangements of government have been taken in a manner, as far as possible to cover up the truth, with reference to the condition and suffering of the slaves. I will mention two circumstances in proof of this statement. One is, that although by our laws, when slaves are exported coastways, they are obliged to be entered upon the ship's manifest as property, and the manifest is left in the Custom-house; yet, we have never been able to get access to the records. Even in the port of Alexandria, in the district of Columbia, within sight of the Hall of Congress, we have never been able to ascertain how many have been exported by sea from North to South. But a more decisive circumstance is, that in the classification of ages for the census, there is a broad distinction made between the whites and the blacks, that seems to have had for its object, as far as I can understand it, to baffle inquiry with regard to the condition of the latter. For instance, with respect to the whites, the ages are taken under 5 years, from 5 to 10, from 10 to 15, from 15 to 20, from 20 to 30, from 30 to 40, from 40 to 50, from 50 to 60, and so on, up to a hundred, and over a hundred—thirteen different classes. But, with reference to the slaves, the division is those under 10 instead of 5, from

10 to 24, (an entirely anomalous division,) from 24 to 36, from 36 to 55, from 55 to 100, and then over 100. I have asked members of Congress to explain the object of the arrangement, but none of them could do it. It seems to have been a mere piece of absurdity, or this classification has some relation to the traffic in slaves,—which, as I am not a slave dealer, I do not understand—and is designed to facilitate that unhallowed business. I make this statement as an apology for the failure to present a classification of ages to tally with ordinary statistical inquiries. The ordinary inferences that ought to be drawn from a census are entirely baffled. But there are some things that we can learn; for instance, the increase of slaves. The state of Georgia is the only one of the old thirteen which has gained an undue proportion. The five slave-breeding states of Delaware, Virginia, Maryland, and North and South Carolina, should have had, in 1840, 2,316,849 slaves, whereas they have but 1,113,942; and of course, therefore, have failed to gain 1,202,907. The slaves and whites are not found in uniform proportions in all the states. In the following table the states are ranged in the order of the greatest proportion of slaves:—

States.	Whites.	Slaves.	Per cent. Slaves.
Carolina	259,084	377,038	145.53
Mississippi	179,074	195,217	109.00
Louisiana	158,457	168,452	106.30
Florida	27,943	25,717	92.03
Alabama	335,185	253,532	75.64
Georgia	407,695	280,944	68.88
Virginia	740,968	448,987	60.59
N. Carolina	484,870	245,817	50.69
Kentucky	590,253	182,258	30.87
Tennessee	640,627	183,059	28.57
Maryland	317,717	89,495	28.16
Arkansas	77,174	19,935	25.83
Missouri	323,888	58,240	17.98
District of Columbia	30,657	4,694	15.31
Delaware	58,568	2,605	4.45
	4,632,060	2,535,990	54.74

Thus in South Carolina the slaves are 145.53 per cent., whereas in Delaware they are only 4.45 per cent., so that there is the greatest diversity. In four states on the Gulf of Mexico the whites are 700,659, and the slaves 642,918, or 91.7 per cent. Hence their anxiety about Cuba and Texas. The slave population is spread most unevenly over each particular state. There are all through the slave-holding countries, portions of territory which are not adapted to the great staples, and in the occupation of which slave labour is so decidedly unprofitable, that they fall into the occupancy of the poorer classes of whites, who own few slaves, and obtain a subsistence by their own labour; generally a class of population little cultivated, and greatly lacking in industry and enterprise. The following table represents the relative white and slave population in five counties having the greatest, and five counties having the least, proportion of slaves in each of the slave-holding states. It will indicate where the contest between the prerogative of property and the rights of men will be likely to commence and be driven to a decision, probably without any direct agency or influence of the slaves themselves.

States.	Five Counties having most Slaves. Whites.	Slaves.	Per cent. Slaves.	Five Counties with fewest Slaves. Whites.	Slaves.	Per cent. Slaves.
Maryland	23,500	29,849	127	160,148	12,216	7.6
Virginia	13,187	30,106	231.5	45,303	573	1.26
N.Carolina	23,850	34,757	146.14	24,871	1,775	7.13
S.Carolina	26,279	91,839	353	58,864	20,964	35.61
Georgia	8,411	22,559	268.58	16,722	1,257	7.16
Alabama	36,756	73,596	200.22	33,567	3,552	10.44
Mississippi	14,554	50,691	348.28	15,485	2,937	18.9
Louisiana	8,768	34,914	390.21	65,580	26,022	39.67
Arkansas	8,233	9,438	117.97	10,129	486	4.86
Tennessee	74,992	50,732	67.79	47,178	3,968	8.44
Kentucky	42,257	34,123	80.75	24,153	1,289	5.33
Missouri	37,113	13,254	35.82	19,624	645	3.29
Florida	10,656	16,232	152.22	6,018	1,683	28.05

The greatest disproportion, however, is in the country around Charleston, included in Charleston district, without the city. Here the white population is 7,851, and the slaves is 45,549, or 580 per cent., almost six slaves to one white person. The individual counties having the highest and lowest proportion of slaves in each state, will appear in the following table:—

State.	Highest Co.	Per cent.	Lowest Co.	Per cent.
Delaware,	Sussex	8.55	Newcastle	2.09
Maryland,	Charles	153.00	Alleghany	5.46
Virginia,	Nottoway	239.75	Marshall	0.67
N. Carolina,	Warren	186.34	Yancey	4.47
S. Carolina,	Georgetown	764.26	Spartanburg	23.50
Georgia,	Glynn	494.83	Union	2.83
Alabama,	Marengo	222.46	De Kalb	6.08
Mississippi,	Washington	1013.30	Tishaningo	14.35
Louisiana,	Concordia	579.71	Calcassieu	35.73
Arkansas,	Lafayette	296.21	Modison	3.07
Tennessee,	Williamson	71.93	Feutress	2.30
Kentucky,	Woodford	98.89	Morgan	1.34
Missouri,	Howard	39.26	Taney	1.24
Florida,	Leon	209	Hillsboro'	2.97

In a few instances, this extreme inequality in different parts of a state extends to large sections, bringing the interests of free and of slave labour so directly into collision, as to make it a matter of wonder how it is that the slave-holders manage to retain their absolute ascendency in the legislatures of those states. This is remarkably true in regard to Eastern and Western Virginia, which now contain equal amounts of white population, while the slaves are seven times as numerous in the Eastern as in the Western district. In East Tennessee the slaves are but 8.3 per cent. of the population; in the remaining portion of the same state they make 48 per cent. In Northern Alabama, the slaves are 30 per cent. of the population; in the Southern district of the same state, they are 48.7 per cent. In Alabama, the influence of the Northern district, that which has the fewest slaves, has lately been felt in the legislature, so far as to procure the adoption of a law by which, in the division of the state into districts for the choice of seven members of Congress under the new apportionment, the free white population alone has been taken into the account, giving additional power to the Northern district equal to one representative. It is a blow struck at slavery by the free population of the South

itself. The white population of Eastern Virginia is 369,398, and of Western Virginia, 371,570; the white population alone having political power. By the constitution of the state, the proportion of representatives in the legislature is fixed at 78 for the East, and 56 for the West. This was done by the slaveholders in forming the constitution, avowedly for the purpose of securing their slave property against the encroachments of the free labour interest. They use the power, and retain it with that determination. But since the Western district has enjoyed the beneficial influence of free labour, and the white population has in some degree attained a growth beyond that of the Eastern district, they declare, in positive terms, that they will not submit to this usurpation; that they will have equal power with the Eastern district in the legislature of the state, or, if they cannot obtain it, division and revolution is their unalterable purpose. You can hardly appreciate the importance which we attach to this apple of discord thrown by free labour into the very heart of the slave country. As an illustration of the course of events, I may state that the present Governor is a Western man, that he comes from the free labour section, and was elected as a sop to keep the Western district quiet another year or two, by conferring upon them a little honour; but if I am not mistaken, their purposes are too firm to be altered by such trifles. The people of Eastern Tennessee, a race of hardy mountaineers, find their interests so little regarded by the dominant slaveholders of the other portions of the state, that they are taking measures to become a separate state. They are holding anti-slavery meetings and meetings of political associations with great freedom, discussing their questions, rousing up the people, and showing how slavery curses them, in order to bring them to the point of action, with a view to forming a separate state, and with the firm resolve that whenever the constitution of that new state is framed, it shall be an anti-slavery constitution. The importance of this may be seen, by a glance at the map of the states, where it will appear that East Tennessee is almost in the geographical centre of the slave region, whence it has been aptly termed the Switzerland of the South.

For the strong pine of the forest
That by thy breath is stirr'd;
For the deep gorge of the mountain,
Where thy still voice is heard;
For the storm on whose *free* pinions
Thy spirit walks abroad;
For the STRENGTH OF THE HILLS we bless thee:
Our God, our fathers' God!

The contrast in the growth of the old states of the North and South since 1790 is another important view developed by the census. It appears that the old free states, on a territory of 168,516 square miles, have increased in fifty years from 1,968,455 to 6,761,083, or 243 per cent.; while the old slave states, on a territory of 226,400 square miles, or one-third greater, have increased from 1,852,506 to 3,826,323, or only 106 per cent., giving the free states an advantage of 137 per cent. The same free states gained in ten years, from 1830 to 1840, 1,224,191, or 22 per cent.; whilst the same slave states gained only 255,135, or 7 per cent,—three times as great in the free as in the slave states; and the next census will disclose a still greater discrepancy. Let us now consider the comparative growth of the new states of the West, as affected by slavery. In 1790, the free labour states of the West had not begun to be settled by civilized men; whereas, Kentucky and Tennessee had already a population of 108,868, besides which Louisiana, (not then annexed to the union,) was a French colony of considerable importance. In 1800, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi—slave states, numbered 335,407; while Ohio and Indiana—free

states, had only 50,240. Our comparison must therefore begin with the census of 1810, and cover a range of only thirty years. The new free states had, in 1810, a population of 272,324, which in thirty years has increased to 2,695,514. The new slaves states had, in 1810, 826,835, and have gained 2,571,717. Their numerical increase is nearly the same as that of the free states; but the latter have gained relatively 990 per cent., while the former have gained but 311 per cent. In the last decade the new free states increased from 1,467,999 to 2,967,838—a numerical gain of 1,499,839, or 102 per cent. in ten years; while the new slave states increased from 2,403,541 to 3,408,552 —numerically 1,005,011, or but 42 per cent. The states of Ohio and Kentucky lie side by side; Kentucky being ten years older, both in settlement and in organisation, but holding slaves; while Ohio has never tolerated slavery. They are about equal in extent of territory, and fertility of soil. In 1820, they were nearly equal in population, Ohio having slightly the advantage. The comparative growth since is as follows. In 1840, Ohio had 1,519,467, being an increase of 938,033, or 161 per cent.; Kentucky 779,828, being an increase of 215,511, or 38 per cent. The slave states of Alabama and Mississippi entered the union about the same time with the free states of Indiana and Illinois, both having been gained from the Indians, and were settled in precisely similar circumstances in every respect, except slavery. In 1800, the two slave states had 8,850 inhabitants; the two free states, 4,875. In 1810, the first had 61,197; the last, 36,802: in 1840, the first had 966,407, the last 1,162,049. A still more striking case is that of Arkansas and Michigan. They were admitted into the union together, and in 1830 were about equal in population. Their increase has been occasioned by immigration; and the comparison is instructive in regard to the future probable growth of the free and slave states. Michigan increased from 31,639 to 212,267; Arkansas, from 30,388 to 97,524; making a difference in favour of the free state of 114,743, or Michigan 570 per cent.; and Arkansas 220 per cent.

The statements, thus far, include the whole of the population. As the slaves, however, constitute no part of the civil commonwealth, they ought not to be taken into the account in estimating the comparative power and growth of states. The slaves are reckoned once, as a part of the invested capital, the taxable wealth of the state, and can with no propriety be again reckoned as a part of the population, in the scientific sense of the term. They are not, in law, people, but only property. The whites are every thing, control every thing, receive every thing. The prosperity, the defence, the responsibility, the interest of the state rests wholly with them. They only are the state. Hence their increase is the true measure of the state's increase! A comparison of the increase of the white population in the free and slave states, will therefore furnish the most perfect means which the case admits of, to show the effect of free and slave labour in advancing or retarding the growth and prosperity of communities. The white population increased in fifty years in the free states, from 1,900,971 to 9,569,092; and in thirty years, from 1790 to 1820, the free states gained 3,133,081, or 164.28 per cent. In ten years, ending with 1830, it was 1,836,892, or 35.52 per cent.; and in ten years, ending with 1840, it was 2,698,048, or 39.41 per cent. The white population increased in the slave states in thirty years, from 1790 to 1820, 1,560,209, or 122.69 per cent. In the ten years, ending with 1830, it was 810,534, or 28.63 per cent.; while in the free states it was 35.52 per cent.: and in the last ten years, they increased only 27.16 per cent., whereas in the free states it was 39.41 per cent. In 1790, the white population of the free states exceeded that in the slave states by only 629,391, or nearly in the ratio of 3 to 2. In 1840, the excess was 4,937,032, or more than 2 to 1. The free state of Ohio had, in 1830, a white

population of 928,329; and in 1840, 1,502,122; being an increase in ten years of 573,793, or 62 per cent. The slave state of Kentucky, lying contiguous, and at least equal in national advantages, besides having ten years the start in settlement, had, in 1830, a white population of 517,787, and in 1840, 590,253; the increase in ten years being only 72,465, or less than 14 per cent. No human reason can be assigned except the existence of slavery in the one and not in the other. The free state of Indiana went from 339,399 in 1830, to 681,708 in 1840; increase, 342,309, or 100 per cent. The slave state of Mississippi, equal in age, and one-third larger in extent, went from 70,443 to 179,074; increase, 108,631, or 155 per cent. The two contiguous free states of Indiana and Illinois, increased from 494,460 in 1830, to 1,153,963 in 1840; increase, 659,503, or 133 per cent. The two contiguous slave states of Alabama and Mississippi of the same age, and about 10,000 square miles larger in extent, went from 260,849 in 1830, to 514,259 in 1840; increase, 253,410, or 97 per cent. The state of Michigan, free, rose from 31,346 whites in 1830, to 211,560 in 1840: the state of Arkansas, of the same age, slave, had 25,671 whites in 1830, only 77,174 in 1840. The old slave states have gained in fifty years only 1,070,468, or 89.32 per cent. in white population. Five of the oldest and most densely populated of the slave states—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina,—having, in 1830, a white population of 1,773,718, on a territory of 164,450 square miles, or 10.7 to the square mile; gained in ten years 87,409, or less than 5 per cent. Six of the oldest and most densely populated free states—New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey, having, in 1830, a white population of 1,800,786 on 40,516 square miles, or 44.4 to a square mile; gained in ten years 262,635, or nearly 15 per cent. The gain of the new free states since 1820, in white population, is 2,155,406, or 274.56 per cent.; from 785,028 in 1820, to 2,940,434 in 1840. The gain of white population in the new slave states is only 818,565, or 53 per cent.; from 1,544,693 in 1820, to 2,363,258 in 1840. The two territories of Wisconsin and Iowa, in the North-West, were so recently settled, in 1830, that they were not enumerated in the census. In 1840 they had together a white population of 72,883, and rapidly increasing. The territory of Florida, in the South-East, containing the oldest city in the union, had 19,229 whites in 1830, and 27,943 in 1840; a gain of 8,714, or 40 per cent., and the ratio of increase diminishing. The falling-off of the increase of population in the new slave states, since the days of speculation were over, may be seen in an examination of the sales of the public lands—the best criterion we have. Forty years ago, the whole civilized population of the six free states and territories of the North-West was but 50,240; in 1840, it was 2,970,696. Should they be able to obtain an adequate market for the products of the soil, it will unquestionably double in ten years, so as to show a population, in 1850, of 5,941,392. The numerical increase in ten years—1,502,604—was more than the numerical increase of all England and Wales in the first sixty years of the last century. The increase per cent., 102, is greater than the increase per cent. of England and Wales during the whole of that century. Their growth will not be limited by a want of room. This population of less than three millions had taken up for agricultural purposes, and held in fee simple, 72,693,414, or 24.5 acres to each inhabitant; which exceeds by five millions the whole quantity of land now under cultivation, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The population is now only 12.6 to a square mile, and this land is all productive; while there remain in the hands of the Government more than one hundred millions of acres yet for sale, the greater part of which is fitted for cultivation. The cultivated land of Great Britain is about 1.8 acre to each inhabitant. The vast regions lying west of Missouri and Iowa, are already beginning to receive

a civilized population, and will be secured to free labour. This whole territory of the North-West, being subjected to the agriculture of freedom, will increase its productiveness with each revolving century. On the other hand, the increase of the slave states will be limited by two important circumstances—one is, that it can grow no faster than the natural increase of the present slave population to furnish it with labourers—the other is, it can grow no faster than the progressive demand for American cotton. At the same time it is well known that the agriculture of slavery rapidly wears out the land, and will destroy its productiveness, generally speaking, in from five to twenty-five years, so as to render slave labour unprofitable. The millions of acres of land thrown out of cultivation, and already covered with forests in Virginia and South Carolina, and never to be restored but by the energy and skill of free labour, warn the provident slaveholders of the rapid approach of the day when the whole South shall have been burnt over by their destructive agriculture, and there will remain no more land to be possessed, unless by timely forethought they can obtain the power to extend slavery over Texas, and thence over the whole of Mexico to the South Sea. Unless Texas is annexed to the United States, the business of breeding slaves for the market of the new states, now the last resource of the decaying planters of the old states, must soon come to an end, and then what shall support slavery? On the most liberal calculation it will appear that the whole available soil of the now existing slave states will have been burnt over by this system in less than fifty years, perhaps in less than thirty years.

The next point has reference to the domestic slave-trade, and the mortality consequent on it. The greater part of the horrors of the domestic slave-trade has not been recorded on earth, but appears in the records of heaven, where I solemnly believe it is all noted down and remembered, and must be accounted for by somebody. I will give a brief statistical exhibit to the meeting, for the benefit of those who feel interested in it, as a mere matter of statistics. The number of slaves in 1830, under ten years of age, was 700,820. I have explained the reason why we cannot compare the ages of slaves with the general tables of population to which men of science refer, and I have been obliged to construct a standard of my own. I have taken the table of the free people of colour, which cannot be an unfair standard; at least, if the representations of the slave-holders with regard to the suffering condition of the free people of colour are to be relied on; the error, if any, will be in their favour. And I find by comparing the ages of slaves with those of the free people of colour, and measuring the former by the condition of the latter, that between 10 and 24 there should be 665,875; whereas there are but 620,827, showing a deficiency of 45,048; between 24 and 36, the working age, there should be 439,389, there are but 370,330, making a deficiency of 69,059; between 36 and 55, when decay begins to affect the slave, there should be 340,161, there are only 229,782, making a waste of 110,379; over 55 years of age there ought to be 186,797, there are but 83,736, raising the loss to 103,061. The total deficiency, therefore, arising from this waste of life, is 327,547—a mass of human beings prematurely worn out and killed on the cotton and sugar plantations of the far South, in ten years. By a similar calculation from the census of 1840, it appears that the actual number of children under ten years of age, was 844,069. Taking now the same standard to measure by, to wit, the numbers of the free people of colour, there ought to be 829,698 slaves, between the ages of 10 and 24; there are but 781,206,—deficiency 47,492. Betweeen 24 and 36, there should be 568,107; there are but 475,160,—deficiency 92,947. From 36 to 55, the proper number is 444,376, actual number 284,465,—deficiency 159,911, or about 36 per cent. The total deficiency is 444,357. There are not half as many slaves over 55, and only two-thirds as

many between 36 and 55, as there would be, were the condition of adult slaves as favourable to longevity as that of the free coloured. The census of 1840 discloses the astounding fact, that the increase of the slave population in the ten years then terminated was less than 25 per cent. from which it would appear as if the waste of life must have been so much more rapid than in the former ten years, as to consume 7 per cent., of the entire mass of slaves—equal to 139,298 above the loss of the former period, making a total loss of 466,845. The following table shows the proper increase based upon that of the former ten years, viz., 32 per cent., and the actual increase in the present state of the population. It shows, as much as such documents can do, what each state has lost below, and what each state has gained above its proper increase, proving the amount of emigration of the slave population in ten years, by moving with the planters to new states at the South.

SLAVE-EXPORTING STATES.

States.	Slaves in 1830.	Proper No. 1840.	No. in 1840.	Deficiency.
Delaware	3,292	4,345	2,605	1,740
Maryland	102,994	135,952	89,495	46,457
District of Columbia	6,119	8,177	4,694	3,483
Virginia	369,757	620,079	448,987	171,092
N. Carolina	245,601	324,193	245,817	78,376
S. Carolina	315,401	416,329	327,038	89,291
Georgia	317,531	287,140	280,944	6,196
Kentucky	165,213	218,081	182,072	26,009
Tennessee	141,603	186,916	183,059	3,847
	1,667,511	2,201,212	1,764,711	436,501

The three last named are large states, that had, ten years ago, new lands to be taken up; consequently, they have nearly absorbed their own natural increase, but have now begun to be, in a slight degree, slave-exporting states. The total exports appear to be no less than 436,501. No wonder that these states should be fond of prohibiting the importation of slaves from Africa. No wonder that Virginia boasts of having been the first to propose that the importation of slaves from Africa should be piracy. Taking Mr. Clay's standard average price, 400 dollars, which is much under the actual average price of slaves during the greater part of this period, the money value of this staple commodity was 174,600,400 dollars, or nearly 200,000,000 dollars. Let us see how we can account for all these, by examining the returns of the slave-buying and slave-consuming states.

SLAVE-IMPORTING STATES.

States.	Slaves in 1830.	Proper No. 1840.	Actual No. 1840.	Gain.
Alabama	117,549	155,164	253,532	98,368
Mississippi	65,659	86,670	195,211	108,541
Louisiana	190,588	144,656	165,219	20,563
Missouri	25,091	33,120	58,240	25,120
Arkansas	4,576	6,040	19,935	13,895
Florida	15,501	20,461	25,559	5,098
	337,964	446,111	717,696	271,585

From this it appears that although the more Northern slave states had parted with 436,501, the more Southern slave states show a present gain of only 271,585. The deficiency, 164,916, between the loss by one section and the gain by another, can be explained only by the loss of life; thus confirming the statement that a large amount of human life is yet to be accounted for by slavery. Slavery is the child of darkness, and all the light we gather is through the chinks and crevices, and can only be obtained by hard study. We have gained a little light, and that I have endeavoured to communicate to you briefly, as the best approximation to the truth our present means of information will furnish.

The Convention then adjourned.

SECOND DAY'S SITTINGS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14,

(MORNING.)

RICHARD PEEK, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of Tuesday were read and confirmed.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES FOR AFRICA.

Mr. SCOBLE.—As there are friends present who are about to depart on a mission to Africa, it has been proposed that they should be introduced to the Convention. They will explain the objects they have in view, and the Convention will, I am sure, feel it their duty to commend them to the care, the protection, and the blessing of Almighty God.

Rev. JOHN CLARKE.—I am sorry to have to announce that Dr. PRINCE, in consequence of pressing engagements, is unable to be present; but my brethren the Rev. J. MERRICK and the Rev. A. FULLER, natives of the island of Jamaica, are with us. They expect to sail to-day from London Bridge for Gravesend, where a vessel is lying, in which they will proceed onwards towards Africa to-morrow. They have, during some years, been engaged in endeavouring to promote the benefit of the inhabitants of Jamaica, and they have now devoted themselves to the service of God among the benighted inhabitants of Africa. Dr. PRINCE, his wife and daughter, Mr. MERRICK and his wife, and Mr. FULLER, proceed direct to Africa; at the close of the Convention I sail for Jamaica, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of natives, who will accompany me from thence as missionaries, to join my companions, and labour on the western coast of Africa. Dr. PRINCE and myself visited Africa in the year 1840, and remained there about fourteen months. We traversed the continent in various parts, and saw the state of the inhabitants along the Ivory, the Gold, and the Slave coasts. We were about thirteen months at Fernando Po; we visited about one-half of the aborigines of that island, and were very much encouraged by our reception, both on the coast and in the island. We have recently been able to purchase of the West African Company some houses which formerly belonged to Government, and they will be occupied by the missionary brethren. We have also succeeded in obtaining a small boat, in order that we may proceed from Fernando Po to the different rivers, from twenty-two to twenty-five in number, situated within

from 300 to 400 miles of the island. There are large towns on the banks of almost all these rivers, and by means of the steam boat of 63 tons burthen, we expect to visit the tens of thousands of inhabitants of that land, who have never heard the important truths of the gospel. We hope to do much there for the prevention and destruction of slavery, and the slave-trade. We raised our voice against those evils on our late visit; and we have reason to conclude that by means of the instruction which will be imparted from time to time, we shall effectually prevent that iniquitous traffic which has been carried on, I believe, to a greater extent in the Bights of Biafra and Benin, than in any other parts of Western Africa. Our friends desire your sympathies and your prayers, and you will, I know, encourage them as much as in you lies in the work of faith and labour of love, on which they are going.

Rev. J. MERRICK, (of African descent.)—I am about to visit Africa, not merely as a Christian minister, but also as a devoted friend to the anti-slavery cause. Our object will be to proclaim that Saviour who came not only to deliver from spiritual misery, but to open the prison doors to those who are bound. I know that we shall go forth with your sympathies and prayers; and on the deep our spirits will hover over the scenes of this Convention, while we shall unceasingly pray for the arrival of the period when all the sons of Adam shall be free, when man shall no longer hold his fellow-man as property, but all shall look in each other's face, and behold a brother and a friend.

Rev. ANDREW FULLER, (also of African descent.)—I rise to introduce myself to you as one of those for whom, in former years, you have sat in this hall, and laboured; for I was once a slave in Jamaica. I received the boon of freedom from your kind and benevolent hands, and what is of still more importance, the blessing of the gospel of Christ. I now feel it to be my duty to do all that lies in my power to promote the welfare of my fellow-countrymen, who never heard of the name of Christ, and who are suffering under all the cruelty which slavery and superstition entail. Under this impression, I have given myself up to the work on which I am about to engage, hoping that I shall, in some humble manner, be of service to some of my poor countrymen in Africa, who are perishing for lack of knowledge.

Rev. J. CLARKE.—Mr. FULLER was not freed from his bondage—for apprenticeship was slavery—till the 1st of August, 1838. You see, then, what those who were formerly slaves are capable of attaining. He has been taken under the care of the missionaries, and has been diligent in improving himself. He is one of those men who, though humble in appearance, will do much for the benefit of what the negroes beautifully and emphatically call their father-land and their mother-country.

Rev. T. SCALES.—Although our friends must leave us immediately, we cannot allow them to depart without testifying our deep sympathy with them and their object, and assuring them of the anxiety we shall cherish on their behalf. They are going forth on a mission which is so much in accordance with the designs of this Convention, and they have such peculiar claims on our sympathies and prayers, that I am persuaded our assembled friends will not suffer them to leave us without giving them a pledge that we will hold them in affectionate remembrance, and that we will, in our intercessions, commend them to the watchful guardianship and blessing of the God of all grace. With Mr. CLARKE and Dr. PRINCE, I have had the privilege to meet on former occasions, and I shall regard that as an auspicious day for Africa, which lands them and their associates on its shores. When we consider the aggravated wrongs which that unhappy continent has so long endured, well may we hail every opportunity which is presented of attempting, under the blessing of the Most High, to redress its grievances, and open to it brighter prospects for the future; and

feeling the importance of their pious and benevolent enterprise, and an earnest desire for their success, I venture to suggest, that before our friends withdraw, they may be assured that we will not forget them, but will continue to have them in our affectionate and prayerful remembrance.

Rev. JONATHAN RUSSELL.—It was peculiarly gratifying to our beloved brethren about to depart for Africa, that this Convention happened to meet just before they set sail, so as to enable them to be present with you this morning. They have been, as you may readily suppose, greatly pressed with a variety of engagements, but they have put aside others in order to have the pleasure of taking leave of you. We all feel that slavery is one of the greatest evils that exists in the world. They are about to meet the lion in the den, to go to Africa, where he is most rampant, most oppressive, and most dreadful. We believe, however, that they are taking to that country that which must prove a triumphant antidote to the evils under which it suffers, and ultimately annihilate its accursed slavery. They will preach the gospel, and as the gospel spreads, slavery will flee before it.

The CHAIRMAN.—I would submit to the Convention, that they should formally give the pledge referred to, by holding up their hands.

The suggestion having been instantly responded to,

The CHAIRMAN thus addressed the missionaries: "I have the pleasure of informing you, that the Convention have promised to follow you with their sympathies and prayers; and, in the name of the assembly, I most cordially give you the right hand of fellowship, and wish that God may bless you."

Mr. H. C. HOWELLS then rose, and addressed to the missionaries the following stanza:—

"Farewell, dear friends beloved,
Time passes fleetly;
When moments are improved,
Time passes sweetly.
In Jesus we are one:
When a few years are gone,
Around his shining throne
We'll meet in glory."

SYMPATHY WITH T. CLARKSON, ESQ., AND W. ALLEN, ESQ.

Mr. J. STURGE.—I feel that I should hardly be justified if I did not for a moment allude to a topic which I cannot introduce at a more appropriate time than after the affecting episode which we have just had to our regular business. After reading yesterday the letter from our dear friend, THOMAS CLARKSON, had I not felt utterly incompetent to add a word of my own, it would have been very much out of place at the time to have taken from the impression of what we may consider as his final benediction, for I cannot hold out to the Convention any expectation that he will ever appear again within these walls. Although I think we are too apt to thank each other for those efforts, which, if we possessed a greater degree of that love which expands the heart, to every class of society, and to every modification of the human species, we should consider it our highest privilege to be employed in; yet the Convention may think it right, and I believe it would be very desirable, under the peculiar circumstances, to record its sympathies with our dear friend. I know that he so fully calculated on being present, that only ten days ago, at the wish of his family, I went to secure rooms for him in this neighbourhood; and if the Convention could see its way clear to send him a communication, not in the language of praise, but of sympathy, I am satisfied it would be gratifying to him. We meet under unusual circumstances; for, in addition to the absence of THOMAS CLARKSON, it was not known till yesterday morning

that our friend WILLIAM ALLEN would be unable to take his seat here, and I am afraid from his declining health, we may also never see him amongst us again. I would therefore, without wishing at all to press it, suggest the appointment of a committee to draw up a brief address, or minute, to be forwarded to THOMAS CLARKSON, and likewise to prepare one to WILLIAM ALLEN.

Rev. JAMES CARLILE.—I hope the Convention will depart from the ordinary routine of business in order to pass a vote of sympathy with these greatly honoured men. I will therefore move

"That a committee be appointed to prepare two minutes—one to THOMAS CLARKSON, and one to WILLIAM ALLEN, assuring these venerable, honoured, and distinguished philanthropists, of the sympathy and strong affection of this Convention, and of their unfeigned regret that the state of their health has deprived this meeting of the anticipated pleasure of seeing them in the Chair.—GEO. STACEY, JOSEPH STURGE, Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT, Rev. J. CARLILE, JOSEPH SAMS, J. BLANCHARD, Dr. RITCHIE, and PETER CLARE."

Mr. SAMS.—I believe that a more desirable movement could scarcely be made by this assembly. It is one in which I think all present will most cordially unite.

Mr. G. STACEY.—The duty devolved upon me to see our friend WILLIAM ALLEN yesterday morning, when I received from his own lips the statement which our chairman made to the Convention. It did not appear to me that full justice was done yesterday to the known interest which our dear friend has ever taken in this great cause. I do not believe that there is any one who throughout a long life, on all and every occasion, "through evil and through good report," has more assiduously, and more perseveringly devoted himself to the welfare of the African race than WILLIAM ALLEN. It was with the greatest reluctance that he gave way to the almost imperative orders of his medical attendant not to be present with us; but his feelings, his sympathies, and his spirit are here. Without, therefore, approving of anything in the nature of mere eulogy, I cordially second the resolution.

Mr. JOSIAH CONDER.—As you are now proposing to repair what was felt by many persons to be an omission in the proceedings of yesterday, I beg to say that I had wished, had an opportunity presented itself, to express, as a member of the London Committee, and on the part of the Committee, our thankfulness at being permitted by Divine Providence to meet this second Convention; and, in so doing, to have adverted to some valued friends to the anti-slavery cause, whose absence we must all feel and lament. I felt that some reference ought to have been made to the absence of our honoured friend, Mr. WILLIAM ALLEN, one of the oldest members of the Anti-Slavery Committee, as a mark of respect due to him, as well as to some others who have been debarred from attending this Conference by indisposition, or domestic affliction. But I wished more particularly to recall to this meeting the names of some lamented friends and fellow-labourers who, since the last Convention, have been removed to a better world. To the memory of Mr. TREDGOLD, our late estimable secretary, the value of whose indefatigable services can be estimated only by the committee who witnessed his quiet, devoted zeal, this tribute was more especially due. The name of GEORGE BENNET, the well-known circumnavigator of the globe, in the service of the London Missionary Society, who was, till his sudden removal, constant in his attendance at the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Committee, seemed to deserve respectful mention. There was another distinguished individual present at the last Convention, by whose untimely death, Africa has lost a friend and the cause of justice and humanity an ornament,—the late Sir JOHN JEREMIE. I do not like that these names should be altogether forgotten, or passed over

on the present occasion. Although I have very small personal claim to any share in the thanks which have been voted to the London Committee, I could have borne testimony to the indefatigable labours of some by whom those thanks are richly merited. And I wish to guard this Convention against erroneously imagining, that the necessity for their continued vigilance and exertions will be in the slightest degree diminished, by those circumstances of a pleasing character, in reference to which we have cause to thank God and take courage. I hope I shall be pardoned for expressing my conviction that, but for the labours of the Anti-Slavery Committee, the watchful eye they have kept upon public proceedings, their interviews with members of the Government, and the information they have been enabled to impart, those measures would not have been adopted which afford ground for so much satisfaction; in particular, that the abolition of slavery in India would not have been consummated. It is proper that this Convention should not be led to suppose, that the occasion for the labours of the Anti-Slavery Society is at all likely to cease.

Mr. SAMS.—The incidents referred to by our friend are, I think, exceedingly affecting. There is another instance of removal from this state of being, since our former Convention, which strongly impresses my mind, and that is the decease of John Sturge, the brother of our friend who has taken so active and important a part in relation to the suffering African. He seemed to be energetically following in the footsteps of his esteemed brother; and when I heard of his death, in the prime of life, and that only a short time after we met in the Convention of 1840, in which he took a valuable part, and seemed then strong and well, it excited in my mind very affecting and solemn feelings. It appeared to me desirable that his name, and this affecting case, should also be mentioned.

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

THE CREOLE, ETC.

Rev. JOHN WOODWARK.—I have been requested to move the following resolution. The case to which it refers was brought before you on the last session, viz., the slaves on board the *Creole*, and also the question of law involved therein. It likewise has reference to the case of the fugitive slaves escaping from the United States to Canada, as affected by the tenth clause of the treaty of Washington, and the general principles of international law. It is this,

"That a sub-committee, consisting of the following delegates, be appointed to consider the important questions involved in the case of the *Creole*, and that of the fugitive slaves from the United States to Canada or elsewhere, and that they be required to report as early as possible to the Convention:—Rev. J. Leavitt, A. Buffum, G. W. Anstie, Rev. H. H. Kellogg, J. Scoble, and W. Morgan."

Captain STUART.—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. I trust that my not adding any observations will not be construed into a want of the deepest interest in the cause.

The resolution was then put, and carried.

Rev. J. CARLILE moved that the Secretaries be *ex-officio* members of all committees.

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

CONDITION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THE UNITED STATES.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—As we are not privileged to present our case before a world's Convention every day in every year, I shall have to beg

your indulgence, and even if I should prove tedious, I hope I shall be permitted to proceed, because I regard it of great importance that the prominent facts connected with the condition and prospects of my people should be brought out in a meeting like this. By the last census, that of 1840, it will be seen that there are in the United States 386,235 free persons of colour, of different ages and sects. These are spread over thirty states and territories, in various numbers. The first question which I suppose a distant inquirer would start in regard to the free people of colour is, whether, in the United States, they are civilized. If, by civilization, is meant in general pursuing the same conduct, and following the same avocations that white persons of European descent do, then it must be answered, that they are civilized so far as circumstances and means will permit. We have indeed, as a body, so eagerly adopted all the forms of civilization as far as we can, that we have sometimes been very unkindly accused of aping and imitating the manners of the whites. The wisest and the best of men among the free people of colour felt themselves called upon, as early as the year 1830, before there was any great movement among our white friends, to assemble a general Convention, the great object of which was to devise ways and means for the improvement and elevation of their condition. From that time, Conventions have been held with this view in the different states. The last general Convention was held in the city of New York, in the month of June, 1834, and I will read an extract or two from a declaration of sentiment that it put forth. "That this Convention earnestly deplore the depressed condition of the coloured population of the United States; and they have in vain searched the history of nations to find a parallel. They claim to be the offspring of a parentage that once, for their excellence of attainment in the arts, literature, and science, stood before the world unrivalled. We have mournfully observed the fall of those institutions that shed lustre on our mother-country, and extended to Greece and Rome those refinements that made them objects of admiration to the cultivators of science. We have observed, that in no country under heaven have the descendants of an ancestry once enrolled in the history of fame, whose glittering monuments stood forth as beacons, disseminating light and knowledge to the uttermost parts of the earth, been reduced to such degrading servitude as that under which we labour from the effect of *American slavery* and *American prejudice*. The separation of our fathers from the land of their birth, their earthly ties, and early affections, was not only sinful in its nature and tendency, but it led to a system of robbery, bribery, and persecution, offensive to the laws of nature and of justice. Therefore, under whatever pretext or authority these laws have been promulgated or executed, whether under parliamentary, colonial, or American legislation, we declare them, in the sight of Heaven, wholly null and void, and should be immediately abrogated. That we find ourselves, after the lapse of two centuries, on the American continent, the remnants of a nation amounting to 3,000,000 of people, whose country has been pillaged, parents stolen, nine generations of which have been wasted by the oppressive cruelty of this nation, standing in the presence of the Supreme Ruler of the universe and the civilized world appealing to the God of nations for deliverance. Surely there is no people on earth whose patriotic appeals for *liberty* and *justice* possess more hallowed claims on the just interposition of Divine Providence to aid them in removing the most unqualified system of tyranny and oppression under which human beings ever groaned. We rejoice that it is our lot to be the inhabitants of a country blessed by nature with a genial climate, and where the liberty of speech and the press is protected by law. We rejoice that we are thrown into a revolution where the contest is not for landed territory, but for freedom; the weapons not carnal, but spiritual; where the struggle is not for blood, but for right; and where the bow is the power of God, and the arrow the instrument of Divine justice;

while the victims are the devices of reason, and the prejudice of the human heart. It is in this glorious struggle for civil and religious liberty, for the establishment of peace on earth, and good-will to men, that we are morally bound, by all the relative ties we owe to the Author of our being, to enter the arena, and boldly contend for victory. Our reliance and only hope is in God. If success attend the effort, the downfall of Africa, from her ancient pride and splendour, will have been more glorious to the establishment of religion ; every drop of blood spilt by her descendants under the dominion of prejudice and persecution, will have produced peaceful rivers, that shall wash from the soil of the human heart the mountains of vice and corruption under which this nation has long withered." I had the honour of being a member of the Convention that put forth these sentiments. I may add, that the day before I sailed for this country, I signed a call for a similar Convention, which is to assemble in the month of August, with the same object in view, that of devising ways and means for the elevation and improvement of the coloured people, and at the same time co-operating with the friends of abolition for the good of the slave of the South. These Conventions you will see are not, and have not, been intended to excite commotion or insurrection, but, on the contrary, by every peaceful means, to improve the moral and intellectual condition of my people. Another great question now comes up, and, perhaps, the greatest question. It may still be asked, have the coloured people made such progress in their improvement, as to justify the conclusion that they are capable of complete elevation? There are some in all countries, we mourn to say, who are still in the habit of throwing away all that may be said to them on the mere score of humanity on behalf of the black man, and of leaping hastily and headlong to the conclusion that still he is a nigger. Pardon me if I recur to an American "Jim Crow" definition for illustration—

> "—— Do what you will,
> The nigger will be a nigger still."

How often have I heard from the lips of respectable white people the following, "Take a nigger, cut off his head, boil him, broil him, throw him into an oven, roast him, he will be a nigger still." This is an Americanism. You will see that this is worthy of the doings of Nero; it is a convenient way of changing a man's moral condition to cut off his head, and throw him into the fire—quite characteristic of the influence of American slavery. But is it true after all, that the black man is capable of complete elevation, or does the question admit of a doubt? If it is not true that he is capable of complete elevation, why, then, I need report no further; I must throw my paper under the table, and go home. I am one of those, however, though a black man myself, who have long since adhered to the conclusion that he is capable of improvement equally with the white man. But I must come to facts, and they shall be taken from the history of prominent states in different parts of the country. I will commence, then, at the seat of government—Washington city. I have a paragraph or two in regard to the condition of the free people of colour there. "A Washington correspondent communicates to us the following facts respecting the moral condition of the coloured people in that city :— 'There are about 7,000 people of colour now in the city, two-thirds of whom are free. A large portion of the slaves are hired from other places in the vicinity, chiefly from Maryland. As regards their religious privileges, there is little practical difference between the free and the slaves. A large portion of both classes, being at service, can attend public worship only in the evening ; and generally only on Sabbath evening. Their congregations, therefore, are not full in the morning, very thin in the afternoon, and crowded in the evening, when the services

continue to a late hour. There are six coloured churches in the city: two Episcopal Methodist, two Bethel, one Zion, and one Baptist. The Bethel and Zion Methodist sects are very much alike. The last is anti-episcopal. Both separated from the Old School Methodists, on the ground of the unequal treatment of their ministers and members, on account of their colour. I am not accurately informed as to the number of their churches, but believe it is about 150. In the six churches there are not far from 1,100 members. The evening congregations may average 1,800 or 2,000. There is a considerable number, perhaps 500, who are Roman Catholics. One side gallery, in each church, is appropriated to them. A small number attend the Episcopal churches, and a larger number the Presbyterian. In Mr. SMITH'S church they have pews on the floor of the house under the singing gallery, separated by the aisle from the rest of the congregation. A few only are found in other churches. On the whole, considerably more than one-half the people of colour may be set down as enjoying the means of grace, such as they are. Of those who are without the reach of these means, a large proportion are very vicious and degraded.'" We now pass to Baltimore, though with a different object to what the British army had when it passed there. I may also state here, that it is remarkable, that the largest free coloured population to be found in any one city in the Union, is in Baltimore. That may account for the fact, that Maryland has decreased her number of slaves. There are rather more than 62,000 free people of colour in this city. Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, the editor of a Literary and Religious Magazine, has taken considerable pains, though he is a coloniser, to make a record of the number of societies, the object of which is, the improvement of their condition. I have a paragraph from his book before me, but as it contains nothing more than the names of the societies, it will not be necessary to read it. He has recorded thirty, all embarked within the range of religious benevolence and education. Passing from Baltimore, we come to Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love. Take a single district, where there are about 5,000 free persons of colour. There are 20,000 in all. We have erected six schools, six Methodist churches, two Presbyterian churches, three Baptist churches, I think two, but I am certain one Episcopal church. We have a record of the fact, that they pay over 4,000 dollars annually for taxes in that one district, while they do not draw 2,000 dollars annually for the support of the poor.

Mr. A. BUFFUM.—That is poor-rate only, while their own paupers cost but half that amount.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—They pay rents exceeding 100,000 dollars. They have sixty benevolent societies, two Tract societies, two Bible societies, two female literary societies, one moral reform society, one library company. It is estimated that their own real estate exceeds one million of dollars, and it appears that they have about one thousand mechanics. From my own knowledge of that city I am prepared to say that that statement is far within the truth. We come next to New York, where there are about 25,000 free people of colour. Here we report seven excellent schools; six Methodist, two Baptist, two Presbyterian, and one Episcopal church. The other societies are about the same as in Philadelphia. I have now a few statements to make in regard to Boston, Massachusetts. A report of Rev. RUFUS SPAULDING to the Boston Auxiliary of the American Union for the relief of the Coloured Race, presents the following items. "By the late census it appears that the entire coloured population of the city is 1757; making a decrease, within the last five years, of 118. The number visited by Mr. SPAULDING, living by themselves in families, was 1310. The above 1310 are thus classed:—Married persons, 398; widowers, 26; widows, 123; single men, 104; single women, 53; men con-

nected with churches, 91; women connected with churches, 166; boys under ten years of age, 164; boys over ten and under twenty-one years, 111; girls under ten years, 104; girls over ten and under twenty-one years, 105; girls twenty-one years, and over, having parents, 32; children who can read, 169; children attending schools, 238; children connected with churches, 8; boys learning mechanical trades, 3. But few of the parents can read, and of the children reported as able to read, and as attending Day and Sunday schools, some discount must be made for irregular attendance, though in most instances they were reported as attending regularly. Their occupations are said to be:—Mariners, 171; labourers, 112; barbers (exclusive of apprentices), 32; keepers of clothing shops, &c., 23; waiters or tenders, 25; cartmen, 8; tailors, 6; keepers of boarding houses, 5; boot polishers, 4; blacksmiths, 3; ordained preachers, 2; stevedores, 2; victuallers, 2; carpenter, 1; whitewasher, 1; whitesmith, 1; shoemaker, 1; blacking maker, 1; painter, 1; paper hanger, 1; soap boiler, 1; measurer, 1; cobbler, 1; chimney sweep, 1; servants not at service, 7." I have a few statements in regard to the city of Cincinnati, Ohio. It may be proper to state that this is one of the places where the coloured people have been most cruelly persecuted. "The whole number of coloured people in Cincinnati is about 2500. The statement below embraces but one out of several districts. The number of families is put at 53; of individuals, 258; of heads of families, 106; of professors of religion, 16; at school, 53; of newspapers taken, 7. The amount of property in real estate, 9,850 dollars. Number of individuals who have been slaves, 108; heads of families who have been slaves, 69; heads of families who have purchased themselves, 36. Whole amount paid for themselves, 21,513 dollars. Average price (a fraction off) 597 dollars. Number of children purchased by the same families, 14. Whole amount paid for them, 2,425 dolls. 75 cents. Average, 173 dolls. 27 cents. Total amount paid for parents and children in this particular district, 23,940 dolls. 75 cents. The district here referred to was examined without the least reference to its being exhibited separately. It is believed to be a specimen of the coloured city population at large. According to this statement of the whole coloured population of Cincinnati, 1,129 have been in slavery; 476 have purchased themselves, at the total expense of 215,522 dollars 04 cents; averaging for each, 452 dollars 77 cents. The coloured people in Cincinnati have three churches—two Methodist and one Baptist; numbering about 450 members. They have four Sabbath schools, with each a small library; and three Bible classes. A female benevolent society has been organised, with 40 members. Their meetings are held regularly, and the time spent in working for the poor. A society for the relief of persons in distress, called the Cincinnati Union Society, also numbers about 100 male members. Its contributions are about 250 dollars annually. Another similar institution likewise exists in the city, with about 30 members. They have also a temperance society on the principle of total abstinence, with about 230 members." I have thus taken these prominent facts, and glanced at the history of our prominent states. The statements which have now been made are a fair specimen of the state of things throughout Connecticut, Maine, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and all the free states. My intimate knowledge of the people enables me to state this; but you will ask how facts such as these, and others, of which I have a pocketful to present to the Convention, are disposed of? I can hardly tell you, except it be by relating what I call my brick-bat anecdote. Some years ago, when I was a young man, I lived with an excellent Friend in Pennsylvania. He was a farmer, and had an ox that was exceedingly troublesome; he would go into whatever lot he chose, and jump over whatever fence he pleased. One day I saw him in a lane, and perceived that he was disposed to go over a fence.

I said to him, If you pass me, you will have to carry your weight in brick-bats. I met him near a pile of brick-bats; filled my hand with them, intending to throw them at his head, and then retire to the pile. I met him: he just curved his head up and came forward, when I let on with my brick-bats till they were all exhausted. I then returned to the pile, and let on again; but he kept his head turned, passed me in gallant style, and jumped over the fence. Our opponents treat these facts as the ox treated the brick-bats—they receive them on their head, and leap over the arguments; they do not meet the facts honestly. There are two places in which to carry facts; one is in the heart, and the other *in* the head; but they take them *on* the latter. It may be interesting to state what denomination of Christians prevails amongst the free people of colour. Generally speaking, they are Methodists. There are two independent bodies of Methodists among them; one called the Bethel, and the other the Zion. I hold in my hand the discipline of the Bethel Methodists. It would take up too much time to read, but it opens up the history of the circumstances which brought them out of the old Methodist church. Any one, by referring to it, will see that it was a train of oppression, grinding them from time to time, that compelled them to come out, and form an independent body. Their design, at the commencement, was to remonstrate with their brethren, in order to obtain better accommodation in their churches. Sometimes they were aroused from their knees while at prayer, and put out to make room for others. This was repeatedly done in the cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore. They set forth that this was the case. This oppression increased upon them until they found that there was no help except by forming themselves into an independent body. They therefore selected one of their number, under the encouragement of the late venerable Bishop White, of Pennsylvania. Richard Allen, who has since deceased, was ordained their bishop, and they have now two bishops. I have a copy of their church organ, and on the 79th page they set forth that in the Baltimore Conference they had 2993 members; Philadelphia, 4828; New York, 1454; Canada, 441; Indiana, &c., 1194; Ohio, 2615; making in the whole 13,528 members. They have, generally speaking, a pious and improving ministry. I have had the privilege of being acquainted with a number of their ministers, and can bear testimony to their being a body of pious, praiseworthy, and persevering men. In the Zion connexion they have not a bishop, but a superintendent; and I had an interview with him a few days before I sailed. I hold a copy of their last minutes. They have about 100 churches; about the same number of ministers; and rather a larger membership than the Bethel connexion. With respect to the coloured Baptists, though they have a few separate churches, yet their ministers hold connexion with their white brethren. This is the case also with the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal churches. In regard to the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, we are prepared to say that as denominations we have mainly but two faults to find with them. First, they keep up the negro pew system; and, secondly, the non-intercourse system with coloured ministers. Our churches, as a general rule, are respectably represented in their bodies, and coloured pastors are permitted to sit and deliberate. In the Methodist and Episcopal bodies, however, it is different.

Rev. J. BIRT.—If coloured churches keep up a connexion with white persons, do the white churches admit the members of coloured churches to commune at the Lord's table?

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—On the negro pew system.

Rev. J. BIRT.—They call themselves by the same name, and keep up a connexion; but it does not seem that it is recognised by the white churches.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—Not in good faith.

Rev. J. BIRT.—Nor do they admit Christians of colour to the Lord's table?

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—They do not admit them on the same terms, "Come in and take your seat there."

Dr. RITCHIE.—The man of colour and the white man do not, in fact, sit at the same place at the Lord's table?

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—They do not.

A DELEGATE.—They distribute the emblems at the same time?

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—The general policy is to serve the whites first.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—The friends will be glad to learn that there are exceptions to this general rule, and that they are increasing.

Rev. W. MORGAN.—I understand there is a large connexion taking up the broad principles of equality on church government.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—It is the case in many sections. In some Congregational churches, they take right ground, and carry it out; but I speak with respect to general bodies. To bring forward exceptions, would be a much more pleasant duty to us. The next point of inquiry would be with respect to the political disability of the coloured people. The process of changing our state constitutions, with a view to admit coloured people as citizens, is very slow. In many of the states, you are aware, that we are constitutionally disfranchised; that is, the word *white* existing in the constitution strikes off every coloured man from the ballot-box, and from all fair rights and privileges. There is no way of amending this but by striking out the word "white," and giving the qualification to all citizens of such an age. Rhode Island, the smallest of the states, has received a new constitution; and in that, coloured citizens have been righted. So far we report with pleasure. With regard to the judicial department, the Petty Courts are suspicious, and rather unsound in practice. For instance, if a coloured man is brought before some magistrates or some Petty Courts, on claim of being a slave, he is generally in danger. But we are pleased to say that the higher courts are looking to justice. It will be recollected that last summer, a most brutal outrage was committed in Philadelphia on the free coloured citizens, in which they were the losers of a Temperance Hall, one Church, and a Benevolent Hall. Since that, the noble judges in the Supreme Court have awarded to the sufferers, in the case of the Benevolent Hall and the Church, the worth of their property. We report this progress with great pleasure, because the voice of these noble judges, that sit under the shadow of Penn, will not be in vain. We also report progress on this subject in Ohio, which derives great importance from the fact, that the free coloured people have been greatly persecuted there. A paragraph from a paper states that, "An important judicial decision has lately been made in Ohio, in relation to *coloured people*, by Judges LANE and BIRCHARD, one of whom is a Whig and the other a Democrat. The decision asserts the principle, that the legislature of Ohio 'have no power to make distinction among citizens of other states, who may settle in this.' And the principle is asserted in reference to the case of a *coloured* citizen of Louisiana, who had emigrated to, and settled in the state. By this decision, all the laws of the state making distinctions on account of colour, whether in relation to giving security, to educational privileges, or to testimony, are rendered null and void, so far as they affect any coloured citizen of other states who may have emigrated, or may emigrate to Ohio." We regard that as a decision of great importance in the destinies of the free people in the whole country. With respect to legislation, its standard in the free states has been decidedly changed for the better during the past year; and I am not aware that a single new obnoxious law has been passed in any one of the free states, with regard to the coloured people;

on the other hand, several noble attempts have been made to repeal obnoxious laws already existing. It is true, however, that an attempt made in the state of New York to repeal the Jury Trial Law was a failure; I believe the bill passed the Assembly, but not the Senate, and was laid aside.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—It passed the Assembly, and went to the Senate; but on account of the press of business, they did not reach it during the session.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—It is, after all, perhaps, a matter of opinion; but I have met with others, who think they did not reach it through design. The Governor's message recommended the measure, but that did not make it certain that it would pass. With respect to public conveyances, we are about equally divided. About one-half the railroads, the stage coaches, and the steam boats, make no odious distinction as to colour; but the other half do.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—The distinction is certainly kept up very generally.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—I am about to present a case, that of an esteemed ministerial brother in the Methodist connexion, with whom I am personally acquainted; it is extracted from the *Liberator*:—

"*Providence, April* 18*th*, 1843.

"Dear Friend Garrison,—Knowing you to be a friend of humanity, and a lover of mankind, I hasten to lay before you the following matter of facts, to dispose of them as may best suit yourself.

"I am pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, for the cities of Providence and Boston. I have charge of the Bethel church, in West Centre-street, Boston, but make the city of Providence my principal place of residence.

"On the 27th of March I left this place for Philadelphia. I arrived in the city of New York, on board the steamer *Mohegan*, about three o'clock P.M., Wednesday, March 26th. Between four and five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, I went to the ticket office of the Jersey city railroad company, and purchased a ticket of the agent or clerk of the company, for a passage to Philadelphia. I gave him four dollars for the ticket, the same that all others gave, for which I found no fault, after I had asked the agent if I could be accommodated with a comfortable seat in the cars. He answered me in the affirmative, and satisfactorily assured me that I should be as well accommodated as any other gentleman. I find no fault with him; he gave me all I asked. I crossed the river with a ticket he gave me for that purpose, and about half-past five o'clock I was seated in the car for Philadelphia, by the conductor of the train. I took my seat in the most secluded part of the car, in order to be out of the way of my neighbours as much as possible, and so I passed over a part of the road quite comfortably, and unmolested, while the then present conductor remained on the train. Somewhere on the road we changed conductors, and I fell into the hands of another before we reached Trenton, N. J. Some time after we left Trenton, we came to another stopping-place, and when the cars were about to move again, the conductor came to me and said, '*Here, old fellow! you must come out of that.*' I asked him why. He said, '*That is none of your business.*' I answered him, 'I cannot move until you assign me your reason for it.' He rejoined, '*I shall not reason with you about it. All you have to do is to come out; and if you don't, I'll pitch you out.*' I answered, 'Well, sir, you will have it to do; for I cannot move myself until you give me a reason for it.' I said no more, and this I said as calm and easy as possible, to be heard in the noise and bustle that were going on at the time. For some minutes he stood and said much not worth mentioning. I said nothing. At last he became much agitated, seized me by the throat, threw me down, and being unable to pitch me out himself, left me on the floor. In a few minutes, before I could regain my seat, he returned with four others; there may

have been more, I am sure not less. With violence they fell upon, and beat me. From the beginning I had said not a word, only what I have already named, except to cry for help, after so many had fallen upon, and beat me, until I had altogether despaired of life. I was gagged, had handkerchiefs crammed into my mouth, was beaten with their fists and caned, was stamped in the stomach, and beat until almost unable to speak, and was finally thrown into the car where the men go to smoke, &c., &c., nearly helpless, and without a friend I knew, except the Rev. N. Colver, of Boston, and one other gentleman, whose name I do not know. To them I wish to return thanks in this letter, for their kindness to me. Some time after we arrived in Philadelphia, and I was placed under the care of a physician. Since then, I returned to this city, and am now labouring under the influence of the ill-treatment I received upon that occasion. I made no attempt to defend myself, by entering into violent combat, because I believed it to be wrong. The servant of the Lord must not strive. I did not enter suit against the conductor or company for the injuries I sustained, for this plain reason, and many others: I believe there is a just God, who is, and will be the avenger of all those that do wrong. 'Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord.' I believe he 'hath appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by the man Christ Jesus.' That day I believe not far distant, and then I expect to meet them at the tribunal of God. God himself will award them according to their works. 'Will not the Judge of all the earth do right?' I am sure that he will, and with this assurance I have committed myself, and all that I have, into his hands, trusting that the day will come, when every man shall be rewarded according to his works.

"I am yours, for the cause of truth,
"Jabez P. Campbell."

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—Mr. Colver gave me an account of this transaction on his return from Philadelphia, confirming in all its particulars the statement of this minister, who has had the charge of a congregation in Boston for a considerable time, and is highly esteemed as a worthy minister of Jesus Christ. There is no exaggeration, I am satisfied, in this statement.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—I am happy to say, that such an instance as this is now an extreme case; yet the fact that lies in its fore-ground is common. I have travelled considerably in New England, and I take pleasure in saying, from observations that I have made, that about every other railroad, steam boat, and coach, is doing what is right with reference to coloured passengers, while others continue something of the treatment described in this case. I hold in my hand a letter addressed to me by the coloured citizens of Hartford, Connecticut; it is a specimen of those received from other places, which I have unfortunately mislaid. It shows the sentiments of the coloured people with regard to abolition, and is to the following effect:—

"At a meeting of the coloured citizens of Hartford, Connecticut, held on Monday evening, April 24, in the Talcott-street school-room, the house was called to order by Deacon Henry Foster. Prayer by Deacon James Mars. On motion, Deacon James Mars was appointed chairman. After stating, that in view of having the coloured people represented in the world's Convention, which is to be holden in the city of London, (England,) this meeting was called,

"A committee of five was appointed, consisting of the following gentlemen, to draft resolutions:—

"Isaac Cross, Deacon Henry Foster, William Saunders, Henry Nott, Gad Worthington, who, after a short recess, reported to the meeting the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

"Resolved, That we hail with joy the approaching world's Convention, which is to be holden in the city of London, (England,) in June next; and that our prayer to the Father of mercies is, that his wisdom may guide its deliberations, and use the friends of freedom, who shall then gather together from the different portions of the earth, as instruments in his hand to work the universal overthrow of the vile system of slavery.

"Resolved, That the nominally free coloured citizens of the United States of North America, identified, as we are, with our brethren who are groaning in chains and slavery, and overburdened with the most unrelenting prejudice; nevertheless, feel that GOD has espoused our injured cause, and will, ere long, call up the sons of freedom of all the earth, to be the benefactors of those who pine in bondage.

"Resolved, That the judicious labours of the abolitionists abroad operate very favourably upon the condition of the oppressed in this country.

"Resolved, That the abolitionists of America, who are labouring by moral and political means to consummate the overthrow of slavery, have our hearty and cheerful support and co-operation.

"Resolved, That we, the citizens of Hartford, recognise the Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON, pastor of the first coloured Congregationalist church, Talcott, Hartford, delegate from the Connecticut State Anti-Slavery Society, as a worthy, and an accepted representative of the coloured people.

(Signed) "JAMES MARS, Chairman.
ISAAC CROSS, Secretary."

Mr. J. STURGE suggested to Mr. PENNINGTON the propriety of adverting to the subject of African colonization.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—Let me close by an affectionate appeal to you as the congregated representatives of the world. I have no statistics with me bearing on that subject; but our public opinion is our statistics; our piety is our statistics; and to a man, in heart, and soul, and feeling, and sympathy, we are opposed to that system. Any one who will refer to WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S Thoughts on Colonization will there find documents abundant to show that we have expressed our opinion again and again in opposition to this system, and that we regard it as the handmaid of slavery. These opinions, as there expressed, are unchanged. We appeal to you to help us; and do you ask how? I reply, first, through the channel of emigration; for the world is pouring its surplus population into America. Let your emigrants come with right principles. Again, when any of you visit the United States, do not forget that there is a certain man there that has fallen among thieves and robbers. When you come there as visitors, please to come also as good Samaritans. You can help us much in this respect. If a stranger comes from Great Britain, France, Holland, or Germany, let him drop a kind word, and make an affectionate inquiry in regard to the condition of the free people of colour; for it has weight on the American mind. Again, Americans visit your country frequently, and you can aid us in this respect. When distinguished Americans come here, present to them the subject of slavery—catechise them: for that weighs upon the American mind, upon the American feelings, and upon their prejudices. Several of our clergymen, who have visited this country, have gone back regenerated on this subject. I know of cases, where they have told their people that they were besieged on the subject; inquiries were pressed upon them; and one beloved clergyman said, that the question was reduced to a unit, and he could not turn the point. He had to meet the appeal, and he had to change his sentiments. I can bear testimony that his visit to England had the effect of regenerating his sentiments on the subject of slavery. We feel that the world owes us a debt of justice. Where

is the nation on the face of the earth that has not been concerned in the plundering of Africa? Here we ask for simple justice; here we urge the claim. Give us justice—and we live, we triumph, we rejoice; deprive us of justice—and we pine, we mourn, we die. The question of American slavery and prejudice, I deem to be a vital question. It is called in America a domestic question, but I deny that it can be domesticated. There is an universal law of morals to which slavery is opposed, and that law of morals gives to the world a right of opinion in the matter. On the basis of this law of morals I make my appeal. I am not then to be charged as a renegade, or hater of my country, because I appeal to the representatives of the world. I have the right of appeal. No nation under the sun has a right to abuse humanity; no nation can legalize a law which abuses humanity; or if they dare to do it, humanity has the right of appeal. Fellow-citizens! I make this appeal to-day. As America has dared to make laws—a system to abuse humanity, I appeal from those laws, and my appeal is to this tribunal of the world. I ask then for simple justice. Sometimes it is said, What is the black man capable of doing in regard to literature? We feel that this is an important subject; and now and then we do what we can to promote it. I hold in my hand a printed sermon—a little book—which I am authorized to present to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for their library.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I rise to move,

"That the important communications laid before this Convention, on the condition and prospects of the free people of colour in the United States, be referred, with all other documents on the same subject, to a committee, consisting of the following delegates, to report to the Convention as to the best means of making use thereof:—Rev. J. W. Wayne, W. Forster, J. Clarke, jun., Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, and J. Allen."

In moving this resolution I beg to say that I have been very much interested in the statement made by our friend Pennington. He has spoken the truth, and nothing but the truth; but he has not spoken all the truth. I consider myself as well informed as to the condition of the free people of colour in the United States, not only as any person present, but as any one in America; and were I but able to change my colour for half an hour, I should consider myself as a perfect representative of the coloured people. It is not true that the coloured people are in any respect placed in that situation in which they are able to compete with the white population; and I have made a few notes as to the proscriptions and disabilities under which they labour. This is a point to which our friend has not referred, perhaps from modesty, and a desire not to throw more odium on the country than was necessary. It is said, with great truth, that the coloured people are not well informed; and how should they be, when they are excluded generally—though the observations I am about to make are to be received with considerable exceptions—from all the colleges, for the acquisition of a liberal education. This is particularly grievous, so far as the bulk of the coloured people is concerned. I know many of them to be excellent people,—pious, worthy men; but they are, generally speaking, very illiterate. As ministers they do not possess that information, that extent of knowledge which a minister of the gospel ought to possess in order to be an efficient messenger of God to the people; but this is very much owing to the exclusion to which I have referred.

Mr. SAMS.—Owing to that alone.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—They are excluded not only from all liberal professions—from law and medicine, but almost all respectable trades. I go further; they are shut out in many parts from the more common occupations of life. In the city of New York a man cannot drive a public car if he has a coloured skin;

he cannot occupy a public stall in a respectable situation; he cannot even occupy a stand at market; nay, he cannot even sweep the streets: and this arises from the fact that those who are thus employed in New York have a vote, and consequently it is to the advantage of those who are politically concerned to obtain votes to shut out the coloured man. Our friend has stated that in many parts they are allowed to enter public conveyances; I admit that it is sometimes allowed, but there is an odious Jim Crow car which a coloured man must generally take. A friend of mine, whom I much esteem, the Rev. Theodore S. Wright, well known to some persons present, was travelling on the road to Utica, and in consequence of his respectability was allowed to enter a car with me; but no sooner was it required for the occupation of a white person than he was handed out and put into another car. It was mere toleration that they allowed him to sit with me. That was in the year 1841. On the very same occasion, on arriving at Oswego we embarked on board a steam-boat to Lewiston; I inquired of the captain if a coloured man was allowed to enter the cabin. "No; we allow no niggers there." I was then concerned for his accommodation and inquired if he could have a berth. "No, certainly; we do not allow niggers to take berths." It was by a mere contrivance that we obtained it. I was determined he should have his supper, and when the servants sat down, I descended with him and seated him at the table. On seeing a coloured man eating with white servants there was a general disapproval. I asked one of the waiters to give him some tea and bread, and he threw it as if he were throwing it at a dog. Such is the conduct usually pursued in public conveyances towards coloured people. The hotels are shut against them as places of refreshment. I was walking with the same individual in the streets of New York, and I asked him to go into a house kept by one of his own Elders. I was allowed to sit down and take refreshment, but he was not permitted to do so. This did not arise from disrespect to the minister, but from the strength of public prejudice. He would have been obliged to shut up his house had he allowed this minister to sit down at the table. The prejudice is so strong that a white man dare not walk with a coloured man in the streets of New York. I was once walking with this individual, and we had not proceeded far till a white person came and said, "Here is a white man walking with a nigger." Some friend has handed to me a note bringing to my recollection the death of this esteemed friend's wife. He was travelling on board a steam-boat on an inclement evening, and his wife was with him. He begged for some accommodation for her, but none could be afforded, and she was compelled to sit in the rain the greater part of the night, in consequence of which she took a violent cold, and ultimately died of consumption five or six years ago. This note contains the case of another coloured minister, whose wife died under very similar circumstances. Coloured men are not allowed to be employed as shopmen or clerks in the city of New York, nor are they allowed to sit on a jury. If a coloured man is brought to trial for any offence, he may not be tried by his peers; the jury may not be composed partly of white and partly of coloured men, but must be entirely of the former; and that, notwithstanding the amount of prejudice against the coloured people. They are not allowed to vote at an election unless they possess 250 dollars, real estate. They are excluded generally from churches, and in the city of New York there are but one or two exceptions to this disgraceful practice. The church with which I am connected as an elder bears the name of an abolition church, but even in that church coloured men do not mingle with the white congregation. They have, it is true, one of the best parts of the church; but still it is a mark of distinction, or rather of exclusion. It is an odious distinction, which ought not to exist among them.

Rev. Dr. RITCHIE.—Does the severment of the negro from the white man while sitting under the gospel of Christ apply to the Dutch Reformed Church?

Mr. JOHNSTON.—It does.

Mr. BUFFUM.—Does it apply to the Friend's Meeting-house?

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I believe that is the only exception to this general rule; I do not think that there is a negro pew there; but I am not so thoroughly acquainted with that denomination as with others.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—It is difficult to decide that question in regard to the Friends. I am not aware that there is a single black Quaker in New York.

Rev. C. HANSON.—I have had considerable intercourse with the coloured people in New York, and I do not know a black member of the Society of Friends.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—Perhaps there is not a more odious feature in the distinctions observed in the house of GOD than that made in the administration of the sacrament. It has been said that there is but very little distinction made in some churches; but I do not know a single church in which the white congregation are not supplied previously to the coloured man. I will name one instance in which this order was reversed, and the very singular scene which took place in consequence of it, will prove the power of prejudice against coloured people. A friend of mine, Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN, happened to be on a visit to a friend in Ulster county, New York. On going to church on the sabbath morning he found it was communion sabbath. He was in the habit of seating himself with the coloured people, and he did so now. The minister, out of respect to him, placed the elements in his hand first; from him they passed to the coloured people, and from them to the white communicants; but this gave such offence, that great indignation was expressed afterwards at the disorder of giving the coloured people the elements previously to the white people. On the next morning some conversation took place on the subject, when one said, "Well, I took the bread in my hand, and did not eat it; I put the cup to my lips, but I did not drink after the coloured people." Can there be a more striking instance of the disgraceful prejudice that exists in the minds of men on the subject of colour? Nay, if we descend from the respectable class of society down to the society of a prison, we shall find this prejudice equally prevails where we should imagine that all would be on a level. But not so; the coloured man is there placed below the white man. If there is any occupation that can be considered as more degrading than another, the coloured man must be employed in it. He is compelled to clean out the sewers and drains, which a white man is never required to do. I will descend to the grave, and even there the coloured man is degraded below the white. A coloured man may not be buried by the side of a white. The churchyards are not allowed to be defiled by a coloured person. Is it a wonderful thing, then, that the coloured people should not rise—nay, is it not a matter of astonishment that they are not more degraded than they are? It would be a proof of the superiority of their nature, if they rose above this depression.

Sir GEORGE STRICKLAND, Bart., M.P.—I have been honoured by being requested to second the resolution which has just been proposed. I do so with the greatest possible satisfaction, because it is my wish to do all in my power, as long as I live, to sweep away from the face of the world the horrid state of slavery. This is the first time that I have been able to attend the sittings of the present Convention; I shall therefore confine my observations to those circumstances which have transpired since I came into the room I was in the highest degree gratified by the speech of Mr. PENNINGTON; I think it does him great honour, and shows that the coloured people in the United

States, as well as elsewhere, are our brothers, and may be our fellow-Christians; and that they ought as speedily as possible, and by every effort which we can make, to be raised from the degradation in which they are now placed. The statements made to-day only confirm my previous knowledge, and increase the impression that their state is degraded; but I think the degradation attaches to those in higher stations of society, rather than to the unfortunate people themselves. What is the inference to be drawn from this? Ought we to cast imputations on the preachers of the gospel throughout the various parts of the United States? Ought we to throw blame on the government of America for the customs of the people? Where is it that we should cast the blame? I contend that it rests on one point and one point only—the existence of slavery. Till you do something to effect its annihilation it will be impossible to remove the degradation to which the black man is subjected. The question brought before us by this motion is, What use are we to make of these facts? It strikes me that the wisest plan is to adopt the course recommended by the resolution, and refer them to a committee of respectable persons, who will report upon them. I think that a great deal depends upon these facts. We ought not to seek the destruction of slavery as it exists in America by vituperating and accusing the higher orders of society there, but to take means for convincing their understanding, and of explaining to them that their conduct is blamable. We may state that we hardly class nations that act as they do among Christian nations, but that will best be done by argument and by showing the sufferings that they are bringing upon themselves. It is of the utmost consequence, therefore, that the information obtained should be well considered and weighed before you make use of it. There are wide fields of inquiry not only in the Western hemisphere, but throughout our Eastern dominions. In short, I see no limit to the scope of these inquiries. I believe that we have hitherto taken a wrong course to get quit of slavery. We have tried to do it by waging war with individuals in America; by suppressing the slave trade by ships of war; but we have not tried to do it in the manner which I deem best, viz., by bringing the produce of free labour fairly into competition with slave labour. Adopt that plan, and sustain it by other exertions—exertions pointed out by the lessons of Christ, and I do not despair that ere long we shall see the successful issue of the great struggle in which we are all engaged.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—I desire to make a very few statements on this question. The remarks that fell from my respected friend Mr. JOHNSTON did not, in my opinion, convey just that impression which the truth requires; and I cannot pay a higher compliment to this audience, than to suppose that they are very anxious to see not only the odious facts, as they bear on the colored population of the United States, but to see them in connexion with any circumstances which tend to their explanation. Our respected friend remarked, that the coloured population were excluded from all colleges and theological seminaries.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I stated that my observations were to be taken with some exceptions. I am aware that there are some colleges which will admit coloured men; but out of the large number in America, there are very few who will receive them.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—The exceptions amount to at least eighteen of the first colleges and theological seminaries in the land; and that is a large portion of them.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—Eighteen out of ninety-eight!

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—Several colleges of the Roman Catholic persuasion, I believe, receive coloured people. At Cincinnati, the Queen's city, I completed my theological course, and was happy to see by my side brother

TEMPLETON, a man of colour, at the theological lectures. I presume, that were the matter investigated fully, the exceptions will not form an inconsiderable proportion of the whole number. When the anti-slavery agitation came up, it did so under peculiar circumstances. You could not exactly judge of the state of England, when the mob were covering the Duke of WELLINGTON'S coach with mud. There is such a thing as an effervescence among the people; and I very much regret to say, that our colleges and theological seminaries have not stood fire as they ought to have done. When the war raged at the doors, they have not demeaned themselves as well as could have been desired; and some of our visitors from London have taken their stand alongside of them. But I wish to throw out these remarks, not for the purpose of throwing a soft shade on what should appear dark, but to enable philanthropists to see things exactly as they are. I will make some remarks on the general subject, with respect to the coloured people.

Rev. JOHN HOWARD HINTON, A.M.—I think the Convention would be obliged if Mr. BLANCHARD would state whether the colleges which receive coloured people did so from the foundation, or whether the plan has been adopted since.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—When the colleges were founded, there were no such distinctions thought of; there was nothing in the charter with respect to the complexion of persons who should be admitted. For instance, the constitution of the state of Ohio, article 8, section 25, is in the following words, to wit:—"That no law shall be passed to prevent the poor in the several counties and townships within this state from an equal participation in the schools, academies, colleges, and universities within this state, which are endowed in whole or in part from the revenue arising from donations made by the United States, for the support of schools and colleges; and the doors of said schools, academies, and universities, shall be open for the reception of scholars, students, and teachers, of every grade, without any distinction or preference whatever, contrary to the intent for which said donations were made." That is the manner in which the institutions were founded. That there is no prejudice, no persecution against the coloured people of the United States, we are not here to say; but we wish that you should see it with the lights and shades which belong to it. The rev. gentleman then read a long list of colleges which received free people of colour, at the conclusion of which,

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER asked how many there were in the Southern states?

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—A college is as much out of place in a slave state as a brand of fire in a magazine of powder. A student shot a Professor in a slave state not long since, yet was not brought to justice. The state of Alabama endowed and officered a University, but it could not hold together long, for the law of a slave state is that of the bowie-knife and pistol. Thus you see that the Southern colleges must be in a very weak and inefficient state; and hence such men as CALHOUN in the South were educated at northern colleges.

A DELEGATE.—Are you speaking of the law, or the practice of colleges?

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—The law is simply that of the charter—I speak of the practice of the colleges. Certain cases of proscription, which occurred where coloured students were prevented from enjoying the privileges of colleges and theological seminaries, are to be set down not so much to the state of heart of the Faculty, as to the source from which the college property is provided. I know that the topics which I have now to dwell upon are not those which it is most pleasant for a public speaker in these circumstances to handle. I have not referred to these matters from choice, but from a sense of duty, which I know the audience will appreciate. I have, however, now done

with the very few incoherent remarks which I am disposed to throw out with respect to colleges and theological seminaries. Our respected friend, Mr. JOHNSTON, remarked that he did not know the church where the coloured man was admitted to the table on equal terms with the white man.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I remarked that I did not know of a single church in the state of New York where this was done, with the exception of one lately Established.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—I can excuse the gentleman, because he is an Englishman, and not a Yankee, and therefore not so apt to pry into things; but if he had taken the trouble to walk to Crosby-street, New York, he would have found an excellent church, under the care of Mr. COCHRAN, where he would have seen the congregation seated irrespective of colour.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—That is the very church to which I have just alluded; it has only been lately established, and is almost an experiment.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—I may state further, that in the church of which I am pastor none of the distinctions alleged by the Delegate exist, though we have never had coloured members. There was a coloured member of another church sitting in a seat far back at a communion season in our own church, and I requested the individual who seats the congregation to go and urge the brother to come into a slip nearer the pulpit. I regret to say that the coloured brother declined; but I just mention the fact because all such facts are important, as showing that there is a distinction between American religion and American slavery. You go fifty-five miles up the Ohio river from Cincinnati, and into the largest Presbyterian church which there is within fifty miles around, and go into the sabbath school, and see a man darker than our brother PENNINGTON teaching a class of white scholars, almost adults. I could go on multiplying these facts to any extent, but still they would not prove that there was no prejudice against colour; they would only show that there is some distinction between the spirit of American piety and American caste. Hence, when the respected statesman (Sir GEORGE STRICKLAND, Bart.) made his remarks on the subject, I saw he understood it when he attributed to the existence of slavery the ills under which free people of colour labour, but which we hope, under the guiding hand of God, to remove. I wish to add two or three reasons or causes of prejudice against colour, and the oppression of the coloured people in the United States. During the wars of Napoleon, the Jews amassed wealth in one way or other, perhaps by crying "old clothes," and had lent to the gentry on the continent vast sums of money. After the peace had produced a more settled state of things, some of those Jews came out of their bye-lanes and skulking holes where they were accustomed to reside, and took possession of those palaces of the gentry which had been purchased with their money. Now, from a principle of human nature which is well known to us, those persons who have enjoyed consequence are not very willing to give it up. Many will rather subscribe their money than subscribe their consequence, and when the lowest class of society on the continent, who were not Jews, saw that these descendants of Abraham were likely to rise in society, and take precedence of them, the hatred of that class of people who would be left at the lowest when the Jews were elevated burst out in mobs, and tore down their houses in many places. Now, the United States is a great bag, and its mouth is as wide as the bottom of it. We have a good many folks who were not born there; and even if a man is born in America, he is not exactly perfect, at least he does not so grow up. And we have a large class of persons in America who suppose that if the black man were instructed and elevated by his friends, they would be left at the bottom of society. As long as the coloured man was known by his affinity to the slave; as long as men saw

slavery in a coloured man's face, the vilest drunkard in the ditch could swagger and reel in his cups, knowing that by virtue of his white face he was not so low as the coloured man who was sober. But when it was perceived that the coloured man had friends, and that he was likely to rise, the most horrid persecution of the coloured people, in many instances, took place. That reign of terror in Cincinnati, in 1841, in which the coloured people suffered great enormities, originated in a competition which existed between the German labourers in Cincinnati and the coloured people. There has been for years an active competition between the coloured people and the Germans. This has frequently arisen to a fearful height; and those three days of terror and persecution commenced in a scuffle which terminated in the death of one of the Germans. These and similar causes have originated many evils under which the coloured people have suffered.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I suggest to Mr. BLANCHARD, that as our time now is very pressing, there will be another opportunity of discussing the points to which he is calling our attention; and when they will, with more propriety, fall under the general schedule which our American friends have themselves submitted to us.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—I have done. I would not have thrown in these remarks at this time, but for the observations made by the member who preceded me. I felt that when the impression was warm from what he had stated, it was necessary to advance these facts.

The discussion on this subject was then suspended, to allow the following to be brought forward.

INTRODUCTION OF A SEMINOLE PRINCE—SLAVERY—THE CAUSE OF THE SEMINOLE WAR.

The Rev. J. SHERMAN.—I have great pleasure in introducing to the Convention a young Seminole Indian prince, supposed, by the documents presented to us by Dr. A. WELCH, who brought the dear boy to this country, to be the son of E-CON-CHATTIMICO, king of the Red Hills. His name is OCEOLA NIKKANOCHEE, prince of Econchatti. When some of the friends from America did me the honour of breakfasting with me the other morning, they suggested the propriety of introducing this youth to the Convention, who, by a peculiar series of providences, came under my care. The circumstances I shall not attempt to detail this morning, but I may say that these providences have greatly affected my own mind with hope and joy. With respect to the lad, were he not present, I should say much more than I now think prudent; but this I may say, that since he has been under my care, he has not given me one moment's uneasiness. He was taken in war by the Americans. His father, of whom we have heard only this morning, still lives; but a large proportion of his tribe have been hunted down by bloodhounds, under the sanction of the American Government. Dr. WELCH, who first received the lad after he had been taken in war, and kept him in his own house, will, for a few moments, address the Convention.

Dr. A. WELCH.—I have the honour to appear before you most unexpectedly, but I may, with truth, use an expression often employed at public meetings, and say, this is absolutely "the proudest moment of my life." This little boy was taken prisoner, as you have already heard, during the Seminole war, and was ultimately placed under my care in Florida. The child appeared friendless, and I took him into my own family. After being with us for three years, he became a part of ourselves. We gave him the first rudiments of education. My neighbours finding that he was receiving instruction, feared the consequences, apprehending that he might ultimately become a dangerous

man among the Indian tribes. Under this conviction, they insisted that the child should be taken from us, and sent away with other prisoners of war, fifteen hundred miles, "far west," into the interior of the country. Dreading the result of this unjust proceeding, after he had so far advanced in civilization, I determined, on his account, to return to this country, from which I had been absent more than twenty years. Well am I rewarded, in the heartfelt gratification I enjoy in marking his progress in knowledge and virtue. With the design of going abroad again, as this climate is not congenial with my constitution, I consigned him to the kind protection of the Rev. Mr. SHERMAN, through whose benevolent exertions he is now under instruction at Mill Hill School. The encomiums passed upon him by the heads of that institution are of so strong a character, that I deem it imprudent to repeat them in his presence.

Dr. WELCH, at the request of a gentleman present to state the age of Prince ECONCHATTI, said he believed him to be about thirteen years old. The young prince sat upon the platform, and was attired as an American Indian. He is of a light copper-colour, and his modest, unassuming demeanour, combined with his intelligent countenance, appeared to justify all that was said and hoped regarding him.

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—I did not expect that any event transpiring in this Convention would affect my feelings like the present scene. I am an American; I love my country; but I do not love her crimes. The outrages to which the people represented by this child have been subjected make Heaven weep; and when, to my surprise, I learned that there was a child of E-CON-CHATTIMICO, a nephew of OCEOLA, within a few miles of London, bearing in mind, also, the connexion which these crimes have with the business of this Convention, I felt that I should not do justice to the cause in which I am engaged at home, if I did not beg that he might be brought before you. The war against the Seminoles, a few hundreds of people in the swamps of Florida, who had been pursued by bloodhounds, under the sanction of the American Government, (cries of shame,) was undertaken simply on behalf of slavery. The slaves of the planters in Georgia escaped to these swamps, and could not be recovered. They found a refuge and formed relations among the Seminoles, and at length that inexorable slave-power to which we have to bow decreed their extermination; it has been a war of extermination, carried on at a vast expense of blood and treasure by the American Government. I am not stating things here which I have not said at home, or which have not been said by others. I hold in my hand a speech which was delivered in my hearing in the Congress of the United States, by Mr. GIDDINGS, of Ohio, detailing all these facts in their most minute particulars. It cannot therefore be said, that I am here slandering my country, when I simply state what has been said on the floor of Congress, and never denied. The author of the speech was the Honourable JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, of Ohio,—honourable, indeed,—and an intimate friend of my own. I will state the occasion of it. One of the chiefs wrote to the Indian agent, Colonel THOMPSON, saying: "I should like your advice how I am to act. I dislike to have trouble with the white people, but if they trespass on my premises and rights, I must defend myself in the best way that I can; (he was speaking of the negro stealers of Georgia.) If they continue to make these attempts, they must take the consequences." But there was no civil power to protect him. The object was to make the negroes fear for themselves. I now come to the case before us; Mr. GIDDINGS says in his speech:—

"I will give one more example of the mode of teaching slaves to fear for

themselves. E-CON-CHATTIMICO was an Indian chief of the Seminole band, living upon the Appalachicola river, and was, perhaps, one who signed the treaty at Camp Moultrie, in 1832, by which we solemnly pledged the faith of this nation to protect the Indians in the enjoyment of their lives and property. This chief is said to have owned twenty slaves, valued at 15,000 dollars. These 'negro stealers' were seen hovering around his plantation, and their object could not be misunderstood. By the advice of the sub-agent, he armed himself and people for the purpose of defending themselves. When the negro stealers learned that E-CON-CHATTIMICO's people had armed themselves in defence of their *liberty*, (for they considered Indian slavery liberty, compared with white slavery,) they raised a report that the Indians had armed themselves for the purpose of uniting with the hostile Seminoles, and murdering the white people. On learning this, E-CON-CHATTIMICO at once delivered up his arms to the white people, and threw himself upon their protection. Disarmed, and unable to defend his people, they were immediately kidnapped, taken off, and sold into interminable bondage. E-CON-CHATTIMICO now calls on us to pay him for the loss he has sustained in the violation of our treaty, in which we solemnly covenanted to protect him and his property. Robbed, abused, insulted, and deceived, he emigrated to the West, and now looks to us for a redress of the wrongs he has sustained. I give the substance of his statement, as related by him in his petition, and communicated by General THOMPSON, Governor DUVAL, and the district attorney of East Florida, and sworn to by several witnesses."

Mr. GIDDINGS is the Chairman of the Committee of Claims in Congress, which is our Exchequer Court, and therefore had a perfect knowledge of all these documents and facts. I have compared the statement in that speech with the volume published by Dr. WELCH, entitled, "The Prince of E-CON-CHATTIMICO," and published by HATCHARD. I know of no romance more attractive than the facts here narrated. I suppose that happening to have a copy of the speech of Mr. GIDDINGS among my papers was the occasion of this child receiving an intimation, for the first time within the last five or seven years, that his father is doubtless in the land of the living, and is a suitor to the Government of my country for justice.

Mr. STANDFIELD.—I think the Convention should record its approbation of the conduct of Dr. WELCH. I shall therefore move,

"That the warmest thanks of the Convention be given to Dr. WELCH for his distinguished act of humanity and benevolence, in becoming the ardent protector and advocate of the youth introduced to our notice, and for rescuing him from the hands of those oppressors who sought to immolate him."

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—I rise to second the motion as a man, and as an American from the state of Ohio, where Mr. GIDDINGS resides, and where I was when he was censured by the slave-holding power, which has the reins in America, but where he was received by all classes, without distinction of party, and again returned to Congress by an overwhelming majority. Allow me to add to the remarks made by Mr. LEAVITT, a single fact. The Seminoles were part of another tribe, which preferred a claim to their slaves; but the slaves were their wives, their sons, and their daughters. When our Government recommended their removal to the West—not because they wanted their land; for General GAINS stated in a despatch that the land of the Seminoles was not worth the medicine which the troops would require while there—what was the reason assigned? It was because it afforded a refuge for runaway slaves; and the slaveholder could not retain his slaves in security in the neighbourhood. There were existing, as Mr. GIDDINGS' speech and several others show, conflicting claims

to the slaves in the Seminole country. One was preferred by the tribe which had emigrated to the West, and another by the slaveholders in the region, who claimed slaves whether they owned them or not. The tribe to which OCEOLA belonged was required to remove to the West; but his people said, "If we go West, we must give up our wives and our children;" for the tribe from which the Seminoles had broken off was settled there. They therefore resolved to stay by the graves of their fathers, and fight till they died.

Mr. JOHN DUNLOP.—I rise on two accounts, as a member of an Aborigines, as well as of an Anti-Slavery Society, and as a passing traveller through the country of the North American Indians. I have dwelt in their lodges, slept by their camp fires, hunted in their prairies, and in every situation found myself in the midst of friends. I therefore feel a deep interest in the youth who has now been presented to us as one of that injured and gentle race. I say gentle, as we are ever ready to call that barbarian which is merely foreign; and I doubt the right of a people so deeply dyed as we have been in the African slave trade calling other men savage and furious. I do think that the times are propitious, and that the day is fast approaching when something will be done for the North American Indians, to testify to future ages that the British colonist and the Saxon American were not lost to all remains of humanity. In the free step and upward look of the Indian in his native wilds, we see the proofs of the existence of natural liberty in the world. In a land then in which I know that freedom is aboriginal, I cannot but anticipate for the coloured races the dawn of a brighter day. We claim them as freemen in their social, as in their natural condition; as fellow-citizens, as well as fellow-men. You may suppress for a season the jural relations that bind men to society, but these in the end will come up clear as in the day of their creation. I therefore call upon you earnestly to look to the rights of the native Indians as well as to those of the oppressed Africans. They equally demand the attention of the British Government and the British empire.

The resolution was then put and carried.

Mr. STANDFIELD then addressed Dr. WELCH to the following effect:—I speak the feelings of the assembly when I return to you their cordial thanks for your noble and disinterested conduct in affording a refuge to this persecuted child of the Indian race. I esteem it the highest honour of my life to be the humble organ of making this acknowledgment.

CONDITION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR. (SUBJECT RESUMED.)

Rev. GEORGE SMITH.—I rise to occupy your attention for a few moments, with a view to express my entire sympathy with, and Christian affection towards our coloured brethren in America. I feel that deeply interesting and impressive as have been the events which have just passed under our review; that touching and instructive to our minds as the exhibition of that dear child was, yet we ought not to overlook the important sentiments which were uttered by the addresses of our coloured brother, and other brethren from various parts of the United States. Upon grounds of common humanity, and pre-eminently upon grounds of Christian feeling, we are laid under obligation in a Convention of this order to express most fully, most decidedly, and most unhesitatingly our entire abhorrence of the spirit of caste, and tyranny, and oppression, to which our attention has been directed to-day. I care not whether the evil be as extensively carried on as was represented by one gentleman, or whether, happily, the number of exceptions to the general rule be greater than we have usually imagined; I am prepared to contend that if to any extent whatever this flagitious evil be permitted to triumph in Christian

society in America, that we as Christian men ought to lift up our voice against it. We are laid under deep obligation to sympathise with those beloved coloured brethren who are with us to-day, and who represent a large number of Christian churches, and Christian people in different parts of the United States. I have for years been accustomed to feel, and to feel deeply, on this subject; and with your permission I will relate, not a long anecdote, but a brief circumstance illustrative of some of my early impressions of American society. I remember, some years ago, when I had the honour of being Secretary to the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society—in days when it was hard to stand up in that town and battle for freedom—that I saw the most painful development of the truth of such representations as those made to-day, that ever came before my mind. That Christian devoted philanthropist, the late Mr. James Cropper—whose praise ought to be in the whole anti-slavery world—frequently invited me to his table, and on one occasion I had the privilege of meeting a coloured Christian minister from America. We returned together in Mr. Cropper'sc arriage, and having sat and communed with that brother minister, I observed that he was under the influence of considerable excitement. On asking him the occasion of it he burst into a flood of tears, and said, "You have overcome me with kindness. If I had been in America, you as a Christian minister would have been ashamed to speak to me; you would not have sat at the same table with me; you would not have been permitted by the custom of the country to allow me to ride in the carriage with you." Now, I do not care whether such exclusion as that occurs every day in the week, or on one week in the year; I do not care whether it occurs in every town, or every village, or only in one solitary town or village—if something of that kind does occur we ought to lift up our voice against it, and never rest satisfied till that iniquity be entirely done away. We are laid under obligations by our Christianity to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them," and they that suffer adversity, as though we suffer it ourselves. If I understand the injunction aright, I ought to feel for my brethren under persecutions which they endure, in consequence of circumstances over which they have no control, as though I were exposed to the like indignities. The reproach cast upon them is as unfounded as it is unmerited; the contempt poured on that class of men is unrighteous and wicked in the sight of Him who hath "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Tell me not of the colour of that man's skin, tell me not of the shape of his cranium, tell me not of the retiring position of his forehead, as reasons for chasing him out of the pale of human society,

> "Is he not man? though knowledge never shed
> Her quickening beams on his devoted head?
> Is he not man, by sin and suffering tried?
> Is he not man, for whom the Saviour died?"

And if he be a man, he is my brother; and any insult heaped upon him I am bound to meet as though it were an insult heaped upon myself. There are few men who have done better service to the cause of the abolition of slavery than Sir George Strickland—the honoured senator who spoke just now; yet I will not go the full length of concurring in all the remarks he has made in reference to the support of American slavery. I do not wish to vituperate; I do not wish to speak in harsh terms; I know that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. But when I find the evil of such a prodigious character as that referred to; when I find prejudice extending itself even to the grave—to "the house appointed for all living;" when I find the evil identified with congregations, and with Christian churches,

and affecting not merely private members, but elders, and intelligent educated ministers, then I feel that I am laid under obligation to lift up my voice against it, and denounce it as an enormous evil in the sight of God, and as one of the greatest evils of which men can be guilty to their fellow men, because the maintenance of that prejudice does much to the justification of the upholding of slavery itself. Nothing can be conceived of, as more unfair and more unjust to our coloured brethren, than to say, in vindication of the guilty course adopted toward them, that they are ignorant, and that they have not much mind. The parties do not allow them to cultivate their minds, and then they find fault with this people that they are not educated, that they are not intelligent, that they have no literature of their own. Give them fair play; give them the advantages which the descendants of Englishmen, and indeed all white men may have in the United States of America, and in a few years, one cannot doubt, they will move on in the career of intelligence, and be raised up, not simply to an equality with all that belongs to men, but to a participation of the Divine nature. I feel that there is palpable injustice in withholding the bread that would feed the mind, and then complaining of the people who perish for lack of knowledge. I feel that there is gross injustice in closing up, on the best showing of the case, nine-tenths of the universities and theological institutions of America, against this people, and then complaining that they do not go in and obtain education; in sealing up the fountains of knowledge, and then finding fault with them that they do not repair thither to slake their thirst; in chaining the eagle to the rock, and then finding fault that he does not soar to heaven and gaze on the light of day. Break the chains of bondage, snap the links that bind the eagle, open the fountains, and let a voice be heard proclaiming, "Come and drink without distinction of colour and sects," and the coloured as well as the white population will flock to the fountains of intelligence, and through these to the fountains of living waters. In offering these opinions I wish it to be clearly understood that I have no want of sympathy with America as a whole—no, a descendant of the Puritans must be recreant to their spirit and views if he could forget the men who landed on the rock of New Plymouth, and cast the seed of liberty into a fresh and verdant soil, where it became a great tree, under which multitudes are now securely reclining. To a great extent I love American character, and admire American institutions; but in proportion as I admire the one and love the other, I am anxious that this vestige of barbarity should be removed from the midst of its population. I do, however, feel that our hands as Englishmen have not long enough been clean of the fearful enormity to allow us of right to pour out vituperation upon our American brethren. But happily our hands are now clean; I believe that nearly the last vestige of the abomination is about to be swept away in the complete destruction of slavery in British India. I attribute to the enlightened influence of Christian principle the abolition of slavery in the colonies. It was the hand of a Christian people that took the sponge of benevolence, that dipped it in the waters of the sanctuary, held it up to the legislature, and compelled it to wipe out the foulest blot that ever disgraced the national escutcheon, and bid 800,000 men go free. We have a right, therefore, to say to America, "Be one with us in spirit and in heart; do as we have done, and yet more abundantly." I feel indeed that we ought to make certain allowances for the prejudices and feelings of our American brethren in consequence of slavery having been with them a domestic evil. It has never been a domestic evil in Britain. I believe that if the question, ten or twelve years ago, had been, whether or not 800,000 coloured people, supposing such could be found in the Midland districts of our country, should be set free, and come and mingle freely in white society, many a zealous abolitionist would not have

been ready for that. We can be philanthropic in reference to objects at a distance; but if slavery had been with us a domestic evil, I am afraid that we should not have been free of its guilt, and of the prejudice against colour. We can now receive a coloured man as a *rara avis* at our table; but if we came in contact with them by hundreds and by thousands, I fear that we should not have that expanded charity which we now entertain. But supposing that we had not, we still ought to have it; the whole church ought to possess it; and on this ground I am prepared to contend that we should express to our coloured brethren our entire sympathy with them in their trials, our love for them as Christians, our desire for the success of the great objects to which they are devoted, our admiration of their conduct under all the obloquy and scorn which they have been called to endure, while with wisdom and holy perseverance they have moved on steadily in the pursuit of "whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are of good report." I believe that our coloured Christian friends from America may at all times look to the Christian people of Great Britain for that sympathy, support, and direction that they require. I trust that the God of heaven and of earth will continue to smile upon their piety, their intelligence, their zeal, and their devotedness; and that they may be instruments in his hand of annihilating slavery in America; for if it be annihilated there, it will soon be destroyed throughout the whole earth. I have much pleasure therefore in supporting the resolution.

Mr. HOWELLS.—It is pretty well known that I am an Englishman by birth—physically, I may be said to be an American, having resided there eleven years. I confess that my heart has thrilled with delight at the remarks we have heard from the last speaker. He has spoken much the feelings of my mind in all respects; but there are some things which I wish to say with regard to American abolitionists, and also with regard to the opinions entertained in England, with reference to America. Ten years ago, I took my stand in America for life or for death, in joining the cause of universal emancipation. I had been an abolitionist for years before I left my native country, and I am thankful to my Father in heaven, that my principles did not change with change of residence. When I went to America, I at first supposed that I should be free from all the toil and anxiety of a similar warfare to that in which I was formerly engaged in England. But I soon found that the case was otherwise—that, while slavery did not exist in the Northern states, the spirit of slavery existed in the whole nation; and that the man who made up his mind to advocate the cause of the poor and the degraded, must do it at the loss of all things—his reputation, his circumstances, his family connexions, and almost life itself. Such has been the result in some cases. When here, I told my brethren, and neighbours, and foes—if I had any—the honest truth, according to the deliberate convictions of my mind; I shunned not to declare the whole counsel of God, according to my feeble abilities, in regard to the sin of my nation: for I was jealous with a feeling of attachment to my native land for the cause they sustained. I do not stand here now to speak of the errors of the American nation; for they have been very amply and faithfully dilated upon; but I have to say a word to my English friends. In England, whenever the subject of slavery is brought forward, whether in private or public, there is no deficiency of zeal, no want of courage; and in advocating the cause of righteousness and the cause of the poor, no hazard is incurred. But English abolitionism and American abolitionism are not of the same cast. The American abolitionist connects with it the hazard of his life; he is made an abolitionist in the face of danger; he sits down before God and counts the cost, and he must be willing to sacrifice all things before he can

advocate the cause. But here it is fashionable; it is popular; every man approves it. But I must tell the truth—in America, we want advocates of the cause from England, men who will stand in the face of danger, and we want none else. Every man coming as a religious delegate, who does not fearlessly take his stand and cast his lot among the poor and destitute, despised for their abolitionism, is a dead weight against our cause; nay, more, he is a positive supporter of all the abominations which disgrace that otherwise fair land. I have wept in America, and I can scarcely refrain my tears now, when I look back to the history of the last ten years of the campaign in America—when I look over the roll, and see A. B., and C. D., of different denominations, sent as delegates, and admonished to sustain the cause of humanity, but who turned recreant, and fell when the enemy stood before them. This will never do. What is the effect thus produced on the mind of America? What is the effect produced on those who sustain slavery by all the energies they possess? What is the fearful sorrow to the hearts of those who, while looking to slavery in the South, have in vain looked to England to aid in its removal? If you want to find a genuine abolitionist, you must go to America. There is the same amount of moral feeling in England; but you have not and never had circumstances to bring it out. But, with regard to delegates that may yet be sent to America, I hope in the first place that they will be men of good intelligence—that we need not question; that they will be men of sterling moral courage—men who are willing to put their reputation upon the altar of liberty; that they will be willing to sacrifice everything for the cause of humanity. We do not generally find that the men most exalted in point of reputation in any part of the religious world, are the first to sacrifice all they have. On the contrary, we frequently find that those who will do this are men who have no reputation in the world, but who have a good conscience before God, and are determined at all hazards to carry out the principles of truth in sustaining the cause of humanity. It is impossible to calculate the good done by the delegation of George Thompson and Joseph Sturge (a voice, "Charles Stuart"), he is half an American, and John Scoble. I have named men whose names are of service, and such men as these we want. There is another point to which I will refer. It has struck my mind that if the churches of England had given us proof positive of the sincerity of their principles in the kind of delegates they had sent to America, how much more powerful their admonitory epistles would be! but they now come with some kind of drawback. It is best to confess our sins before we take higher ground. I think it would be well for the churches to acknowledge their faults in the delegates they have sent, because that Christianity which does not embrace the love of humanity throughout the world is worthless. The churches of England, however, would do well to address, in terms of filial affection, the churches of America, and never to cease, from year to year, from quarter to quarter, from month to month, to bring the matter before them. Do not, however, begin with censure; do not begin with reproof; do not begin by referring to all the evil you know to exist: they are quite aware of it. Let your breath be the breath of love; and let your remarks proceed from a heart overflowing with love and with a consciousness of sympathy. Consider that you have but just got out of the mire, nay, that your hands are not yet clean, that there is the stain and the bribe of blood upon them, and that England is not free. In admonishing your transatlantic brethren, then, acknowledge your own sins first. I have always begun with speaking of my own faults—that is the way to soften the heart, and to lead a man to see the error of his ways. Do not forget the crimes committed on the poor Affghans, on the Caffres, on the Chinese, because the Americans are constantly awake to all these matters; and

when you talk to them about slavery they will exhibit the picture of your own deformity, and say, "Physician, heal thyself." I beg you, therefore, to tell what serious evils you have committed, what evils your country has done, and that you deplore them as much as the crimes committed under the sanction of the American Government.

Mr. STANDFIELD.—I rise to order. I consider it irrelevant to introduce politics into this Convention; I object to anything being stated unconnected with the anti-slavery cause; you will not carry it on with success if you deteriorate it with anything not appertaining to the subject-matter.

The CHAIRMAN.—My own opinion is that it is almost impossible to deal with this question without in some degree alluding to politics; but I think that the less reference is made to them the better, provided it does not lead to suppression of anything connected with the abolition of slavery. I have no doubt that the speaker will allude to politics no further than is necessary.

Mr. HOWELLS.—"Politics" is the watchword of the pro-slavery party in America. There is no evil which it is not the right of the advocates of humanity to attack. In the United States one party perpetually cries, "You must not meddle with politics;" and another party, "You must not meddle with the church;" and between the two stools we are in danger of falling to the ground. But in the providence of God I am here, and that to tell the friends what course I think they ought to take. I anticipated telling the people of England what they ought to do. I mean to say also that the people of America are not so much worse than Englishmen. If you take the West India Islands and America, and put them together, you will see that you were the counterpart of the American people. I do not say this to spare the Americans, but I want you to feel that you are fellow-transgressors. Do not suppose that your hands are clean; by no means. Look at one single fact. What is the duty imposed upon cotton—the produce of the woes and agonies of millions of our fellow-men? I would that every fibre of that cotton had a voice to speak and tell the history of its production, the miseries and sufferings it has occasioned. Would you then dare to import it with a mere nominal tax? Would you attempt to substitute it for the food of life produced by honest industry in the middle states? When I have told friends the history of the last ten years of my life, they have felt wonder and astonishment that God suffers such a people to remain on the face of the earth. They have been looking through the wrong end of the telescope, and have seen objects that are at a great distance, in a clearer point of view than those that are near; but they have subsequently been compelled to acknowledge their own transgressions. Before I close, I wish to say one word on prejudice against colour. It has been said, that the prejudice of Englishmen would, under similar circumstances, be the same as that of Americans. I want to show the kind of prejudice that exists. I remember conversing, at the commencement of the anti-slavery cause, with a very respectable, and, as I thought, very pious Presbyterian minister. We entered closely into the subject of slavery. I took the foreground, and thought that I had only to speak to an honest man—a Christian, and especially one bearing the name of a Christian minister, and there would be a perfect response to all the feelings of my heart—that we should go heart and hand in the condemnation of slavery, and in the advocacy of universal right. But I found it otherwise; and that he was an advocate for sending off all the free coloured people from the United States. I observed to him, One difficulty must strike your mind—there are men of all grades of colour descendants of Africa. What would you do with those who have passed the line, who are fairer than mulattos? Said he, If there were one single spoonful of negro blood in them,

I would send them off. But how could you effect that? The population is too great. He replied, Rather than allow them to remain, I would send them off in chains. You find some extreme cases of this sort. But in the observations of Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. PENNINGTON, and Mr. BLANCHARD, you have had a very correct picture exhibited to your view. But while you lament over friends in America, do not forget that you are sustaining them in the way to which I have referred. You complain of churches having in their communion slave-holders, yet these very churches are in communion with your churches. Where is the difference? The principle is the same. I care not whether the man is 4,000 or 5,000 miles off, or meeting you in this Hall as a church member: the principle is the same. If you want to correct evil in America, you must commence the process and carry it on here. Are you prepared for this? (Cries of "Yes.") I wish you were; but I fear you are not. Act out your own principles, and do not condemn the Americans till you have convinced them.

Rev. T. SPENCER.—I have a desire not to let this assembly separate, and especially not to let Mr. PENNINGTON depart, who has made an appeal to us, and to me as one of the body, without delivering to him a message for his countrymen when he returns. The Convention constitutes a court; I am one of the jury before whom he has laid his case; I have heard the evidence adduced, and I now wish to give my opinion upon it. I bring in a verdict of guilty against every enslaver of mankind—against every oppressor, and the advocate of every exclusive system between man and man. He has also brought before us his own talents, his own qualifications, in order that we may judge whether he ought to be treated as a man. He has brought forward his ideas; he has exhibited his feelings; he has given us part of his history; and we are therefore able to judge whether he has a right to the style and title of man or not. My opinion is, that he has fully established his claim. I am as willing to give to him the right hand of fellowship as to any man in England; let him, therefore, when he goes back to America, tell those who are ashamed of him that, to be consistent, they must also be ashamed of us; that ministers of religion of various denominations, members of the Society of Friends, and ladies of England, have sat with him. We have been told to look at home; that we have exclusive societies here, carried on among the whites; and that there are some who are not thought fit to associate with others. I regret to see these evils, but against them we protest; we endeavour to wash our hands clean of them, and therefore we have a right to do the same with respect to foreign countries. If I were supporting any exclusive system, I should feel that I had no right to complain regarding America; but while we oppose everything of the kind here, we associate in endeavouring to banish it from the face of the earth. I regard Mr. PENNINGTON, as not only fit to ride in the same carriage with any company, and fit to sit with ministers of religion, and with myself, a minister of the church of England; but, I think that he is fit to sit with any of the bishops of that church.

Mr. FULLER moved that the resolution lie on the table.

Rev. T. SWAN seconded the motion; but, on its being put to the meeting, only two or three hands were held up in its favour; the rest of the delegates voted against it. The original motion was then submitted and carried, after which,

The Convention adjourned till Thursday, the Hall being required for other purposes.

THIRD DAY'S SITTINGS, THURSDAY, JUNE 15.

(MORNING.)

RICHARD PEEK, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of Wednesday were read and confirmed.

LETTER FROM SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, BART.

Mr. SCOBLE read the following letter from the above distinguished philanthropist:—

"26, *Queen-square, Bath, June* 13, 1843.

"My Dear Scoble,—I have to express to you my sincere regret that I am prevented, by the state of my health, from attending the General Anti-Slavery Convention. I am sure that, had I been able to be present, I should have heard much information on the subject most deeply interesting to me, viz., the true prosperity of our clients in the British West Indies. I remember that it was thought, and said too, in former times, that I entertained the most extravagant and wild delusions about the character of the negroes: but I now willingly confess, that I did not do them one half of the justice which they merited. How thankful ought we to be to our gracious Lord for the mercy which he has shown to the negroes and to ourselves!

"I am well aware that you will receive many communications relating to American slavery and the African slave trade of a dark character. I am afraid I no longer can personally unite with you in fighting against these iniquities; but my prayer to God is, that He would stand by all those who are engaged in the holy attempt to put down these iniquities.

"Believe me, ever very faithfully yours,

(Signed) "T. Fowell Buxton.

"John Scoble, Esq., &c. &c.

"P. S.—I beg you to present for me the enclosed cheque for £20."

On the motion of Mr. Standfield, seconded by Mr. Sams, the letter was directed to be entered on the Minutes.

UNITED STATES—FUGITIVES FROM THE SLAVE STATES TO CANADA.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—The subject which I have to submit this morning, is one that would well occupy the whole of the day. It is so important, and the transactions of the Committee with which I am connected so extended, that were I to enter upon it as I feel disposed to do, I should consume the whole sitting; but the judicious remarks which have been made on the necessity of brevity induce me to curtail my observations, and to lay before you only some of the more important points to which I intended to refer. The details which I have noted down are so extravagant and so incredible in some of their features, that were it not for the well ascertained facts connected with them, I should fear you would imagine that I was imposing on your credulity. I therefore beg to say, that ever since the commencement of the anti-slavery cause in America, I have been deeply and constantly engaged in this work; and notwithstanding I am an Englishman—and God forbid that I should ever be ashamed of it—I am not the less able to ascertain the truth, or the less willing to declare it. American slavery—and, indeed, slavery all over the

world—is such, that human nature will not submit to it if it is possible to escape from it; and, as the eloquent Channing says, "Has not the slave a right to fly from bondage?" Who amongst us doubts that every man would fly from bondage if he were able? It is not an uncommon thing for a whole family to escape from the oppressors of the South. They are ignorant, it is true, of the way from the slave states; but they generally hide themselves in the woods, they secrete themselves in the mountain recesses, they hide in the holes, the dens, and the caves of the earth, and support themselves by any possible means. While in that destitute condition, it is no uncommon thing for parties to be made up to hunt them from their places just as you would take a pack of hounds to hunt a wild beast in a forest. But many of them have sufficient knowledge of the free states to know where to conceal themselves in places of comparative safety. I have been very much struck with the fact, that almost all of them know the north star. I inquired of one poor slave who arrived at the office, how he could travel so far in the interior of the country without a guide. "Why," said he, "my mother taught me the north star." They have another means of knowing the North, with which you are not generally acquainted in this country. The moss grows on the North side of all the trees in a forest, and they can ascertain by this means, in the thickest forest, which is the North. This I presume they learn from the Indian hunters. The law of Congress of 1793 enacts that a fugitive escaping from one slave state to another shall be given up to his master, or his agent, upon his application before a United States' judge now, but formerly it was before a magistrate. It has sometimes been doubted by our friends whether we were not acting in opposition to the law of the land when we rescued a slave from his master, or rather protected him from being discovered, and assisted him on his way to Canada. This was one of the objections which arose in the minds of friends when we first proposed the establishment of a Committee. Our friends, the American delegates, doubted the prudence of that measure.

Captain STUART.—I never doubted it.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I am happy to acknowledge my mistake; Captain Stuart has always been our firm and stedfast friend, but many of them doubted its prudence on the ground that they imagined we were acting contrary to law. But if we were acting contrary to the laws of man, I would turn to the statutes of Heaven, and there I find it said, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose; in one of the gates where it liketh him best. Thou shalt not oppress him." With this statute before us, the laws of man are null and void. But even grant that we had not this authority, we are violating no *human* law; for the law of Congress only requires that we should not interfere with the slave-owner when his slave is in his possession, or when he has a certificate from a magistrate authorising his removal. Under these circumstances we cannot interfere, but otherwise we are perfectly at liberty to help him on his way to Canada. At this early stage of my remarks allow me to say, with reference to the case of the *Creole*, that I was deeply interested in the escape of that party; for the noble man, who arose with a number of comrades and took possession of that vessel, was a man whom I had passed out of slavery to liberty. When he returned to my office, I inquired, "Are you tired of liberty?" "No; but I am going to fetch my wife and child, and I mean to have them." My wife, who is as good an abolitionist as myself, admonished him not to go to the slave states. But he went; he found his wife and child, and you know the subsequent history. He was seized, and sold to the South with his wife and child. When on board the vessel bound to the South he rose like a man possessing the spirit of

liberty, took possession of the vessel, and conducted himself and his comrades to freedom. It is often said, that slaves are very well treated in some respects, and would not accept of liberty if it were offered them. Some of the most favoured and pampered slaves have passed through my hands—men who enjoyed all that a state of slavery could afford them in the shape of happiness. Two men, slaves from D—y, in Baltimore, who certainly were extremely well treated as slaves—if it is possible for a man to be well treated when he is held as property—for they had sufficient food and accommodation, came to the office. I made inquiries as to their former treatment. They said, "Master very good man; he give sufficient food and clothes." "Well, if that is the case, why did you run away?" "Sir, we wanted our liberty; we have served him long enough for nothing, and now we have time to serve ourselves." These young men passed on to Canada, and I am happy to say are doing extremely well. It is very gratifying to find that almost the whole of those who have passed from slavery to freedom have proved themselves worthy of liberty. They are, generally speaking, sober, industrious, valuable servants. Not only individual slaves escape, but whole families have sometimes delivered themselves from the yoke of bondage. A very interesting family escaped about two years ago. To give you some idea of their respectability I will read an advertisement:—"700 dolls. Reward. Ran away from the subscriber, living one and a half miles south of Leesburg, London county, Virginia, on the night of the 26th of October, seven slaves, a woman, and six children; the woman PATTY, rather a bright mulatto, about thirty-five years of age, rather under middle size, with her upper front teeth out, full mouth, and high cheek bones; her oldest daughter named SOPHIA, and calls herself SOPHIA PURCELL, about sixteen years old, a bright mulatto, and very likely; the next, a boy about twelve years of age, calls himself THOMAS DOUGLASS, with large front teeth, and a very sprightly mulatto; the next oldest calls himself CHARLES DOUGLASS, about ten years old, a bright mulatto, very likely, and stammers in his speech; the next oldest, named MARIA DOUGLASS, about eight years old, rather lighter coloured than the rest, full mouthed, and likely; the next oldest, named VINCENT DOUGLASS, about six years old, rather darker than the older ones; the next, named AGNES DOUGLASS, about three years old, and rather the blackest of any of them. The above slaves were carried off by a free man, who calls himself VINCENT DOUGLASS, and who is the father of most of the children, tolerably black, about forty years old, five feet eight inches high, stout made, quite intelligent and free spoken, and who has been traced to the district of Columbia, and most likely is making to the North, or may be lurking about the district seeking an opportunity, and who has some money. The above reward will be given if they shall be taken in Pennsylvania, and 500 dolls. if they are all taken in Maryland or the district, and 400 dolls. if taken in Virginia, and secured so that I get them, or in proportion for any, or 100 dolls. for VINCENT DOUGLASS, if he can be convicted of theft; and it is quite probable that the woman has forged free papers. They are travelling in a hack or carryall, as much concealed as possible." The owner was JOSEPH MEAD, the son of a member of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania. I have also the appraiser's estimation of the value of the family—PATTY, thirty-six years, AGNES, three years, 500 dolls.; SOPHIA, sixteen years, 700 dolls.; THOMAS, twelve years, 600 dolls.; CHARLES, ten years, 500 dolls.; MARIA, eight years, 250 dolls.; VINCENT, six years, 225 dolls.; making a total of 2,775 dolls.

Mr. SAMS.—What is the date of that advertisement?

Mr. JOHNSTON.—The 26th October, 1839. This DOUGLASS had purchased his own freedom; he had offered 2,000 dolls. for the freedom of his family, but the master was determined to have 2,775 dolls., and being unable to raise this amount, he thought it most advisable to keep the money in his pocket,

and take his family also. I think this was the most prudent step. He passed through my hands to Canada, and a good account can be given of him and those connected with him.

Mr. FULLER.—I saw the children baptized when I was at Toronto.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—It is astonishing to see how slaves will escape on foot from the furthest South to the North. I will read from a pamphlet an account of a slave who fled from New Orleans. The instance I am about to lay before you is by no means a singular or extravagant one, but a sort of medium case among hundreds of a similar nature. When you bear in mind that 1,665 slaves have passed through my hands in five years and a half, up to last year, you must be perfectly aware that I cannot recollect the whole of these interesting cases; but I have selected the following:—

"H. B. escaped from Covington, Louisiana, where he was held as a slave by JOHN TERRY. From the account he gave of the treatment the slaves received from this man, and Jones, his overseer, it appears he was a monster of cruelty, and must have been devoid of the common feelings of humanity, in fact a disgrace to the name of man. H. B. and his brother resolved to escape to the free states, of which they had heard some account from some persons they met with in New Orleans. After getting a little food for their journey, they chose a time for travelling when it was not probable they would be intercepted: a heavy storm of thunder and lightning came on about the time the slaves went to their quarters, and then they set out, with very little knowledge of the road, toward the North-east: after travelling many nights, subsisting on roots or wild fruits, and suffering incredible hardships, they arrived in Florida, and fell in with a party of United States troops; they were totally ignorant of the war then carrying on with the Indians, and imagined themselves safe with the soldiers. Being now far from the residence of their master, they felt comparatively secure, and proposed to join the army, so ignorant were they of the general system of oppression enacted by law against the coloured man: but the gallant officers had received the New Orleans Picayune, in which paper four hundred dollars were offered for the apprehension of these two men; and with a base cruelty, for which no language is too severe, they induced the men to stay till they could send on to Covington, and inform their master that they had performed the honourable office, worthy the high station they held in the service of their country, of seizing two poor helpless slaves: but if blood-hounds were called in to aid them in destroying the Indians, why should they not reciprocate the kindness, and aid the blood-hound in his equally important operations of catching slaves? Having thus entrapped them, they waited the arrival of the agent of TERRY, to receive the reward of their meritorious service. At length Jones, the overseer, arrived, when the officers sent for these men, and to their astonishment he was introduced to identify them. 'Well, boys,' said he, 'I expect you have finished your visit now, and are ready to go home,' at the same time snapping handcuffs on them, and making them secure. To those who know the cruelty practised on the slave by such masters, especially for the crime of running away, the condition of these men will appear miserable indeed; but few can realize their appalling situation as they could themselves, having witnessed the torments inflicted on others for the same offence. On some doubt being expressed as to the truth of some of the statements, when relating these facts, the poor fellow exhibited his mutilated limbs and scarred body, which dissipated all doubts respecting the cruelty he had endured, in addition to the usual cruel flogging so common in these cases. It appears TERRY had tobacco hogsheads, filled with wrought nails driven in from the outside, so that they projected inside the hogshead; the wretched slave was then placed in, and the head

fastened on; in this place of torment they were rolled round the slave quarters, to strike terror into the slaves: on every turn, the nails were driven into the flesh, till they were literally bleeding at every pore. When taken out they were rubbed down with brine and pepper, and then washed with rum. Other cruelties were added, but the mind sickens at the detail, and we forbear. They were watched, and for a long time had no chance of escape; still the love of liberty kept them equally vigilant; and finding at length another opportunity, they once more made the daring attempt, which proved successful in securing the liberty of one, but removed the other by death, beyond the power of the oppressor.

"They now travelled more directly northward, through Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. In this journey they suffered extremely, especially from hunger, when crossing the prairies, exposed to alligators, wolves, and other dangerous animals, sleeping in swamps, and to use his own expression, so hungry they could have eat their own arms. When they arrived in Pennsylvania, they were kindly relieved by some of the Society of Friends, but too late to save one of them from the fatal effects of fatigue, exposure, and want; a violent inflammation ensued, which in a few days terminated his sufferings, and removed him (according to his brother's testimony of his piety) to a world of joy and peace. Having lost his only earthly friend, the surviving brother, now a solitary fugitive, pursued his journey till he arrived in Philadelphia: here, the friends of the oppressed, the Vigilance Committee, took him under their protection, and forwarded him to the care of this committee, by which he was immediately sent to Canada, where we trust he will spend the rest of his days in peace." This was in 1842: he must have travelled nearly 3,000 miles.

We have the pleasure sometimes of introducing slaves to their friends and relatives, whom they have long lost. I will mention a case, known to my worthy friend on my left, (Mr. J. C. Fuller.) An old woman came to my office who had fled from Georgia. After inquiring the particulars of her journey, I asked if she had left any friends behind her. She said that she had one son, James Currie, but he had run away about two years before, and she knew not what had become of him. I thought I recollected the name, and on turning to the list of fugitives, found that I had sent him to Toronto. I told her I could send her to her son. "Oh, pray send me to him if you can." I sent the old lady, and I am happy to know that she found her son, and is now living in comparative comfort. Slaves, in attempting to escape, frequently have not merely to encounter great hardships on the road, but absolutely to fight their way. A man ran away from Virginia; arrived at New Jersey, and imagined he was safe. He hired himself to a farmer, and continued there two or three months, but his master learned where he was, and sent officers to arrest him. Being in a solitary house, they came in the night. An old man looked out, and asked who they wanted. They said, "A coloured man." He suspected that they meant to take the man back to slavery, made the door fast, and defended himself with whatever weapons he could find in the kitchen. But they obtained admission, the slave came down stairs, and they endeavoured to seize him. Instead, however, of putting the handcuffs on his wrists they placed them on his hands, and he fought so desperately that he cleared the house. They then shut him in, and kept him a few hours, but he ultimately escaped through a window. This man was sent to me, and I forwarded him to Montreal. A coloured man there is rather a rarity, and they were fearful of employing him; but a Scotch farmer engaged him, and found him such a valuable servant, that he was unwilling to part with him. The man, however, determined to return and fetch his wife and child. On coming

to my house, I asked him whether he was tired of liberty. "No," he replied, "I have a good master and a good house, but I am determined to go for my wife and child." He was gone six or eight weeks, and I despaired of seeing him again; but one morning he entered my office with his wife and child—the reward of his labour and his love: he is now in Canada enjoying their company. This is but a single instance, out of many I could name, who have, after the enjoyment of liberty, ventured back to the slave states and obtained possession of their families. It is truly distressing to observe the degrading influence of slavery upon the minds, not merely of the coloured people, but on the whites, and even those who occupy the most exalted stations in society. I will detail circumstances of a very painful nature respecting a family; and I mention the case, because it is connected with some who hold a very important station in society. With respect to slaves escaping from those who hold such stations, I would say, that the Vice-President of the United States lost two sons —slaves, who passed through my hands, one of whom I sent on a whaling voyage, and the other to Canada. The man to whom I am about to refer had bought his own liberty. He had paid 500 dollars for himself. He had fourteen children, thirteen of whom had been sold away from him; and, "Oh," he said, in relating these circumstances, "every one taken from me, was like taking away a piece of my heart." His wife and one child remained: he purchased them; but, after paying the amount, the man who held them as slaves did not give him a bill of sale, and could therefore, from the want of official documents, at any time reclaim them; but they were living with the husband and father. The master, although he had received the value of the slaves, actually sold them to a trader, because he knew perfectly well that the poor man was not in possession of any receipt to prove that he had bought his family. A friend told him that his wife and child were sold, and that in order to secure them he had better remove from the neighbourhood; but his wife and child were taken away, he knew not where, before he could effect it. He then applied to a member of Congress to take two houses and lots, as a security for the amount, and purchase his wife and child wherever they might be found. The man took the houses and lots, but gave no receipt or document by which the sale could be proven. The husband pursued his wife and child, and found they were in Alexandria jail, but could not obtain admission. He then went to Washington,—to the Hall of Congress, and begged that something might be done to put him in possession of this part of his family. The member, who knew him, told him that he would endeavour to get them. He then made an arrangement to take the man's property, in order that he might again purchase his wife and child. Having done so, the father believed that he was then in possession of his family; but no, this man claimed them as his slaves, and was about to dispose of them to a trader in the neighbourhood. At length, finding that there were no other means of securing them, but running away, and leaving houses and lots behind, he did so. He travelled from Virginia to New York, and arrived at my office in a most destitute and pitiable condition. Thus the man was deprived of thirteen children, his houses, two lots of land, and all his property, by the nefarious conduct of those who held high offices in the United States; but I am happy to say that he arrived safely in the vicinity of Canada, and I hope he is now doing well. This instance, with many others, which I could cite, prove two things: first, the intolerable nature of slavery, that human nature, even in its most degraded condition, cannot endure it; and secondly, the deteriorating and degrading influence of slavery, even upon the white population. It is pleasing to observe the perseverance and fortitude, frequently manifested by the poor slaves in escaping from bondage. A man named Johnson, escaped from New Orleans. He was a specimen of true nobility—

a gentleman in every sense of the expression; a man of considerable learning, and spoke three languages that I was able to ascertain he understood correctly, and the Spanish also, which I did not understand. He was a barber, and was employed by his master on board a steam-boat. His master held him in such esteem, that he offered him his liberty for a thousand dollars. The man raised 975 dollars, lacking 25 of the thousand. While on the next trip his master died, and his mistress absolutely sold him for 1,200 dollars to a trader, although 975 dollars had been received towards his freedom. A lady in the house, who had some respect for him, apprised him on his return that his mistress had sold him, and that he must escape if he could. At that time a vessel was lying in the port, bound for New York; he was acquainted with the steward, told him the circumstances, and the steward agreed to secrete him, and carry him, if possible, to New York. He hid him in a place just large enough to contain him. Before the vessel sailed, officers came on board, with an agent of the mistress, and told the captain that they knew this man was secreted in the vessel. The captain said he knew nothing of it, but they were welcome to search the vessel. They searched every part, from the hold to the deck, except that in which he was confined, and he escaped their detection. The vessel sailed, and when she arrived at the Quarantine, the captain and part of the crew went on shore. JOHNSON and the steward were looking over the bulwarks on the following morning, and observed a boat pulling near the vessel, in which JOHNSON descried the agent of his mistress. He was immediately shut again in the same place. The boat came along side, and the parties said, "We know perfectly well that that man is on board the vessel, and we must have him." "Well," said the steward, "you are at liberty to search the ship." They again searched every part they could imagine, but forgot this. As soon as the boat left, it was thought advisable to put the man on shore; he was brought to New York, and placed under my care. The agent wandered about the city for three or four days, and I was obliged to keep the man a close prisoner; but ultimately I had an opportunity of placing him in a boat on the North river. He arrived at Troy, where he was taken under the care of a party of coloured men, among whom was HENRY GARNETT. I am happy to say that while he remained there he was, I hope, impressed with the pure principles of the Gospel, and he went on his way a Christian free in Christ as well as free from man. A similar instance occurred with respect to a young man nearly as white as any gentleman present. He resided in Mobile, and his master gave him a wife. It is a very common thing for a favourite slave to have a wife given him as a favour. His master told him that they should never be separated; he was sincerely attached to her, and hoped that that would be the case. He was a carpenter, and business not being very good, his master sent him to New Orleans, where he was employed some time. At length he entered the service of an excellent member of the Society of Friends, to whose name we shall have occasion to refer, and he employed him in fitting up his counting-house. While removing some of the pigeon holes he found a number of free papers. This worthy Friend, by whom he was employed, had been teaching a young white lad to read. You are aware that there is a severe penalty for instructing a slave to read, but he allowed this slave to look over the shoulder of the white boy. He was not instructing the slave, but the white boy; nevertheless the former learned to read as fast as the latter. On looking over these free papers he found one describing himself as nearly as it was possible for two men to be. They were not only alike in person, but age, colour, a scar across the forehead, and even in their trade. The paper belonged to a free coloured man in Pennsylvania, and was certified by the governor and three magistrates. With such a document he thought he should be able to travel all over the States.

He placed the document in his pocket, and having 70 or 80 dollars, was able to secure a passage from New Orleans to Baltimore. He passed from the port to the rail-road, and when he arrived at New York, imagining himself perfectly safe and free, he endeavoured to obtain employment. But such is the state of things in that city that no coloured man can procure work as a carpenter. He was directed to a village at a little distance, and there the same fate awaited him, but a coloured man told him that he had better go to ISAAC T. HOPPER, who would tell him what to do. Mr. HOPPER and myself are like brothers in this cause, and he sent him to me. I found that this slave was a man of intelligence, and I advised him by no means to remain in the States. He had brought with him a tool chest worth about 300 dollars. I assured him that with such abilities and means he might do well in Canada. When passing through the village of Poughkeepsie, an esteemed minister gave him accommodation; and he told me that he had never met with a more intelligent and worthy man than that poor slave. He reached Canada, and if I am not much mistaken, is doing extremely well; but his wife and children are lost to him for ever. With one more instance I will close. About two years ago, a man came from the vicinity of the Natural Bridge in Virginia. I asked him if he had left any relations behind him. "Sir," said he, "I had a brother who ran away, with me, eighteen months ago, but know not what has become of him." He detailed these circumstances—His brother and himself endeavoured to escape, and in so doing had to cross St. James's river. They were shot at; he took refuge on a rock, and was brought back by blood-hounds, but his brother swam across the river, and he had never heard of him since. I knew where his brother was: for he had arrived at New York, and I had sent him on to Canada. He added, "When I was taken back I was severely flogged, but I determined not to remain a slave. Six months afterwards I ran away again, but instead of travelling North I went South, and journeyed for six weeks in the Dismal Swamp." During that miserable journey he wandered about nearly starved, and that amongst snakes and venomous creatures so numerous that he was almost afraid to put his foot to the ground. I mention this to introduce a singular circumstance. While there, he met a coloured man almost in a state of wildness, and unable to speak until he had made considerable effort to make him understand. He then learned that this was one of NATHANIEL TURNER'S men who, nine or ten years since, raised an insurrection in Virginia, and escaped to that Dismal Swamp. There he had remained about ten years, in the most abject condition, feeding on roots or anything he could meet with. This man, finding himself in this track, retraced his steps and came North. On his way he met an officer who endeavoured to seize him, but he being the strongest man, and having a right to defend himself, proved too much for the officer, and ultimately escaped. He then travelled for six weeks, and arrived at Pennsylvania; the Vigilance Committee sent him to us, and he also is now in Canada. I hold the report of the New York Vigilance Committee in my hand, which contains a number of similar cases.

Rev. JAMES ANGEL JAMES.—How far do the authorities of the state of New York interrupt the escape of the people? Or do they sympathise with your object?

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I am happy to say that the authorities now are by no means hostile to the operations of the institution. Formerly we had considerable difficulty in obtaining justice in the courts—in fact, to appear as a defender of a coloured man, was to suffer obloquy and disgrace, but now it is far otherwise; most of our judges, and the excellent Mayor, will give the coloured man fair and equal justice; and so far as the general sympathies of the people are concerned, they are with us. This is a subject that lays hold of the hearts of

men more completely than almost any other: there is not an abolitionist who does not approve of it.

Mr. WYATT.—In some of the definitions of slavery published by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, it is stated that no slave is competent to possess property, but from the statements made yesterday and this morning, it seems that some slaves do possess property. How does this definition comport with the fact?

Mr. JOHNSTON.—It is by permission of the masters. It is manifest from the slave laws that no slave can possess property. The slave is the property of the master—his time, and all he possesses; and I presume it is upon that ground that the slave-owner will frequently impose upon the poor slave, by taking the money that he earns, as payment for his liberty, and then ultimately depriving him of it. They know perfectly well that all the earnings of the slave belong by law to themselves.

Mr. H. HOLLAND.—Can you form a notion as to the proportion who fail in attempting to escape?

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I apprehend that there are at least 5,000 slaves who endeavour to escape every year, by far the largest portion of whom are taken back by their oppressors. A number escape by way of New York, others by Illinois and Indiana, and other tracts, to Canada. I presume that not above one-third effect their escape.

Rev. H. TAYLOR.—Will Mr. JOHNSTON name the vice-president whose children escaped?

Mr. JOHNSTON.—Col. JOHNSON. I beg to say in justice to him that when he found his sons had escaped, he offered to give them their freedom if we would deliver them up to him: but upon certain conditions being proposed by Mr. TAPPAN, he declined acceding to them.

Mr. J. STURGE.—I have had a letter placed in my hands which shows that though our friends at New York assist such multitudes of slaves in escaping from bondage, yet that is not the only channel through which they reach Canada. It is from HAMILTON HILL, of the Oberlin Institute, Ohio, dated 18th May, 1843, and addressed to HIRAM WILSON. The following is the concluding paragraph. "We have been very full of fugitives lately, and there is a pretty sharp hue and cry for some not a hundred miles from Tappan Hall now. Two days since I called upon an acquaintance, and found a black man with a *white* woman, the *latter* a slave, but the man free, and three children. The woman is as white as my wife or yours. A warrant has been issued by the governor of Kentucky for this man for stealing his wife, and it is supposed that the governor of this state has done the same. I trust, however, that, long ere you receive this, they, with six or eight others, will be over the lake, though the friends are rather puzzled how to effect it in this case." It should be known that many slaves in the South are quite as fair as English persons. Where I have an opportunity of rising up in public and stating that those who occupy high places are carrying on atrocities connected with slavery or the slave-trade, I do not like to miss it. One of the jails mentioned by our friend, WILLIAM JOHNSTON—Alexandria, is in the district of Columbia, within six miles of the Hall of Representatives of the United States. (Cries of "Shame.") I visited that jail, and saw in it a woman and nine children, who had been separated from the husband and father, and sold for 2,250 dollars. They were, I believe, very shortly afterwards to be shipped for New Orleans, where, in all probability, they would be separated again. I was also in another jail so near to the House of Representatives, that from the time I was talking to HENRY CLAY, in the Senate, till I arrived there was not more than half an hour, and

within its walls I could have bought the human beings, if I chose, for a few hundred dollars each.

Rev. T. SWAN.—I do not wish to verify the statements of Mr. JOHNSTON —that is unnecessary; but a few words received from a brother-in-law of mine, may tend to facilitate Mr. JOHNSTON's progress through this country. A more noble object than he has at heart cannot engage our energies, and I trust that our wealthy friends will assist him in his design.

"Mr. W. JOHNSTON, the bearer of this, sails to-morrow for London, as a delegate to the Anti-Slavery Convention, to be held there next month; he is a tried and steady friend of the cause of the oppressed; I became acquainted with him shortly after my arrival in this country, and from that time till the present he has toiled through good and through evil report to hasten the day when 'liberty shall be proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof.'

"As Mr. JOHNSTON visits his father-land not merely as a Delegate to the Anti-Slavery Convention, but also, and chiefly, as the representative of the 'New York Vigilance Committee,' it is his intention to visit some of the provincial towns, (Birmingham, of course, will be one of them,) to state, where he may have opportunity, the objects, condition, and prospects of that society; the design of the society is to aid the poor fugitive slave in his flight from this land of *republican freedom*, to the land where

> 'Every flap of England's flag
> Proclaims that all around are free.'

With very limited means it has accomplished a great deal, but Brother JOHNSTON will tell you all about it. Of all the diligent labourers in the American anti-slavery field, I consider that he has laboured more abundantly than they all; at least of this I am sure, that he volunteered to occupy a post which has required more self-denial than any other in the field. I hope that the statements which he will make to English abolitionists will induce them, notwithstanding the 'hard times,' to strengthen his hands for the further prosecution of the good work."

There was a sentiment thrown out by the worthy baronet yesterday (Sir G. STRICKLAND) with which I did not agree, and had there been time to have spoken I should have thought it my duty to express wherein I dissented from it. The sentiment was that the blame of American slavery did not rest upon ministers and churches, but upon slavery itself. That appeared to me to devolve the responsibility on a nonentity, an abstraction, an unsubstantial something in the air; and surprised I was that the sentiment should meet with a response. I contend that it rests upon those engaged in holding, and in buying and selling slaves, and on all its abettors, whether in church or state. I am sorry to find not only that Baptist churches, but others, are so deeply involved in this crime. It is necessary that we should reiterate first principles. Although slave-holders in high places reject with contempt and scorn the addresses sent them, I would address them again; the very rejection shows the effect produced: let them be visited with "line upon line."

Dr. BOWRING, M.P.—It is matter of grief and disappointment to me that I have not been able to appear among you until this morning. The pressure of public duties has prevented me showing, by my presence, the great interest I feel in this all important cause. I think our friends who have come from the transatlantic world will have discovered that on this topic the public mind of England is sound, strong, and healthful; that our convictions and sympathies, as well as our duties, and at last even our legislation, are engaged on the side of the slave. There is something exhilarating, encouraging, and ennobling, in

meetings like this, gathered together to help the weak, to raise the lowly, to emancipate the prisoner, to strike off the manacles from the slave. No more majestic, no more religious purpose than this could you be engaged in. It has sometimes been my privilege to be able to contrast the state of opinion in this country with what I may call the darkness—I hope it is now becoming, at least, the twilight—which pervades a great portion of the United States. Some time ago, in the presence of many Americans, I chanced accidentally to mention that I had had a black man at my table the day before, and I was astonished at the exclamations of surprise and incredulity which fell from the lips even of American women. At least, we have learned, and I hope are now teaching, this lesson—that men are the children of a common Father, whatever be their colour; that they are entitled to equal rights and equal privileges; that however mean their origin, their destinies are as exalted as ours; and that when we go into the regions of infinite wisdom and infinite benevolence, we may be assured that the eye of a common Parent looks with equal tenderness upon all. I sometimes compare the state of opinion in this country, and the state of opinion and action which I have seen in other lands. A friend is near me who, with me, in the East, has seen blacks raised to stations of superior eminence, and even exercising authority over whites; and I am bound to say that I have witnessed in the country of the blacks instances of virtue, instances of energy of intellect, by which any white man might have been proud to be distinguished. Allow the mind of a black man its full development, and many is the controversy in which he will show his equality; and some, perhaps, in which his superiority will be displayed. Some of you have probably heard of a valuable collection of books gathered together by that most benevolent man, Gregoire, the bishop of Blois. He had a library of some hundreds of volumes, every one of which was written by black men or women, and when opprobrium was thrown on the coloured races he pointed proudly to such evidence of their intellectual aptitude. What may they not become when they share with hundreds and millions your efforts and your labours for the communication of knowledge, with all its fruits of light, and joy, and truth! Talk about the degradation of the black race—you may as well talk of the degradation of the worm upon which you tread, and of the serpent whose head you bruise. Give them their fair chance; do for their education, their ennoblement, what you are endeavouring, most imperfectly I own, to do for your own white children, and then let the test be applied, and then let them be judged. You have excommunicated them; you have poured out upon them your scorn and contempt, and do you expect that upon the thorns and brambles of neglect and injustice there will grow the fair fruits of knowledge and cultivation? Our ancestors were barbarians once—trained by education we are what we are. What we have done for ourselves, let us do for the African races. True it is, that they have had eloquent and efficient advocates. Many of them are now passing away, but some fragments of them are left amongst us to show of what noble elements human nature may be composed, and how great it may become when it is under the influence of great principles, and striving for a great result. Our American friends feel with us, honestly and reasonably proud of our common language and literature. They say that they rejoice in speaking the tongue which Milton spoke, and in thinking in the idiom in which Shakspeare thought. But there may be objects of even a nobler kind. Let us seek to be equally distinguished for a high-minded benevolence—let us place national character and national reputation on the highest grounds of moral and intellectual distinction. In one respect at least, the English have been practical philanthropists. The English people may teach their transatlantic brethren their hatred of slavery; let them see what a noble, what a generous sacrifice they made, how little they counted their wealth, of how little importance they

judged the surrender of twenty millions of money to those who attached a pecuniary value to their fellow men, when by that deed they removed the foul opprobrium that had so long dishonoured their country. Do not let our American friends believe that they can stand well in the estimation of their best allies in England, till they also manfully come forward to do the same great work. Do not let them say that we do not understand their peculiar position. That is no answer. We see the plague spot on their national reputation; we see the disease that is corroding their vitals, and they must go to the Physician that will effect their cure. I feel that I have intruded; but I again assure you that my convictions that the cause must triumph, are not only strengthened by all I have seen, but by all the information that I have been able to collect. Truth is great; benevolence is greater; religion is greatest of all; and truth, and benevolence, and religion are your allies.

AMERICA—INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY UPON RELIGION AND EDUCATION IN THE SLAVE STATES.

Rev. AMOS A. PHELPS.—There are three topics on which I am to address the meeting. They have been grouped together for the purpose of saving time, it being supposed that it would be impossible to go into the details in respect of each of them. The first is, the influence of slavery upon religion and education in the slave states, in respect of the slave and also the free population. It is clearly understood, I suppose, in this country as well as in my own, that so far as the slave population are concerned, taking them as a whole, though there are exceptions, they are, to use the language of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia in 1834, "a heathen population, and will bear comparison with any heathen in the world." I quote verbatim. It is not, however, my desire to go into details touching that portion of the population, but rather to call your attention to the influence of slavery on education and religion among the free population. Any person at all familiar with the nature of slavery as an institution, will see at once that in its very nature it offers obstructions to the prevalence of religion and education among the white population that are altogether peculiar, and in many respects insurmountable. In 1833, the Rev. Absalom Peters, the Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, passed through the slave states with reference to Home Missionary operations. He published the results of his observations in the *New York Observer*, which were substantially to this effect, that in consequence of slavery's throwing the territory into large landed estates, cultivated principally by slaves, and not throwing the white population together in villages as in the free states, the slave states are, to a great extent, destitute of those points in which, in the free states, Home Missionary operations can be commenced and carried successfully on. From this structure of society alone, if there were nothing else to induce it, we have, for instance, this result—that of 987 missionaries sustained in part by the Home Missionary Society, in 1842, in the free and slave states taken together, only twenty-one were in the slave states—that portion of the country that needed such operations most. The same structure of society prevents the introduction of anything like a general system of common school education. You cannot find a sufficient number of white children living near enough together to make a school, and hence, although repeated efforts have been made in the slave states to introduce some general system of education like that which prevails in the free states, every attempt of this kind has been a failure in the slave states. In addition to this, the obstacles to the prevalence of education and religion are aggravated very much by the constant emigration of the best ministers and the best portion of the white population from the slave states. I have here a number of statements which are authoritative, quoted from Southern papers,

showing that there is a constant tide of emigration going on from the older slave into the free states; that the tide of emigration consists first, of individuals whose fortunes are broken down; but secondly, and chiefly, of persons whose consciences to a greater or less extent are ill at ease with the state of things in the slave states, and who find that they cannot remain there without doing violence to their conscientious convictions; and who even, though they might consent to remain there, so far as their own convictions are concerned, yet having an eye to the circumstances of their families, are unwilling to bring up their children where they were brought up, and under the influences of slavery. I trust these facts will be submitted to a Committee that will be able to examine them.

A still greater obstacle to the prevalence of genuine religion and thorough education is found in the character and employment of those who remain, particularly the ministers of religion. I have extracts from a Virginia paper, in 1836, which gives an account of the character and occupations of clergymen in a given section, in Virginia. It is a most extraordinary statement, but I will not detain you by reading it. You may form some judgment of the state of the ministry by one or two general statements: for example, the Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, Connecticut, about the time of the division of the Presbyterian church in the states, on examining the minutes of the General Assembly, found, in certain Presbyteries in the slave states, 312 ministers and 422 churches. Of these 312 ministers only 77 are pastors, while in the free states the ministers generally are pastors. The other individuals that are not pastors are employed, as the extract from the Virginia paper would show, some in "farming," *i. e.*, as slave-holders, some in teaching schools, and some in other avocations, from which they derive their support, in whole or in part. I have also before me the returns of the old school Presbyterian Assembly, in 1842, in which there is a similar disproportion in respect to the number of persons settled as pastors, the proportion being 68 per cent. in the free, and only 46 per cent. in the slave states, showing that much the largest portion of the ministry in the slave states are engaged in other occupations, either as "farmers," *i. e.* planters, or as school-teachers, or in some other way, not giving themselves exclusively and wholly to the duties of their profession.

In respect to education I have estimates, which, with the aid of a friend, I have taken the pains to make, from an examination of the census of 1840. They will give you the per cent. of the white adult population in the free and in the slave states that are unable to read or write, and from this you can at once form some idea of the condition of the white population of the slave states in respect to education. The estimates are as follows:—

Free States.		Slave States.	
Maine	1.38	Delaware	17.49
New Hampshire	.63	Maryland	7.65
Massachusetts	1.10	Virginia	17.80
Rhode Island	2.84	North Carolina	27.00
Connecticut	.32	South Carolina	18.46
Vermont	1.56	Georgia	19.08
New York	3.85	Alabama	17.26
New Jersey	3.83	Mississippi	11.32
Pennsylvania	4.43	Louisiana	6.16
Ohio	5.54	Tennessee	23.51
Indiana	14.21	Kentucky	16.47
Illinois	13.86	Missouri	14 78
Michigan	2.21	Arkansas	24.79
Wisconsin	10.00	Florida	9.42
Iowa	5.75	District of Columbia	6.88

Total of white population over twenty in the free states - -	4,477,975
Total of whites in the free states over twenty who cannot read and write	203,806, or 4.55 per cent.
Total of white population over twenty in the slave states - -	1,962,079
Total ditto in the slave states who cannot read and write - -	346,099, or 17.64 per cent.
Total of whites over twenty in all the states - - -	6,440,034
Total ditto, who cannot read and write - - - -	549,905, or 8.54 per cent.

From which it appears, that in the whole United States, only 8.54 per cent. of the white adult population are unable to read and write; that in the free states only 4.55 per cent. are so; while in the slave states the per cent. is 17.64, being more than twice as great a proportion in the slave states, as in all the states together, and more than four times as great as in the free states. Illinois and Indiana, of the free states, contain the largest portion of white inhabitants unable to read; and the largest portion of emigration into those states consists of persons who came originally from slave states, so that if you were to go into the matter in detail, you would find the average proportion to be still more in favour of the free states.

I pass now to the literary institutions. In entering on the progress of the anti-slavery cause in literary institutions, it may be well to call your attention to the state of sentiment in these institutions at the commencement of the recent anti-slavery movements. You will remember, that one of the first demonstrations of resistance to the anti-slavery movement, occurred at Lane Seminary, in consequence of which, believing that the right of free speech and action was virtually taken from them, a number of students, with Mr. Weld at their head, left that institution, and subsequently, from one step to another, gave Oberlin its present form. When Lane Seminary was established, it received extensively the sympathy and support of the Eastern States. Dr. Beecher, who at that time, more extensively than any other man, perhaps, enjoyed the confidence of persons of his religious denomination, in the free states, was called to preside over it. Application had been made in the free states for funds, and altogether it was considered as an effort on the part of the free Eastern States, to aid the friends of religion in the Western States, in planting a seminary that should be the great institution for the West. When the event to which I have referred took place in the Lane Seminary, it was felt important by those who had the control of similar institutions in the Eastern States, to lend their sympathy and support to the government in the Lane Seminary. Whether there was any consultation, particularly, in reference to the matter, I will not undertake to say; but, in point of fact, immediately upon that event, an anti-slavery society that had been formed at Amherst College, by direction of the faculty and government, was disbanded. In the institution at Andover, although the anti-slavery society existing there was not disbanded by authority, yet it was disbanded through the influence and advice of those *in* authority. I may state in respect to Andover, that there were two societies, or rather committees, the colonization and the anti-slavery. In order to adjust the matter amicably, the students were advised to disband both committees; and, concurring with the advice, both were disbanded. I advert to these facts, to call attention to the sentiment and position of the literary institutions, at the outset of the anti-slavery movement. I now propose to show the progress of sentiment in these institutions; and I have docu-

ments before me, which cannot now be read, that will verify every statement I shall make. Beginning with Maine; it has four institutions of a collegiate character; one of these is Bowdoin college, at Brunswick; and on the testimony of Professor SMYTH—who has been a devoted abolitionist from the beginning of the enterprise, and who took me by the hand, and stood by my side, as he did also GEORGE THOMPSON, when he visited Maine, to form the first anti-slavery society there—that institution is perfectly open to free people of colour, on the same terms as others; and he gives it as his opinion, that persons of colour going there would receive the same treatment from the students generally, as those of a white complexion. The next is Bangor theological institution. I have a letter from Professor SHEPARD, who is also an abolitionist of the same stamp as Professor SMYTH, and who espoused the cause about the same time, stating that the institution is open to coloured persons. They have never had an application from a person of colour for admission; but if they were, he is sure that it would be granted. In 1834, I was myself at Waterville college, a Baptist institution. I lectured there on the subject of slavery, and Mr. NEWTON, then professor, took me by the hand; and also to his house. I have no doubt, that at that time, a person of colour would have been admitted on the same terms as others. How it is now, I cannot say, but I have no reason to suppose it is otherwise. Besides these, there is a Methodist institution at Readfield. In 1835, I delivered there a series of lectures; and subsequently to that, the Rev. Mr. THURSTON, the father of the cause in Maine, has done the same. That is open to free persons of colour, on the same terms as others: making the whole of the institutions in that state.

We pass next to New Hampshire. The American Almanack gives two institutions there, but there are really more than that number. One is Dartmouth college, at Hanover, that is open, and they have had coloured persons there. Another is Gilmanton theological institution; and I have a letter from its president, with liberty to give it to the public, saying, that they never have had an application to receive a person of colour, but if such application were made, he would be received. As to the privilege of discussing the subject of slavery, and taking such action as they please, the students have that in their own discretion. There is also a Baptist institution at New Hampton, which is both academical and theological. That is open to free persons of colour, and the government is in the hands of persons who are thorough-going abolitionists.

Vermont has three collegiate institutions, and one seminary of the higher class. The fact, that the university at Burlington is open to persons of colour, was stated in the Convention of 1840, when one of the Professors was present. Besides this, there are the Middlebury college and the Norwich university, and also the Newbury seminary—a Methodist institution, in which there is freedom of discussion and action; but I cannot speak of the reception of persons of colour.

With regard to Massachusetts. I have a letter from Williams' college, in which it is said, that they have had persons of every complexion, and are ready to receive more. There is next Harvard university, at Cambridge, where there is entire freedom of discussion and action, but where I do not suppose coloured persons would be received on equal terms with others. In Amherst, the restrictions to which I have referred are rescinded; the students are now allowed to speak, and think, and act on the subject of slavery, as they may judge best. A short time since, the institution was embarrassed, and they selected an individual to act as agent in the collection of funds. In conversation with Dr. OSGOOD, of Springfield, he—being an abolitionist—proposed to aid it, provided it could be thrown open to free persons of colour.

The agent was not prepared to give a pledge that it should be so; but a few months subsequently, they did receive a free person of colour as one of their students, and received him upon the same terms as others. He remained there a short time, and then for some cause, I know not what, left the institution. I do not set it down as an institution that receives them upon the same terms as others; but freedom of discussion is tolerated. There are also in Massachusetts, an academy at Bridgewater; and a Normal school, connected with the general system of education, prevailing in the state, at Lexington, the superintendent of which is the Rev. Samuel May, who is extensively known as one of the earliest and most devoted abolitionists, sympathising in his religious opinions with Dr. Channing, and treading in his footsteps, or outstripping him in devotion to the anti-slavery cause. Within the year he has been called to take the chair of that institution, the object of which is, to train teachers for the public schools of the state, and which are under the patronage, so far as they can have it, of the state; he consented to take the chair of the school on this condition, and this alone, that coloured young men might be received on the same terms as others. With respect to the institution at Andover, I may say that the hindrances given at the early stage of the anti-slavery cause, are not given now, and that the students, instead of being restricted in the way of advice even, are left in the exercise of their own good sense, to discuss the subject of slavery, and act upon it as they please. In confirmation of this I may state, that within a year or two, a slave-holder educated there—the Rev. C. C. Jones, of Georgia, for some time employed as a missionary among the slaves, a part of which he owned, came to Andover. When there as a student he had been respected, and was now invited to preach; he did so; and the anti-slavery students held a meeting; passed resolutions remonstrating against it; sent them to the faculty, to Mr. Jones, and to the public press: and I do not know that attempts were made to discipline or censure them for these proceedings. I have, further, a letter from Dr. Edwards, the late president, who is now devoting himself to the Sabbath cause in the United States, in which he remarks that he knows of no obstacle to the introduction of coloured youth to the seminary or the other schools, under the same board of management, on the same terms with others. I know that in the academies there are two free persons of colour receiving their education now, and who are treated in every respect like others. I may also state that a coloured man of the name of Crummel, who was refused admission to a theological school at New York, went to Andover and applied for admission there; I have a letter from him in which he states that the Professors at Andover told him that he might enter the institution on the same terms as others—one of those terms being an avowed intention to pursue a three years' study. It was his desire to pursue a shorter course, and therefore he did not enter. The application, however, put the institution to the test, and Crummel would have been received if he had been disposed to follow the ordinary course.

In Connecticut, there is a theological institution at East Windsor, in which there is an anti-slavery society, and entire freedom of inquiry and action; but with respect to receiving free persons of colour, I cannot speak. At Yale college, there is free discussion, but a person of colour would not be received to the academical department. How it is in Washington (Episcopal) college, I cannot say.

Oneida institute, in the state of New York, is more or less familiar to you. In 1840, when the previous Convention was in session, the Rev. Beriah Green, its president, wrote me that they then had, including those of Indian blood, twenty coloured students, and they have several of the same colour now.

In Lane seminary, Ohio, there is perfect freedom of discussion. With Oberlin institution you are acquainted. At Ripley college, and Central college, Ohio, coloured students are admitted. At Knox manual labour college, Galesbury, Illinois, and at the Mission institute at Quincy, in the same state, there is freedom of discussion, and the equal admission of persons of every colour. At Clinton seminary, and Sheldon high school, New York, and at Marshal college, in Michigan, coloured and white students are admitted in the same way. Besides these, the Free-will Baptists—who have taken high ground on the subject of prejudice and slavery, going the length of non-fellowship, and who, on their principles being tested, have refused to receive a slave-holder, and who number now 1000 ministers, 1050 churches—have five institutions of a higher character generally than academies, approaching to that of colleges, in all which, I have no doubt, coloured students would be admitted on the same terms as others. As I have run over the list, there are twenty-three institutions where I am quite sure that persons of colour would be received on equal terms with others. In some of these institutions, though they would be received on the same terms by the governors, and be protected, yet I have no doubt that they would have to sustain the jeers, more or less, of some of the students; in many of them, however, they would meet with perfect cordiality from the latter. I deem it but just to the Catholics to add, though as a descendant of the Puritans, I have no fellowship with them in their religious views, that there are ten Catholic colleges in operation, and six or seven others being formed, in whose establishments initiatory steps have been taken; and there are a large number of institutions of a secondary grade, where, I suppose, the same principle would obtain as in their churches—viz., the admission of persons of colour on the same conditions as whites. I may state in reference to this, that in the year 1834, when I first entered the field as an anti-slavery agent, my first business, on leaving the church of which I was pastor in Boston, was to visit Washington. Among other places I was curious to enter the Catholic church, and there, for the first time, though I have since witnessed such things elsewhere, I saw white persons and coloured seated promiscuously; and I am told that that is the case throughout the United States. Though I am not in fellowship with the Catholics, as an individual, yet as an anti-slavery man, and a friend of the slave, I deem it but just to state that in that respect American Catholics put American Protestants to the blush.

With respect to the progress of the cause in churches and religious bodies, I may state, that I have partly prepared a document on that subject, but I fear I should occupy too much of your time, were I to undertake to give you an idea of its contents. Those who have read the proceedings of the former Convention, particularly the document prepared by Mr. Birney, are aware that in concluding the review which he presented of the pro-slavery action, he said, "The foregoing presents but one idea of the anti-slavery cause in the several churches, whose proceedings have been considered; in them all there are abolitionists earnestly labouring to purify them from the defilements of slavery, and they have strong encouragement to proceed, not only in view of what they have already effected toward that end, but in the steady increase of their numbers, and in other omens of success."

Without calling in question any of the statements made by Mr. Birney, it is the design of this document to exhibit the anti-slavery side of the question. This document is not prepared for the purpose of showing that we consider the work by any means as done, but to prove that we have made such progress as inspires us with the hope and belief that it will be so by and by. This document will show the way in which the cause has moved on step by step; and being myself a Congregationalist, and most familiar with the move-

ments in that denomination, I have commenced with it as a specimen. In the principal bodies of that denomination, as well as in the subordinate, there has been repeated action. As an illustration, for I must omit much, I will take the action in Massachusetts. The General Association of Massachusetts, is made up of delegations from the local associations. This body has acted upon the subject repeatedly; they did so in 1836, and then in the following years I may state, however, that in the action of 1835, then of 1836, and then of 1838—there being none in 1837—although there were some very good anti-slavery resolutions passed—connected with those, were certain other resolutions, which went directly to neutralize them, and to leave the influence of the body as a whole, if not on the side of slavery, at least in the position of opposition to the anti-slavery movement. The year before last, the subject came up anew, and a motion was made to appoint a committee to correspond with religious bodies in the Southern states; it was resisted by those who stood in opposition to the anti-slavery movement. I ought, however, to say here, in the way of explanation, that we have certain large cities, that these cities are the points of most immediate contact, commercially, politically, and religiously with the slave states; that in the cities, therefore, in addition to the metropolitan influences of one kind or other, which will exist wherever there are such cities, that metropolitan influence is, to a very great extent, with us, pro-slavery—the pro-slavery influence of the free states being, to a very great extent, concentrated and strongest there. Connected with this, should be taken into account the fact, that as a very general thing, persons most distinguished for talent and influence in the various religious societies, live in the cities; so that, when they come into religious bodies, though they may, as in Massachusetts now, be a minority in number, yet they are often the majority in influence, so that the action of the general body may be in opposition to the anti-slavery movement, when numerically, the majority of churches in the country, or the state as a whole, would be on the other side of the question. In the meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts, the year before last, as I was saying, a motion was made for a committee to correspond with religious bodies at the South. It was resisted by what I may term, the metropolitan and pro-slavery influence, but there had been such a gain to the abolition strength in the body, that the measure was carried; those who resisted it declined acting on the committee, and the result was the appointment of thorough-going abolitionists. They entered on that correspondence, and at the last meeting of the Association, they reported "in part," saying, that they had transmitted some thirty letters to religious bodies at the South, and had received several answers, extracts of which were read, and that they expected to receive more. Some of them were of an interesting kind, but were not published, because the correspondence had not been concluded. A vote of thanks was tendered to the committee, expressive of the obligation of the Association for their services, and the interesting communications submitted to the meeting. It was intended as a gentle way of discharging the committee from further duty, and being so understood was resisted by the friends of the slave; and after an earnest, yet kind discussion, the committee was continued, and they are now in correspondence with Southern bodies. The movement has gone forward by similar steps, in a similiar way, in others of the United States. In some of them the movement is further advanced than in Massachusetts, and in others it is not so forward. In Connecticut and Vermont, it is believed to be behind that of Maine and Massachusetts, while in New Hampshire and some other states, it is in advance. The same remarks apply generally to other denominations. The movement has progressed in them by similar steps, and against

similar conflicting influences. In addition, however, to the action of the general bodies, there has been a considerable amount of it in the subordinate bodies, as for instance, in Maine. The General Conference of Maine has eleven conferences, and nine of them have taken anti-slavery action, more or less thorough. In Massachusetts the same thing obtains. Indeed, in the latter the number of individual churches which have acted on the subject, has of late greatly increased. The Massachusetts Abolition Society, which I represent, has had for a number of months, a lecturer circulating among the churches, with special reference to calling upon ministers, conversing with them, securing meetings of the churches, and then addressing them as professing Christians, and endeavouring to get them to take right ground, and express their sentiments on the subject. I requested him to give me some information with respect to his labours. Although he does not claim to speak with positive certainty of all the churches to which he refers, he says, "From the best information I can obtain, I have no doubt that more than 200 churches in this commonwealth have passed resolutions, expressly declaring their full conviction of the sinfulness of slave-holding, and the consequent duty of immediate emancipation. A majority of the churches, which have acted on the subject, have withdrawn fellowship from all slave-holding ministers and churches."

I have stated that the movement is proceeding by similar steps in other denominations; allow me to say a word with respect to them, and I shall have done. In the Methodist Connexion there is a large amount of abolition sentiment and feeling: nearly all the members of the Conferences in New England, and of several in the other free states, are abolitionists. Some time since it was hoped, and seemed probable, that the whole body in the free, and some in the slave states, would become abolitionists; but the control of affairs in that connexion, as in others, was in the hands of the metropolitan pro-slavery influence; and in consequence of this, the energies of that government, as in other cases, have been brought to bear against the friend of the slave, intimidating some, disheartening others, driving others to secession, while others still cling to the church of their affection, in the hope of bringing it to the side of the slave. The most formidable of these secessions is one that commenced in November last in New England, and is headed by a man who has been most prominent and active on behalf of the slave—the Rev. ORANGE SCOTT, who writes, about the 1st of May, as follows:—"It is thought there will be 200 ministers, and as many churches, united with us by the middle of June, the time of 'The World's Convention.' The excitement now going on in the Methodist Episcopal Church is tremendous: the whole church, with her 100,000,000 of members, is agitated, and that on account of secessions because of slavery. What the result will be it is impossible to tell; but that secession is the most powerful anti-slavery measure to which we have ever resorted, I have no manner of doubt. If anything will bring the church to her duty, this will. If she does not do her duty soon, she will lose her Northern members; and when slavery no longer has the support of Christians in the North, it must die." Among the Baptists—I regret we have no Baptist friend from our country to make a statement in regard to his own denomination—the influence of the General Convention, the body representing the denomination as a whole, was at its last meeting, as at former meetings, on the side of slavery, or, at all events, against the anti-slavery movement. At the same time, the abolition strength in the body was greatly increased, and the progress of the cause in the churches, and in the district and state associations, subsequently has been most rapid and encouraging—never more so. Among the Presbyterians, the General Assembly and metropolitan influences are still in support of slavery; while in the country at large, in the free states, the cause

has made, and is making, the most decided progress; large numbers of presbyteries and synods having taken the high ground of non-fellowship with slave-holders; and the number of such bodies is constantly increasing. The denomination is represented here by other delegates, and will speak for herself. The Friends admit no slave-holders to society; very generally issue yearly epistles condemnatory of slavery, and in favour of emancipation: they do, however, but too generally discourage their members from associating with others in the anti-slavery movement. The Reformed Presbyterians withhold fellowship; the Free-will Baptists do the same. The resolutions adopted from time to time by the General Conference of this denomination, and followed by similar resolutions of quarterly and yearly meetings, are of the most thorough and decisive character. In October, 1839, the General Conference adopted ten resolutions on the subject, of which the following are a part:—

"1. Resolved,—That nothing can be more evident to the unsophisticated mind, than that slavery, under any circumstances, is contrary to the self-evident truth, 'that all men have certain inalienable rights.'

"2. Resolved,—That it is equally evident that slavery is contrary to the law of Moses, to the Gospel of Christ, and to every moral obligation.

"3. Resolved,—That in view of these undeniable facts, that man who will not examine the subject impartially, or who examines it, and still advocates the continuance of slavery, is not worthy of being esteemed a disciple of Christ; and, after due but unsuccessful admonition, ought not to be fellowshipped as a Christian.

"4. Resolved,—That this Conference, believing the anti-slavery cause to be the cause of God, recommend to every Christian, and every Christian minister, to use all proper means to promote its interests."

At the same meeting of the Conference, a council of ten was appointed to consider and report on the application to unite with the body of a Dr. Housley, from Kentucky, who had left the Calvinistic Baptist church in that state for the purpose; and it was stated that there were a large number of Baptists in Kentucky and the Southern country who agreed with him in sentiment, and would eventually unite with the body, if he were received. The council learned, on examination, that Dr. Housley was a slave-holder, that his slaves consisted of a mother and three small children, and that he would not emancipate them; and they decided, that, "as he claimed property in human beings, they could not ordain him as a minister, nor hold fellowship with him as a Christian;" and he was so informed. And the Conference voted, "that the decision of the council is highly satisfactory." In December, 1840, the Executive Committee of the Foreign Missionary Society of the denomination voted and published to the world, that they would not receive into their treasury "any donation or bequest known to be the price of the souls of men; nor any donation or bequest from any unrepentant slave-holder, or trafficker in the souls and bodies of mankind." In October, 1841, the General Conference repeated its testimony in still stronger terms, adding to its former injunctions the duty of never prostituting the right of suffrage in favour of any man as a law-maker, either in church or state, who there is reason to believe will deprive the slave of his rights. And this denomination, thus thoroughly abolitionized, now numbers 20 yearly meetings, 95 quarterly meetings, 1,000 ministers, 1,057 churches, and over 50,000 members. My impression is, (and I shall be able to ascertain whether it is true or not on completing a table I have commenced,) that there are in the several religious connexions as many as 6,000 churches that have taken the ground of non-fellowship with slave-holders. These statements are made as an indication of our progress, as encouragements for the future; not as indications or avowals that we have carried the

cause over the whole field, or even in many of its principal strongholds. I will only add in this connexion, and in reply to a question which might be asked—How may British abolitionism urge on these movements?—I say, by reiterating the testimony of the former Convention; by letting the body that represents the world's humanity testify to the world's humanity, as it did on the former occasion. I will say, also, that British abolitionism can effectually aid the movement thus begun, if the various religious connexions in this country will continue their remonstrances, by letter and by delegation; and especially, if in sending delegations, they will send us men who, while they do not neglect to obtain all the information that they can from those who stand in opposition to the anti-slavery movement, will also make it a point on landing in New York or Boston to ascertain, as one of their first inquiries, the location of the Anti-Slavery office; and among their last visits, and their last farewell, come to that office, and bid us God-speed. With respect to the subject of prejudice against colour, as that is connected with the admission to literary institutions, let me say, my heart has been cheered, though I cannot enter into it as Brother PENNINGTON can, by the reception he has received on coming to this country. I find, however, that Englishmen at home and abroad, though they claim to know, and have a very accurate understanding of most things, find it difficult to understand American prejudice. I do not know that I can explain it so that you will comprehend it; but, in a word, I will attempt it. Let me say, it is not prejudice against colour. Americans are as fond of black-coats, black-hats, and black-horses as Englishmen. It is not prejudice against colour. On the very railroads, where the coloured man is excluded from certain cars, and allowed only to go in certain others, in those other cars the whites and the blacks are intermixed. In the very cars, too, where the *free*-man of colour is not allowed to enter, the slave-holder can bring his *slave*. Or, if travelling in the free states, and leaving his slave at home, lest he should not return with him, he takes a free-man of colour as gentleman's *servant*, he can enter those cars with his master, and sit side by side with him. What then is this prejudice against colour? It is a prejudice against *condition*, and against colour as the badge of condition. The slave class is the despised class; and although, in the regions where slavery obtains, the slave-master will ride in the coach with his slave, and mingle with him on terms of the most perfect familiarity, and even taunt us in the free states with having prejudice against colour to which he is a stranger; yet let that slave whom he would fondle as he does a dog or a horse, stand up erect as a man, and get up out of his condition, and, see, then the heart of the slave-holder—see, then, if there be no prejudice against colour—see, then, if the language of the position that the slave-holder assumes, be not that of the most relentless hatred—submission or death. Just in proportion, therefore, as the spirit of slavery pervades the free states, you have hatred of colour; and that hatred is the same feeling in the heart of a free man in the free states, as that which obtains in the heart of a slave-holder in the slave states. It is prejudice against colour, only as colour is the badge of degraded and despised condition. If, then, our English friends know what pride of caste, or prejudice and contempt of low condition are, I hope they will understand what American prejudice against colour is—It is only hatred of low condition. And so understanding it, I hope they will bear a consistent and faithful testimony against it, whether they meet it in the Hindooism of caste in India, or America, or here, or anywhere else. Wherever they find it, I trust it will receive from them equal censure.

Mr. J. STURGE.—I have been requested to introduce to this Convention, LEWIS TAPPAN; though his name is well known to all abolitionists. In the early stage of the warfare, I believe that the large mercantile house of ARTHUR

and LEWIS TAPPAN, with which he was then connected, was the only firm in New York, of that standing, that took a bold course on the abolition question. I think that I am also correct in stating, that a reward of 50,000 dollars was offered in a New Orleans paper, to any one who would deliver up ARTHUR TAPPAN; but it was not stated who was to pay the money. Among the various anonymous letters which LEWIS TAPPAN has received, one contained the ear of a negro.

Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN.—I wish to add one item with reference to the academy in New Hampshire, where coloured persons are received with perfect freedom. Mr. KELLOGG has in his possession interesting facts on this subject. He was one of the first conductors of a literary institution, which received coloured youth on the same terms as white young ladies and gentlemen. A coloured gentleman, a member of Dr. Cox's church, in Brooklyn, has gone to an academy in New Jersey. He relates an amusing circumstance, which occurred when he first went to church there. They had never seen a coloured gentleman, and when he entered, the minister stopped, and the attention of the whole congregation was arrested by the extraordinary phenomenon. He is received with great kindness, and is treated the same as other members of the academy. I blush when I speak of the prejudice against coloured persons, which pervades, with few exceptions, all the churches of the United States. Were I to take Mr. PENNINGTON with me into them, I should throw the whole congregation into a state of terror at such an innovation. I do believe that reverend gentlemen would take more independent ground than they do, were it not for some circumstances connected with the relations of ecclesiastical polity. There is a gentleman now in England, an elder of a church, who was once president of an anti-slavery society, and was the man, when GEORGE THOMPSON visited us, to take him by the hand, and provide a place in which he could deliver an address; but he is no longer a member of that society, on account of political considerations. I know many ministers in the United States, who are abolitionists in the abstract and in heart, but have not the moral courage to act out their sentiments in opposition to the leading influences of their congregations.

Mr. FULLER.—I should be glad, if I could endorse all that AMOS A. PHELPS has uttered to-day. I cannot subscribe to the doctrine that the colleges in America are open to the coloured man; he may get within the doors, but as a coloured brother said yesterday, (Mr. PENNINGTON) he "is a nigger still;" and will be treated as such. I cannot assent to the statements made regarding the purity of the American churches. I do not want to speak very harshly of them, but in few words I should describe them as a cage of unclean birds. Let a man go into the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, and the first thing that catches his eye is the moderator of the old school, who is a slave-holder.

Mr. TAPPAN.—The moderator of neither General Assembly is a slave-holder. I have heard the statement of Mr. PHELPS, and I have the utmost confidence in his veracity, and in the correctness of his general statement.

Mr. FULLER.—I hold in my hand the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, which has in it a letter from JONATHAN BLANCHARD, giving an account of a minister going down to the old school of the Presbyterian Establishment, the object of which is, to tell them that he has a slave accompanying him to take care of his daughter, and this is not only a slave woman, but one who has been deprived of husband after husband. JONATHAN BLANCHARD asks the question, whether such a man should be received. He goes and he is received; and I say that every man who goes into that Assembly, and takes that man by the hand, and calls him a brother and a minister in Christ, is no anti-slavery man.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—That is true.

Mr. FULLER.—If they do not give the right hand of fellowship to the slave-holder, I ask if they do not give it to those who do give it to him? I want the truth to be received. I believe that the truth is told in J. G. BIRNEY's work. I believe that the church is the bulwark of slavery. I have seen a slave-holder in the chair of a presbytery. With regard to the Baptist church, who is its moderator? Is he a slave-holder? What is the spirit that presides over the Methodist Conference? Is it anti-slavery, or pro-slavery? They number 3,500,000 persons in America; and what has that Conference done? I suppose that most of us know what is the door of entrance into the Methodist church. It is simply a desire to flee from the wrath to come; and no better qualification can any man submit who applies for admission. A coloured man comes up and says that he desires to flee from the wrath to come, and they perhaps admit him. The individual goes on in some degree, according to the good old doctrine of JOHN WESLEY, to attain to Christian perfection, and by and by the wife is ravished by a white man. If this occurs in a slave state, the church says that that man shall not give evidence. Tell me that our churches are approximating to a state of purity! You may as well attempt to convince me that the moon is made of green cheese. The persons who will give the right hand of fellowship to people who make these laws, ought not to be held up as patterns of purity. The question of slavery has just come up before the old school General Assembly in the city of Philadelphia, and they have given it the go-by. Of all the men that AMOS A. PHELPS has noticed there is but one that I can endorse for his abolition character, and that is SAMUEL J. MAY. I do not mean to say that others are not abolitionists; but I do not *know* them to be such. I think that the very remark of LEWIS TAPPAN shows the state of public feeling throughout the country: for what he has said of New York is true of other places. Take a coloured man to a meeting-house, or what is called a church, and see what a commotion would be produced, not only in New York, but almost all through the country. Every man that goes to the General Assembly as a minister or elder, or to the General Conference, and mingles with those men who recognise the man-thief, the child-seller, and the woman-whipper, as a brother in Christ, has ratted on the question of slavery, and so has every man in New York, or any other state that can indirectly sanction those men when they come there. They may not admit them to their pulpits, but they will go and hold fellowship and communion with them indirectly.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—I rejoice that this discussion has come up. I remember a remark which fell from one of the most eloquent men—a man in whom whole generations of Irish orators seem condensed—DANIEL O'CONNELL; it was to this effect, that John Bull was remarkable for his good sense. It is one characteristic of good sense to turn a thing over eleven times in order to see exactly what it is before judging of it. I have not risen to speak at length, but to state a few facts. In the first place, the facts which are presented by the gentleman who has last addressed us, are part of them true, very true, and part of them perhaps need a little shoring up. I wish to put myself right, though it is a matter of small importance, before this Convention. The reason why I rose yesterday was for the purpose of protecting this Convention's influence in my own country, and securing the highest possible effect to your deliberations. If it happens that one single mis-statement crosses the Alleghany mountains, and I meet it in Cincinnati, though ten thousand incontrovertible facts be stated, that one single mis-statement will so fill the eyes of the people whom I have to look in the face, that they will not be able to see the truth in respect to our sins. The paper referred to by Mr. FULLER does contain a letter over my own name—for I generally sign my name to whatever I write. On my way from Cincinnati, up the Ohio river, I travelled with several gentle-

men belonging to the two branches of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. The gentleman in question, who had a slave with him, was from Livingston, Sumpter county, Alabama. Finding that he had a slave, and that he was the holder of others, I began in the fear of God to rebuke him for what I considered his sin. I told him that the woman he had with him was not only free by the law of God, as she always had been, but that she was free by a decision of the supreme court of Ohio: for the legislation and legal decisions of the free states begin to flow in the anti-slavery channel. I told him that the supreme court had decided that when a slave came into the state of Ohio, that moment he was free, and that he could not take that woman back unless as a kidnapper. He was surprised and confounded, but his avarice was aroused, and also his fears, and he went to the forecastle to speak to the Southerners to aid him if we should attempt to take his slave.

Mr. SCOBLE.—Was he a minister?

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—He was—a Presbyterian.

Mr. SCOBLE.—What was his name?

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—SMITH. He was educated in the free states, though he had now from fifteen to twenty slaves. I then said, "If the Saviour of mankind were on this ship's boards, what advice would he give to that woman?" Would he advise her to go back to the state of Alabama?" This gentleman had just informed me that she had had two or three husbands—he was not certain whether she had one now or not, but he believed she had one whom she called husband. I reminded him of the words of PAUL, "If thou mayest be made free, use it rather;" and added, "If Christ would not advise her to return—and you know that he would not—dare you call yourself a minister of Christ and yet retain her in bondage?" He replied that he was doing the best thing he could, according to his conscience, to take her back to slavery. I was incautious enough to remark, "You will never get that woman back." He was about to take her to the residence of his father, on the Ohio side of the river; but he immediately landed on the Virginia instead of the Ohio side, in order to keep his slave. Disappointed, grieved, and afflicted, I saw him leave the boat. I immediately wrote the letter which Mr. FULLER has quoted; and when I arrived at Philadelphia, I requested the publisher of the paper to furnish 200 copies for the use of the Assembly, that they might know that they had a kidnapper among them. I wish this Convention to know that there is a class of facts, adverted to by friend FULLER, true and odious beyond description, particularly with respect to the Wesleyans. Though I do not like to speak of the sins of other denominations as well as I do those of my own, yet I must confess that of all the acts I ever read of, perpetrated by any body of men under heaven, Christian or barbarian, one act of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church exceeds them in enormity. It has been resolved, "that it is inexpedient and unjustifiable to receive the testimony of coloured Methodist members, in cases where white men are concerned, in those states where such testimony is excluded by civil law." The Convention will see at once that it is nothing less than making the persecution of the coloured man by the state an excuse and pretext for persecuting him by the church. An act of that kind lays weakness and helplessness naked at the feet of power, and strips innocence of the last privilege of complaint. It is a repeal of the law which Christ himself has given us in Matt. xviii. 17, directing the individual who is aggrieved to "tell it to the church." I might go on multiplying these statements indefinitely, and they would be all true; but I thank God that there are a great many truths existing in America of a dissimilar character. It is generally admitted that the Presbyterian church in the United States was split by the slavery question. Of forty-one presbyteries located in the slave states, who sent commissioners to the General Assembly in

1837, only three sent commissioners to the New School Assembly in 1840. That shows the relative position. In that branch to which I belong, West of the Alleghanies, there are six synods, including one hundred and thirty presbyteries, each of which contains from twelve to twenty clergymen, and the number of members is large. The whole of these presbyteries exclude slave-holders from the communion. The synod of Cincinnati, in the year 1835, only three years after the first Abolition Society was formed at Boston, and of which Arnold Buffam was president, and which was then the united synod, refused a Mr. Harrison the privilege of preaching in one of the churches, because he was a slave-holder. He went away grieved, and wrote a long complaint. I will not go over the intervening period. We have the fragments of slavery amongst us. We are like the man who had broken off the fetters; but here and there you may find a place marked by them. In our presbytery, which met a few days before I left Cincinnati, two applications were made, one by a minister of Florida, a clergyman of high standing, and another from a licentiate, in the state of Missouri. These gentlemen applied for dismissal from our presbytery, and a recommendation to slave-holding presbyteries. The letters were refused in both cases. Not only have we refused to receive slave-holders as ministers and members, but we will not go so far in recognizing slave-holding presbyteries and synods in the South as to grant a man letters who wishes to go and join them. Such is our law and practice on the slavery question.

Mr. FULLER.—Although the two hundred papers were put in circulation, containing this letter, did not the General Assembly recognize that man as a minister of Christ?

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—That was the Old School Assembly. He was allowed to take his seat; he seconded the motion to postpone indefinitely the consideration of a memorial on the subject of slavery.

Mr. FULLER.—Allowing for all the exceptions made, did not the New School adjourn, three years ago, for the special purpose of giving the go-by to the slavery question? and did not the Assembly call on the presbyteries to rescind their resolution, keeping slave-holders out of their pulpits?

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—In answer to the first question, I say, No, they did not adjourn. They sat too long; they sat till our Western delegates had all gone home. The abolitionists do not happen to live in the metropolis. Certain of your own poets have said, "God made the country; man made the town." After the abolition delegates had gone away, under the influence of Dr. Hill, who got up and wept and cried to excite pity and good feeling, they got a vote passed to request those presbyteries which had cast out slave-holders from fellowship to rescind the resolution. They frightened many members by saying that they had acted disorderly; and they made them believe that the acts excluding slave-holders were acts in the nature of exscinding acts, by which the church was rent. But the abolition presbyteries let the General Assembly know that they might as well have advised them to vote that asses were horses; and they sent a scriptural rebuke to the Assembly. Let any man read the paper prepared by the Rev. John Rankin, of Rankin, and he will see that the presbyteries spoke of the act of the Assembly as "their disgraceful act."

Rev. A. A. PHELPS.—If Mr. Fuller will not take my statements, he will, I suppose, those of his friend Wm. Lloyd Garrison; but as it would be a violation of the rule were I now to read them, I will only say they are here, and Mr. Fuller can consult them at his leisure. I do not pretend that generally we have carried the great bodies, though we have done so in some cases: we have, however, carried extensively the subordinate bodies, and so extensively as to give us promise of ultimate success. For all my statements concerning

the action of religious bodies, and the progress of the cause in literary institutions, I have the documents; and if Mr. FULLER would examine them, I know he would credit some of them. Others are the statements of officers in those institutions that have not yet been put to the test, but which, now that the statement has been made, are committed to the public; and if he will put them to the test, I will engage that they will stand the trial.

Mr. BUFFUM.—I doubt the propriety of my attempting to address the meeting at this juncture. I have come, it is true, nearly one thousand miles by land, and then crossed the ocean for the purpose of attending the General Anti-Slavery Convention in London. I have been an abolitionist for nearly sixty years, and my father was a member of an abolition society before I was born. I had the pleasure and the honour of addressing several anti-slavery meetings in this country, in 1826; and on my return home I found my country dead on the subject of abolition. There was scarcely a tongue or a pen in the whole land that was heard in this cause. Eleven years ago I was in a little dark negro school-room in Boston, United States, with eleven others, where we organised the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Now I am in the world's Anti-Slavery Convention. I have rejoiced in a great many things, that I have heard stated here, and I have wished in my heart that they could reach the ears and the consciences of my countrymen; and especially of the great body of Christian professors in the United States of America. Whilst I know that the anti-slavery cause is moving onward in that country; whilst I know that it is making progress in *nearly*—I apprehend *quite*—all the various sections of the Christian church in that land; yet I do know that a very considerable portion of the Christian church there, must still be regarded as it is set forth in the work published by J. G. BIRNEY, when he was here three years ago, as to the churches being the bulwark of American slavery. Painful, indeed, it is to me to unbosom the feelings of my mind in this assembly, and especially as I shall feel it obligatory upon me to say something in regard to that branch of the Christian church in which I was born, in which I have lived, and which I dearly love. I will for a few moments call your attention to that unholy prejudice which is trampling the free coloured man under foot in our country. I regard that prejudice, as was very justly said by a member of Parliament, (Sir G. STRICKLAND) who addressed us yesterday, as the natural offspring, and the legitimate fruit of the institution of slavery in our country. It is not because the man has a black face; it is not because his hair is of a different appearance from ours; or from any other physical cause whatever: but it is because as a people we have trodden the African race under foot, because we have treated them as brutes, and in many respects even worse. We know that we have injured them, that we have sinned against them, and therefore we hate them. Let us go for a moment to the city of WILLIAM PENN, the city of brotherly love, the city where Quaker influence is perhaps stronger than in any other part of the United States of America. I may premise that the Quakers were the first people that ever moved in the cause of abolition. We may go back to the year 1702, when members of the Society of Friends, as well as of all other religious bodies, in America, on the arrival of a slave ship, went down with bags of silver and gold, counted down their money for portions of the cargo, and encouraged the captain to send his vessel on the wings of the wind to Africa for another cargo of human beings for the supply of the market. But even so early as the year 1702, we have the evidence on record, and I have read it, that from a feeling of humanity the visitors asked the judgment of the monthly meeting, at Newport, Rhode Island, whether it was right for Friends to brand their negro slaves with a hot iron on the cheek, and after mature consideration, the meeting was united in the conclusion that such practice was

inconsistent with our Christian profession. But in Philadelphia, at an early period, some individual members of the Society of Friends began to testify against slavery as an abomination that ought not to exist, because they saw the evil fruits of that all-corrupting and all-blasting system. After some years of arduous toil and persevering labours of LAY, WOOLMAN, and BENEZETT, with others who became converts to their doctrine, the yearly meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, seventy years ago, made it a rule of discipline that none of their members should hold a slave; and there, too, the Friends have, from that day to the present, stood forth as the friends of the coloured people. But yet, sorrowful to tell, slavery existing in that land has still sent forth its blighting influence, even among the members of the Society of Friends, not excepting those in the city of Philadelphia. I probably should not have alluded to this case, if the gentleman that addressed us yesterday, in regard to the condition and prospects of the free people of colour, had been able to state the case as it really is, and had not mis-stated it for want of correct information. The Friends in Philadelphia have endeavoured to promote the education of coloured children, and to improve the condition of the coloured people there; but they have no more idea of taking them by the hand and treating them as brethren in Christ Jesus, than they have of associating with their dumb beasts. There are about 20,000 free coloured people in the city and county of Philadelphia. How many of them are members of that church that was the first to become their friends? Not one.

A DELEGATE.—How many have applied for membership?

Mr. BUFFUM.—Several worthy individuals, and have been refused on account of their colour. Where are the Protestant churches, of any denomination, where coloured and white people come and sit down in the same house of worship, and without distinction? There is no such place there. Among all the denominations that have a considerable number of coloured members, they have their separate houses of worship as they have their separate burial grounds. I have been accustomed for several years to spend a portion of the first day of the week among them in their own meetings. I was a member of the Society of Friends at that time living in Philadelphia, and when I went to the Friends' meeting, I saw a very few respectable, intelligent, and religious coloured persons come there who chose to worship with the Friends, and who occupied a separate seat. Go to the schools in Philadelphia; there is the negro school, and the children of the coloured people must go to that school by themselves. Go even to the poor-house; go to the asylum for the blind, and there the coloured people are by themselves. Look what has been done in that city of brotherly love; see the influence of that unholy prejudice. A few years since, when I was living in that city, the friends of liberty raised by subscription a sum of about 60,000 dollars, with which they built Liberty Hall. The meeting-houses of that city, except those that belong to the coloured people, were all closed against the advocacy of the cause of those that were not permitted to plead for themselves, and it became necessary, therefore, to build a Hall where we could advocate this blessed and holy cause. Pennsylvania Hall was erected, and the friends of liberty assembled there. On the second evening after the Hall had been completed, and opened, I saw ANGELINA E. GRIMKE, the daughter of Judge GRIMKE, of South Carolina, standing there, declaring to a congregation of 3,000 people what she had seen of the cruelties and abominations of slavery, until, as she said, "I could endure it no longer, although I had been brought up a slave-owner; my soul mourned within me, and I looked around to see where I could go, that I might find congenial minds with my own; I came to the city of brotherly love, thinking that among the followers of PENN I should

find them. But I found them not," was her emphatic declaration; and when she was saying these things, there was a mob of 5,000 people around the house; and stones came in, aimed at her head. The next evening, as I was passing, that same Hall was again surrounded by a mob of 10,000 people, the mob having entire control of the city. The mayor had addressed the mob, and told them that he regarded them as his police officers, and he hoped they would do right. They gave him three cheers, and he passed off and left them. They took me into possession, and talked of doing nothing worse to me, than to quarter me and throw me into the river. Soon afterwards, a cry of fire resounded, and Pennsylvania Hall, that had been opened but three days, was in flames. The people stood and looked on; the firemen came with their engines, but not one drop of water was thrown upon the Hall. It was burnt down, and its walls stood till within the last few months, a monument of infamy and disgrace to the city of Philadelphia. I have stated that there are about 20,000 free people of colour in that city; they have a large number of houses of worship. In one of the Methodist meeting-houses, if I mistake not, there are 2,300 communicants; and I believe they are as sober, temperate, industrious, frugal, and worthy of as much respect, on the average, as the white population. There resided James Forten, and I feel it right to mention a little circumstance in the history of his life. I believe he has gone to the mansions of everlasting glory. James Forten was left an orphan child; when he was thirteen years of age, he was put on board an American ship of war, in the struggle between that country and this, in the character of a powder boy. The vessel was captured, and he went on board Captain Beazely's ship, and became the favourite companion of his son. The black boy won the marbles of the white boy, who brought his father to look and see how he could win them. Finally, he entreated his father to carry the black boy with them to England. Captain Beazely called him to the cabin, told him that his son was attached to him, and that if he would go with him, he would educate him as his own child. Here was an orphan boy, with no friends in his own country. But what was his answer? "I am an American; I came here to fight for my country; and I can make no terms with my country's enemy." Captain Beazely then said to him, "I shall have to send you on board the Jersey prison-ship, and there you will die." "I cannot help it; I am a prisoner of war, and I must submit to my fate." He was sent on board the prison-ship, but Captain Beazely gave him a letter to the commander, requesting that he might be exchanged on the first opportunity. He remained there five months, during which several hundred American prisoners died, and were thrown into the sea. In the course of this period, an American vessel came to make an exchange of British for American officers, and James Forten assisted in getting the luggage of the latter out of the prison-ship into a boat alongside. Among other things, there was a large box partly full of dirty clothes; the box was not locked; they opened it, and seeing it was not above half full, some one said to Forten, "Jump into it; we will put you in the boat, and you will get home." He looked round and saw a white boy, also a prisoner of war, and said to him, "Jump in, and I will help you;" the white boy got in, was put down into the boat, and by that means reached home. At the end of five months, Forten was exchanged; he became apprenticed to a sail-maker, and when twenty years of age, his master made him foreman; he continued to work as a journeyman until he could buy the establishment, and then became the owner of it. He lived to see the day when the Secretary of War for the United States declared, that Forten's yard was the only one where he could send a frigate, and have her completely rigged, without advancing money. He died two years ago, worth probably 100,000 dollars, having brought up

eight children—four sons and four daughters—as respectably as any family in the United States of America. The man that stood by him, and held his hand in his dying moments, was the white boy that he had put into the box.

Mr. HENRY CLARK WRIGHT.—About three years ago the state of Pennsylvania altered its constitution, which had previously allowed to JAMES FORTEN the right of suffrage, and cut him off from that privilege after he had fought for his country. That transaction pierced him to the heart, and I believe hastened his end.

Mr. BUFFUM.—I am glad that that fact has been brought forward; but, let me add, that although it is true, that the constitution of Pennsylvania, adopted in the days when Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was Governor, made no distinction of colour, yet the influence of public sentiment in Philadelphia had always excluded JAMES FORTEN from the exercise of that right, and he would have been mobbed if he had attempted to cast his suffrage in any of the elections there. There is a Mrs. YOHE, who keeps a boarding-house in Philadelphia, that gave an admirable reason, about the time of the burning of the Hall, why the coloured people ought not to be free. "If any man," she said, "wants to know that this abolition is a bad thing, and that it will never do to set the negroes all free, let him go down to my kitchen, where he will see that they act just like white folks." But let me mention another circumstance in relation to the condition of the free people of colour. In the state of Virginia, about forty-five years ago, the daughter of a very respectable planter had a daughter whose father was a slave. This girl was nursed by a slave, and brought up as one. Her grandfather died when she was about sixteen years old; she was then sold as a slave, although she was free by the laws of Virginia, which make the child follow the condition of the mother. She was, however, bid in by the executor of her grandfather's will, who took her for his house-keeper, and she had a son by him. He afterwards married another woman, and then let her and her son go free. He had one son by his wife, who, on becoming the heir to his father's estate, took his half-brother as a partner in trade. After being in business for some years, and accumulating some property, the partnership was dissolved, and the elder brother took his share and went to North Carolina, where he married into a respectable white family; but there was African blood in his veins. I mention it as a strong case, to show that a person tinged with African blood stands but a poor chance of protection in our country. Not long after he went to North Carolina, some horse-dealers went to Virginia with horses for sale, and meeting with the half-brother they sold him some horses, and he in payment gave them a bill of sale of his brother, whom, although he was a free man, he called his slave. When the horse-dealers returned, and found the man white, with a fair complexion, with straight soft hair, they said nothing about having purchased him, till some slave-traders arrived from Louisiana, to whom they sold him. They then went to his house, and took him by force, to carry him to the slave-holders to whom he had been sold. When the "soul-drivers," as they are called by the slave-holders, came to see his fair complexion, straight hair, and blue eyes, they said, "No, we cannot take him, he is too white, nobody will believe that he is a slave; but if you will colour him, and frizzle his hair, we will give you the money." They stripped him, washed him with *aqua fortis*, and burned his hair, and then took him back to the soul-drivers, and received the money. (Cries of "Horrid.") He made his escape the first night, but not daring to go to his wife and little ones, he went to the woods, and there remained for several weeks, lying upon the cold ground. An aged Friend, formerly of Nantucket, then living in North Carolina—and from his mouth I had the

story—went into the woods, and saw him there, and with considerable difficulty prevailed upon him to come near enough for them to converse together. He told the man to go home to his wife and children, and that he would commence a prosecution against the men who had thus treated him. He went home, and the prosecution was commenced in a court of law, but the man had received his death wound; his heart had been broken, and lying upon the cold ground, the chill damps had ruined his constitution, and he died before the termination of the suit. This is the condition of a man that has one drop of African blood in his veins, in the United States of America.

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER.—As I have been in correspondence with Friends at Philadelphia, whom, notwithstanding what has been said, I must still speak of as friends, though personally unknown to me, I wish to ask upon what evidence ARNOLD BUFFUM has made his statement. I am surprised if it forms any part of the discipline, that a person of colour is not to be admitted into the Society of Friends.

Mr. BUFFUM.—I did not state it as discipline.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—Is it stated as a matter of fact?

Mr. BUFFUM.—It is.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—Upon what evidence?

Mr. BUFFUM.—Common report.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I have been informed that coloured persons have been admitted among the Quakers; and I appeal to ISAAC COLLINS, whether he has not witnessed the admission of members. But if it is only report, I have done.

Mr. BUFFUM.—My remarks had reference to the state of things *in Philadelphia*. There have been a few coloured persons, members of the Society of Friends, in different parts of the country. PAUL CUFFEE was a member of the Society, and attended the yearly meeting, but he did not reside in the city of Philadelphia.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—But he must have associated with the Friends, or he could not have been admitted. I was afraid of an erroneous impression going abroad. I felt that I should hardly do justice to an absent body, unless I put the question.

Mr. FULLER.—I have been in Philadelphia, and have attended several yearly meetings. I believe I am justified in saying, that there are no coloured members in that city; a man and woman, who belong to Rochester meeting, are the only two coloured members in the state of New York among the Friends. In the six New England states there is not a coloured member; and orthodox member as I am, I cannot go into a Quaker meeting-house to advocate the cause of the slave.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—That is not the question.

Mr. FULLER.—No; but it is a very sore question. There are no coloured members of society in the state of New Jersey, none in Maryland, none in Virginia, and I believe none in North Carolina. It is the testimony of Governor SEWARD, that if the Society of Friends had lived up to their principles, and carried them out in practice, at this time of day there would not have been a slave in the United States of America.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—That is foreign to my inquiry.

The Convention then adjourned.

THIRD DAY'S SITTINGS, THURSDAY, JUNE 15.

(AFTERNOON.)

SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

CONDUCT OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHES WITH REFERENCE TO SLAVERY.

Rev. J. A. JAMES.—I neither wonder nor regret, that so much of the time of the Convention has been given to these gentlemen who have come to us from the land of the white man's freedom and the black man's slavery—a very singular junction of ideas, one which we must all regret to see existing, and must all be anxious to dissolve. These gentlemen are well entitled, on every ground, to our attention. They have endured no small obloquy in the cause in their own land; some of them have travelled a thousand miles by land, and three thousand across the ocean, to be with us. We have listened, I am quite sure, with much feeling to the statements which they have laid before us, and especially to what was advanced this morning by the respected Secretary of the Vigilance Committee, and by Mr. PHELPS, of Boston. I think we all felt gratitude to Almighty God for the progress which the cause is really making in the United States; and I am sure that our brethren from America will pardon me if I give them a hint or two, which I do with the greatest possible deference. They will excuse me if they think that I have trespassed a little on the laws of decorum. We want to be told what we can do for them, as well as be told of the evils of slavery. It is very true that they are impressed with the subject, from being eye witnesses of its horrors, in a way that we cannot be. It is not matter of surprise if, from the fulness of the heart, they should pour out their feelings with the hope of kindling ours with the same emotions at the scenes they have witnessed. But I hope we are up to the mark of being convinced of the horrors of slavery, and of our duty to seek its abolition. They will also pardon me if I say that it is exceedingly desirable that there should be no *appearance* even of collision of testimony, as there was, in fact, none in *reality*, this morning. If Mr. PHELPS had asserted, which he certainly did not, that the great body of American churches, as such, had declared their abhorrence of slavery, there would have been just ground for what our honest and intrepid friend Mr. FULLER, stated subsequently. The fact is, they are both agreed in substance. Mr. PHELPS merely stated that a certain portion of the American churches had declared their abhorrence of slavery, and had passed resolutions to exclude from fellowship all those who were guilty of the crime. Now I am anxious, as I have said, that there should not even *seem* to the public to be anything like contradictory evidence. It is of the first importance, both here and there, that the evidence which comes from the land of slavery should not only be conclusive, but harmonious; and in order to be conclusive it *must* be harmonious. For my own part, I saw no discrepancy in the testimony of the gentlemen, when properly dwelt upon and sifted, to whom we listened this morning. I rejoiced with exceeding joy at the declaration, that forty seminaries of learning had admitted men of colour to the advantages of education; that this had been done by the governors of the institutions. Our friend, Mr. PHELPS, stated—what we can easily suppose to be the case—that *many* of the young men would scarcely acknowledge their coloured brethren; but that forty seminaries should admit to the advantages of literature and theology, coloured men, is to me a glorious proof of the

triumph of the cause there. It is a sagacious remark of COLERIDGE, that if you would know what will be the prevailing sentiments of the next generation, you have only to consider what are the opinions of the present race of young men between eighteen and twenty-two. If the seminaries of learning can be interested in the subject, connected not merely as they are with the whole of society, but especially with those engaged in the work of Christian teaching, we may, from that circumstance, conclude that the cause is destined to still greater, and not very remote, triumphs in the United States of America. For my own part, I have come here to thank God and to take courage. From what I have heard, however, from our brethren who reside on the other side of the Atlantic, it appears that there is much yet to be done; and I cannot wonder that an individual of such an ardent temperament as Mr. FULLER, should look to the ultimate triumph, and think that *nothing* is done till *everything* is done. Now, I rejoice in what *is* done; and I think that our wisdom lies in telling the good as well as telling the evil. If we tell only what is evil, we certainly leave out half the truth, just as if we leave out the other half, and tell only what is good. We are all exceedingly anxious to impress upon our American brethren, that we take a deep and solemn interest in the advancement of the cause on the other side of the Atlantic, not merely because of the amount of misery which slavery entails upon some of the states of America; not merely because we are anxious that America should blot from her escutcheon this deep and foul taint; not merely that she may become a consistent, noble-minded, and, morally considered, influential nation upon the face of the earth —which she never can be till slavery is destroyed; but because we feel the importance of the triumph of humanity and justice in America as connected with the cause of slavery all over the world. What could not be done if America would wash herself from the negro's blood, and strike hands with Great Britain in a covenant of friendship in this great cause! Slavery and the slave-trade must soon fall if America could but be united with us in purging herself of this deep stain—this hateful crime. It is on this account that we are so exceedingly anxious on this side of the water that America should take her proper station among the nations of the earth as an unsullied people. But how is this to be advanced? Our friend, Mr. PHELPS, called upon us to do all that we could to aid the abolitionists on the other side of the water. We have done something, and it has been duly acknowledged. Three years ago, we passed in the Convention then held, a series of resolutions which were intended to work upon the religious masses of the community. We agreed, and we still do, with the statement of Mr. BIRNEY, that the American church has been the bulwark of slavery. We are anxious to attack that bulwark; and I am quite sure that if we can overthrow it, everything else will give way. Those resolutions were intended to express, and did express, the solemn conviction of the Convention then held, that slavery was a crime—not merely a fault, and not merely a mistake in policy, not merely a political error; for, viewed only in this light, the resolutions to which I have alluded would scarcely have been passed, because they were addressed to the religious part of the community; therefore we declared that slavery was a crime against God, and against man, of which the Christian church ought, through its ministers and by it discipline, to take just and severe cognizance. Now we meet after three years to re-consider the subject, and the resolutions which I shall presently have the honour to read, and submit to the meeting, will give the assurance to our brethren in America, that three years' deliberate consideration of the subject has not in the smallest degree altered our views, our convictions, or our purposes in reference to this greatest outrage that has ever trampled on the rights of humanity. We are anxious to send back our brethren assured

that we entertain the same views, rejoicing that so many of the Christians of America have entered into the views then expressed, and which will be reaffirmed this day. Without trespassing farther, I may observe that the resolutions I hold in my hand will go to declare, not merely that slavery is a sin, but a sin disqualifying the individual who persists in committing it, amidst all the light which now blazes around him, for church fellowship. We do not go into the abstract question; we take negro slavery as it is, and we declare that to be a crime, unfitting the individual that commits it in this age, for Christian fellowship with the saints of the Most High God, and the followers of Him who was Love incarnate. We do not sit to determine whether there may be any exceptions to this rule, under peculiar circumstances, of individuals adopting measures for the emancipation of their slaves. We lay down the general rule that slavery is a sin; and, I repeat it, almost to tautology, unfitting the individual for the fellowship of the Christian church. Having made these remarks, I will read the resolutions.

1. That this Convention hereby declares to the world its deliberate and solemn conviction that slavery, in whatever form or country it exists, is intrinsically opposed to all natural justice and genuine Christianity; that in proportion as these exert their legitimate vigour and influence in society, it must be destroyed; and that while the Convention deeply deplores the sanction or support still given to it, either overtly or tacitly, by so many churches and religious bodies, especially in the United States, it rejoices in the assurance that so many others are bearing their public and decided testimony against it, refusing to retain in their communion those who, after one admonition, persist in the justification and practice of it.

2. That, encouraged by the progress of earnest sentiment and action on this subject in the churches and religious bodies of America and other countries, this Convention repeats the testimony of the Convention of 1840—that while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned, in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures or holding them in slavery—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave trade.

3. That this Convention, while it passes no judgment on the particular forms of action which different friends of the slave in different circumstances may adopt, hereby expresses its cordial sympathy and high admiration of all those who, in a Christian spirit and by Christian methods, are sincerely and earnestly labouring to purify their respective religious connexions from all fellowship with and support of this heinous sin.

I hope the meeting will pass these resolutions, and hand them to Mr. PHELPS, as our meed of assistance to the great cause on the other side of the Atlantic.

Rev. JOHN RITCHIE, D.D.—I willingly comply with the request that I second the resolutions now moved. A citizen of the world, I have an unalienable right to address the world, and this representation of it—the World's Convention. There are many things wrong in me, at least others say so: indeed, I do not deny it. I believe there are some things wrong in those around me; hence I fear not to lift up my voice among my fellows in imperfection. They are to tell me my faults, that I may rectify them; and I am to tell them their faults, that they may throw theirs off; and as this process of reciprocal reproof proceeds, the world, which we here represent, will throw off its evils, and go on towards perfection. Here I consider myself not so much a fountain as a reservoir. I have repaired hither not so much to give as to gather instruction on the momentous department of humanity which has convened us. I do not coincide with the remark of my friend, that "we are up to the mark:" I feel that I, at

least, am not up to the mark. I have never seen slavery in its infernal practical workings. I cannot say,

"Quæque miserrima vidi;"

Far less can I add,

"Et quorum pars magna fui."

Therefore it is that I rejoice in the opportunity of hearing Yankees, above all others, on this subject,—with them a practical, may I not say a fireside one. Between our two friends, FULLER and PHELPS, there may seem to others a collision of statement; but if so, it is a friendly collision, and greatly nominal. I have not seen a man constitutionally better formed to beard the slave-holder in his den than friend FULLER; he is just the Horatian beau ideal:

"Justum et tenacem prepositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida."

He seems to have been born "in hunc effectum." Long may he live to occupy his post! The seeming discordance between him and PHELPS need alarm no friend of the slave, far less can it furnish vantage ground to his enemy. They were both describing the same portrait, but different features of it. They both told truth, but dwelt on different developments of this giant evil. I give equal credit to both; their seeming variations are testimonies of absence of collusion, of thorough integrity. I have nothing to detail of my experience in slavery; this, however, no man can rob me of, I have been an anti-slavery man since I first saw CLARKSON'S picture of a slave-ship's under-deck, covered with human beings. The more I sifted anti-slavery doctrines, the more did I approve. The first anti-slavery petition from Ayrshire was from my congregation; it was for total, immediate, unconditional, uncompensated abolition. On my removal to Edinburgh I found a Gradual Abolition Society existing. I joined it as the best I could get, declaring, however, my own sentiments as an immediatist. When ANDREW THOMPSON,

"Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,"

moved for *immediate*, I instantly joined that man after my own heart, though I had just before seconded a motion made by Lord JEFFREY. A society for immediate abolition was forthwith formed, though Dr. JOHN BROWN, Mr. H. GREY, and Mr. J. CAMPBELL left us because we became immediatists. From that day, however, our society proceeded gloriously; God was with us of a truth. I had the honour of introducing to an Edinburgh audience our friend GEORGE THOMPSON, the slave's friend *par excellence*, and occupied the chair (no sinecure) while, amid the ruffian outrages of the West Indian interest, he gathered golden opinions as first on the right side of the best of causes. I may add, I was his *second* in circumstances sufficient to expel *duelling* from the world without the aid of *religion* or *conscience*, inasmuch as the challenge was given in the presence of more than a thousand people, most of them ladies, aye, and the challenger's pastor being chairman; the *second* being a *D.D.*; and the terms being adjusted in a *Quaker's* house, I need scarcely add, all was settled on *Quaker* principles.

I may add, in illustration of my practical creed, that one morning I was rather alarmed by a crowd at my gate, (my friends know that I am constitutionally Na-awish?) two woolly-pated little fellows were there; they spoke a medley of French and Portuguese. I, by the help of my friend WYMSS, made out that they were slaves, imported from Brazil by one, I am sorry to say,

brought up in the church to which I belong; and were still treated as *slaves*. They were directed to me, as to "a great slavery man," for protection. Waiving details, we secured one of them; the other was carried off by his master to Liverpool, to be shipped for the Brazils and sold. I wrote to the late Mr. CROPPER, the well-known friend of humanity; the docks were watched; the boy could not be smuggled on board; his master had to bring him back to Edinburgh; he was turned to the streets; he is now a stout well-behaved tradesman, and does credit to his patron, Mr. WILSON. The other died of consumption in our infirmary. Both were very grateful, and the survivor paid visits to the deceased, which for frequency and sympathy might put to shame the maligners of Afric's children as if of inferior nature. As I am garrulous, I may as well give you another case. I received a letter from a town twenty miles from Edinburgh, (I do not say it is Peebles,) stating that two girls had been brought from the West Indies, and were treated as slaves, whipped, starved, &c. I set off to investigate the case. The lady who brought them kindly brought the tamarind rods with them, and put them to their *legitimate* use. The girls were brought to Edinburgh; kind ladies cared for them; one did not turn out well; the other is now, I believe, a governess in Jamaica. So much for my anti-slavery traffic in a *small way*. There is not a man here whom I so much envy as our friend JOHNSTON. Had I youth back again, and were I given my choice of office, I would choose that which he fills. As this may not be, I rejoice to see around me so many colleagues to him, so well qualified to occupy efficiently their respective departments in the glorious cause in which we are all engaged. May the Author of their life long spare them; may the blessing of Him who came to give liberty to the captive rest upon them, and crown their labours of love and mercy with success! I know no man who more nearly resembles the Master whom we serve, than he whose office it is to find the captive, and, when he has found him, never to leave him till he sees him landed a free man among free men. I am sorry to have to contrast with a theme so congenial to my heart some things referred to in this resolution, most of all since they are within and chargeable on churches. O that the church would be faithful to her Head! that her ministers would remember that he complains especially of the wounds wherewith he was wounded in the house of his friends. O that they would hear what He saith to the churches, who walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks! If I do not misread my Bible, the church is the commissioned regenerator of the world. If, then, the church be corrupt, whence are to issue the healing waters? If the salt of the earth have lost its savour, how is the putrid world to be recovered from its taint? If justice and mercy are exiled from the church, what can I expect but that they are

> "Sprung on the viewless winds to heaven again?"

Alas! what report must he bear back of *Christianity*, who has been sent to learn her genius and influence from a *slave-holding church?* My fancy hears him, on his return, questioned by his brother idolater, "What are Christians?" "Monsters! They hold that their creed came from heaven, and is the word of salvation; and they hold it a capital crime to teach this creed to man, woman, or child who has a dark face, though they allow that their God gave them this dark face. They buy and sell men, women, and children, and offer the profits on the altar of their God! They sell their own wives, sons, and daughters, and to those who they know will work and flog them to death; and this they do without the temptation of hunger or poverty. Nay, farther, their ministers of religion do all this daily, though I heard them preaching from their creed, 'Be pitiful, be tender-hearted;' 'whatsoever ye would that men

do to you, do ye even so to them;' 'be merciful as your Father in heaven is merciful.'" Can I wonder that the yell arises, "These Christians are monsters!" Let heathens henceforth inscribe in their divine book this additional cause of thanksgiving, "*Heathens* are not *monsters*, like *slave-holding Christians!*"

After weighing the whole matter in the balance of the sanctuary, I hesitate not to repeat, "The churches in America are the bulwarks of slavery," just as I say of the churches of another country, (I do not say it is Britain,) "they are the bulwarks of drunkenness." Let pastors, elders, and deacons do their duty in these great departments of Christian conversation, and I will answer for it that the most ragamuffin caste of the human race will be rescued from their present degradation. "O ye priests, this commandment is to you;" "ye have made the table of the Lord and his meat contemptible among the heathen." I am sorry to draw this contrast on another account, one that comes nigh to me as a Scotch minister. There seems to be something pestiferous in the very atmosphere of America. In it the spirit of liberty, of pure Christianity sickens, pines, and dies. I know men from my country, in the ministry, whom I would have unhesitatingly written down as to live, labour, and die the slave's friend and advocate; I have seen them on the same platform with myself denouncing the slave-holder, especially slave-holding ministers. Since they crossed the Atlantic they are struck with dumb-palsy; their voice is never heard. They know the satanic depths of the system as well as I do; but they now talk of "institutions of the country;" "we, on this side of the water, cannot judge;" "you need not expect to do any thing, except you get the people with you;" "you, Britons, have cruelties, and murders, and slavery at home." These are their irrefragable arguments, their strong reasons. I thank God, that to such time-serving Herodians He has not committed the religion and liberties of mankind. Were it so, their sun should go down at noon. They boast of their "mahogany pulpits," their "gigs," and their dollars. They smell of blood; "their gold and their silver are cankered; they shall eat their flesh as it were fire." Let them, ere it be too late, ponder, Prov. xxiv. 11, 12. I have men in my eye who know the actuals of the question as well as my friend BLANCHARD, and still they are mute as fishes, or rather, they are dumb dogs that cannot bark. I do not like to name them; but I do not pledge myself to perpetual forbearance. Messrs. HALLEY, SKINNER, &c., may tell them so. What must be that state of society which hath wrought a change so great, mournful, disgraceful! While I condemn thus the pulpit, and hold it supremely culpable, I look down and say, the pew, too, is culpable: the people must love to have it so; for what are ministers, and elders, and deacons but just what the people make them? You elect them and sustain them. While they are faithful, count them worthy of double honour; if not, dismiss them; get others, faithful men, men that will teach humanity both in doctrine and in practice, followers of Him who pitieth the poor, and helpeth him that hath no helper. To this it must come ere the world be put right; it must be turned upside-down. I have, however, no sympathy with you *laics* who cry out against your ministers. No; I cry out against you; I have a right to write you down as of similar sentiments with your ministers as long as they are *yours;* aye, and until you get other ministers, men of the right sort. When I look at the state of the American churches, and the constant communication now going on between them and the churches here, I feel that I am a part and parcel of these churches; if, then, the ministerial character be degraded there, I see not how it can be kept pure and uncontaminated at home. The present state of things cannot long subsist; it must be supplanted by a better, and glad shall I be to chant

"Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo."

I have learned, since my coming to London, that in the Southern States there are scarcely any schools, and the reason given is, that they are inconsistent with slavery, and the slave-holding interest. Well, I say there is another nail into slavery's coffin—it will soon be needed; since slavery and school cannot grow together. The school must live, it must possess the land, all lands—it must absorb slavery! Slavery is hostile to schools. Well, this is another brand which the Almighty hath set upon it; for it is written, "Knowledge shall be increased," and every mountain that opposes the march of knowledge must be pulverised—the mountain slavery shall become a plain. Here, too, is another reason for my altar-vowed enmity to slavery. To education, I owe, under God, all that I possess, and I long and pray for the incoming of that happy time of which "wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability." Since slavery is the natural foe of education, I say, lay the axe to its root—down with it! I call on every one that rejoices on the products of education, let us all determine never to rest while a system exists which has smothered every desire for education, and has degraded the population beneath the condition of the heathen in Greece and Rome's darkest night. When I hear of the Southerners conspiring against schools, because they are incompatible with slavery, I reply, Yes, the time was when Partyism could draw its awning across the firmament, and shut out the light of heaven, and through its coloured prism admit just as much, and of the suitable hue, as would suffice for the purposes of superstition, bigotry, and cruelty; and serve, by its darkness visible, to erect the stake, pull the rack, wield the sword, and flourish the whip; and convince all that this was perfection, and that the only heresy to be dreaded and eschewed was innovation. But that time, thanks to the Author of every good and perfect gift, has passed away—the awning has he rent to pieces; men have learned that of light one of the excellences is its *colourlessness;* that of all prisms, every man's own eye is for him the best. Intellect has run off with his cradle, and with it has cooked his first meal of discovery. Conscience has burst his fetters, and carried off the gates of Authority's fortress, bars and all. The partitions, which severed the Unit family of man, are daily becoming lower and weaker. Clime, colour, and breed, are being amalgamated in the one composite of humanity and charity. The throne, the mitre, and the coif, are being estimated at their true value. All things that can be shaken are being shaken, and the true lustre is every day standing forth in deeper relief, of those things which cannot be shaken and must remain. Surveying these movements, I say, in calm reflection, this system against which we are marshalled—slavery—is doomed in heaven, and therefore doomed in America, and in all other portions of the earth. If I rightly read the signs of the times in which we live, and on which I rejoice that my lot has cast me, slavery has become universally doomed. I would say to its unhappy, as well as criminal adherents—"be wise in time, 'tis madness to defer'—come out and be separate—he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall, both shall fall together." You, my fellow-labourers, I congratulate; events are crowding on, wind and tide, aye, every anomalous eddy is in our favour. Fear not, only be strong; America must also have her first of August—her Emancipation Jubilee. May it not be with blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke! May it be like ours—calm, bloodless, joyous! May God send it speedily; and as his is the gift, to his glorious name be all the praise!

Rev. J. BIRT.—If I regarded only myself on this occasion, I should feel it my duty, from the brevity of our time, silently to lift up my hand in favour of this resolution. There are reasons, however, which make it almost imperative upon me to say a few words in its support. One of them has been indirectly

alluded to by Mr. Scales, in describing the different denominations who have been appointed, by those who have had the arrangement of the proceedings to move, second, and support the resolutions. I feel it also my duty, as a representative of the sentiments of one of the largest and most populous towns in the British empire, not to give a silent vote. Many years have elapsed since the Manchester and Salford Anti-Slavery Society came to the firm and determined decision, that not only holding slaves, but countenancing slave-holders, was a sin; not by inference merely, but expressly associated with the most criminal offences against God, specified in the New Testament. In my opinion, not only is it a sin, but slave-holding churches are not, properly speaking, Christian churches: it matters not to us what doctrines they profess, what discipline they maintain, if they are men-stealers, or countenance those who are guilty of that offence, so expressly condemned in the word of God, they are not Christians. It is true, they are assemblies of men calling themselves Christians; but they are not, they cannot be, Christian churches. These have been the sentiments of the honoured men, with whom I have been happy to associate for many years, and I therefore express these sentiments, not merely as my own, but theirs; and many of them are now present to hear what I say. We should have thought it unnecessary to have recorded a resolution expressive of these opinions before this meeting; we should as little have thought of the necessity of proposing a resolution to withhold communion from murderers, and those who commit crimes accounted the most abominable among mankind, as to pass a resolution to withhold communion from men who are guilty of these characteristic and condemned offences against God. But there is a sufficient reason why this should be done: my honoured friend, Mr. James, has expressed a wish, that the representatives of the anti-slavery cause of America, would tell us what they wish us to do, as well as deplore in our presence, the evils which move their hearts and ours. They told us at the last Convention, and I apprehend they tell us now, that by passing resolutions such as these, we shall help them; we shall do what they wish us to do, and they will find the benefit when they return to their own country. I wish, and indeed, I hope, that the spirit of these resolutions may be considered as extending further than mere slave-holding churches. May I be permitted to say, that I consider the prejudice against colour in the North, as even a more aggravated sin than the holding of slaves in the South. I consider that where there is no inducement of a pecuniary nature, or from the force of habit and custom, to hold slaves, and where no slaves can be held, that there, to treat men of a different colour from themselves, in the way in which we have been pained to hear that they are treated in the Northern States, argues the presence of a more bitter and sinful prejudice, and its more inveterate power over its subjects, than prevails even in the slavery of the Southern States. I hope, therefore, that it will be understand that no man—minister or layman, will be welcomed to the communion of any of the British churches, who is not prepared, who is not willing, who is not prompt to give the right hand of fellowship, as readily to a coloured as to a white Christian. I should rejoice if this were to be the test and criterion. If he welcome him as a brother, it is well; but if he make the slightest difference because of the colour of his skin, it is to be accounted in all respects as countenancing, sympathising, and co-operating with those who detain their fellow-creatures in slavery. We have heard a little about an apparent discrepancy this morning in the statements of some of our friends. I should not allude to this after the pertinent and sound remarks of Mr. James, except to express my conviction that that apparent discrepancy will do good rather than harm. I rejoice that there was that apparent discrepancy, because, in fact, there was the most perfectly sub-

stantial agreement. Do we not, in our arguments with infidels, avail ourselves most beneficially of the apparent discrepancy between the Evangelists, to show that there was no collusion, that every one gave a straightforward and faithful account of that which took place, and therefore, that the main and substantial agreement of the whole is a proof that Christianity is no "cunningly devised fable?" Now, if our American brethren had come with one tale, and uttered it in the same words; if they had employed exactly the same expressions, though it might have been very pleasant to find that brother FULLER had nothing to say of a corrective nature concerning brother BLANCHARD, and brother BLANCHARD had no occasion to say any thing in reply; it would not, I must confess, have brought such conviction to my mind, that they were the honest, faithful, truth-telling men that I fervently believe them to be. I am sure we shall all rejoice if we can in any way contribute to the assistance of such men—men who prove their own honesty of purpose, their own perfect integrity of character, by even running the risk of being supposed to be in contradiction one to another, rather than in the slightest degree sacrifice the interests of justice and of truth. Mr. SCALES has alluded to the denomination to which I belong; you have heard of the three denominations, and individuals from each of them are bearing their testimony therefore at the present time; but I do feel that the denomination in this country which is most in danger, on the point now before us, is that of the Baptists. I will state the reason. It appears that in America innumerable Baptists are slaveholders, and some of these parties, either ministers or acknowledged members of their churches, may come with credentials from Baptist churches, and be admitted to communion on that ground, while the spirit of slavery is in their hearts, and the blcod of slavery is on their hands. I will venture to add that I wish class communion among Christians were expelled from the face of the earth; I wish not only that Christians of colour were admitted to fellowship most freely and affectionately, but that there should be but one principle amongst all our Christian churches. I feel mortified when I think that there is a denomination in this country in some of whose churches the purest, the most hearty, the most godly abolitionists of America would not be received into communion unless his views of baptism were like theirs. I do hope that when Baptist churches are considering the subject of communion with respect to the coloured people, the matter will be brought home to their own consciences, and that their hearts may be opened by the full influence of Christian affection; and that, while they repel from their communion the slave-holder, and the man who countenances slavery, whether white, brown, or black, they will yet welcome to their arms, and their hearts, every man who has the love of Christ in his heart, and the work of Christ in his hands, be he white, coloured, or black, without asking him what are his sentiments upon one institution. I hope that the very same moment which overthrows, and prostrates for ever, class communion with regard to colour, will overthrow, and prostrate for ever, class communion on those subjects which affect not Christian doctrine, which affect not Christian character; and that the same sun will shine upon the free communion of Christians in America, and the free communion of Christians in Great Britain.

Lord MORPETH being on the platform, several Delegates expressed their anxiety to hear him.

Lord MORPETH.—I think that in such an assembly as this, it is most fitting that every one should have his turn, and I am to have mine on Wednesday next (the day of the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,) and, with your leave, not till then. I came here partly to show my respect for this Convention, and to express my sympathy with the objects it is

pursuing; but chiefly, I must say, for the sake of picking up some hints, and learning my lesson. This is too great a subject to be touched upon hastily; and therefore I hope that you will allow me to remain an auditor of your proceedings until Wednesday next.

Mr. HOWELLS.—As a delegate from the coloured friends at Pittsburgh, and in the neighbourhood, I wish to make a remark or two. There is one feature of the sufferings of our coloured friends to which no allusion has been made; and you will be surprised when I state that their sufferings are just in proportion to their exaltation in society, to their mental attainments, to the acuteness of their religious feeling, and to their standing in social life. It is not the class of coloured people sunk in degradation, wretchedness, ignorance, and filth, that are despised supremely in the United States. Strange to tell, they are not the people against whom the prejudice of the United States seems to bear. No; they are supposed to be in their proper position, and they are passed by as the swine that wallow in the mire, with indifference, it being scarcely thought worth while to point the finger of scorn at them. But, oh! I shall never forget a circumstance that transpired two or three years after I first went to the United States. I was in the family of Mr. FORTEN, of whom honourable mention has been made, a man of the most gentlemanly, courteous character, with a wife full of amiability and Christianity, and elegance of deportment, with a fine lovely family of sons and daughters; and I saw the tears trickle down her cheeks when she said, speaking of the coloured people, and the indignities they were called to endure, "In proportion as coloured persons are respectable, so are their sufferings; we cannot even go out of our own home, without having a company of degraded creatures running after us in the streets and calling out 'Nigger, nigger!'" It is true that there was a class in Pennsylvania who knew how to esteem the character of Mr. FORTEN; men of correct feeling knew how to estimate his worth and consistency; and though the mark of distinction is always retained, yet if ever it was forgotten, it was at the period when his remains were consigned to the tomb. Then there was a large assemblage of persons of every grade in the train, doing him the honour to which he was entitled. You heard the statement of the late governor of New York—that he declared, that if the Society of Friends had done their duty, and had carried out their principles, slavery would not now have had an existence in the United States. It was the highest praise he could pass on that religious body—it identified with them a principle of emancipation which would overcome every obstacle; but at the same time it was the severest censure, inasmuch as they did not exercise the power they possessed. They had a lever by which they could uplift the world, and they would not raise it; they had a trumpet by which they could have given a blast that would awake the world, and they would not blow it. I know that those who desire to see their own church purified of this evil will be anxious to avail themselves of any hint that is given, because to whatever denomination it is applied, be assured that it is given from feelings of the deepest affection. There is one thing more which may be done besides conscientiously addressing the American churches by letter, and you may be certain that it will prevail. I remember Mr. THORP uttering a sentiment that vibrates on my feelings now, though I heard it years ago, "kindness is the key to the human heart," and that is the spirit in which you should address the churches of America, whether it be by delegates or by epistolary communications. But there is another point to which allusion has been made, and one to which the devoted and noble CLARKSON has turned his mind. It is now in the power of this nation to destroy slavery throughout the United States in the space of two or three years. By what means? Means the most simple—means by which you will not only relieve America from

all its suffering with regard to slavery, and raise the coloured people to the elevation and enjoyment of liberty, and all the comforts of life, but by which you will enrich yourselves, and at the same time promote the welfare of India —fertilizing her desert places, and causing her products to be brought into your market—I mean by growing the article of cotton. There are two hundred millions of acres of uncultivated land in British India, and the labour of Hill Coolies may be obtained at twopence per day, while, according to the lowest calculation, the cost of slaves in the Southern states of America is eightpence per day. It is true that the distance will increase the expense, but it appears to me that on a fair calculation, cotton may be raised in India and landed in the ports of England for somewhere about one half the price that is now paid for slave-grown produce. Now, is it not a subject of importance to feed the poor starving Hindoos on the one hand, and to remove the oppression of two millions and a half of slaves in America on the other? It is a settled question; all the calculations that have been made demonstrate, that if Britain were to raise her own cotton it would destroy the slave-holding interest of the United States, and they would be obliged to relieve themselves of the burden of sustaining their slaves, for whose support the produce would not meet the expense. Where men persevere in holding slaves after patient, persevering, kind, affectionate, Christian remonstrances, they ought no longer to be recognised as members of the church of Jesus Christ. Whether they are Christians or not, it is not for me to determine; they may be brethren, but they are erring brethren; and so long as they are under such fatal error we are not bound to acknowledge them as members of the church of Christ. But are you prepared to take such a measure? Are you prepared to sever from the churches united with the slave churches in the South? The Primitive Methodists, who have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, began with clean hands, and I pray that they may be kept clean. The Covenanters have washed their hands of the sin entirely, and so also has one branch of the Presbyterian and the United Secession churches. If our friends are prepared to take this ground, then it is time to communicate with the churches in America, and to send them an honest remonstrance; but let it be done in the spirit of love, of meekness, of fidelity, and of penitence. I hope that our friends will consider the subject and act upon it; for while we delay, there is no relief to the poor bondman who sees every return of the sun with anguish; there is no mitigation to the sufferings of the wife who is torn from her husband—to children who are torn from the bosom of their parents. Let us remember, while we are enjoying our blessings in profusion, the woes and anguish to which every day gives birth, and then we shall be up and doing with all our might.

Mr. J. STURGE.—I am one of those who wish that there should be faithfulness to all the Christian bodies of every denomination on the other side of the Atlantic. I know that there are many of the Society of Friends there who think that I have hardly judged of them charitably; and, therefore, in coming forward to correct what I believe was an erroneous impression produced this morning, I shall not be accused of attempting to shield them unfairly. Many left this room, I understand, under the conviction that there was a rule of the Society of Friends in America, which prevented the admission of persons of colour to membership. There is not; and I believe there never was any such rule in any of the American Yearly Meetings. Having crossed the Atlantic with an anxious desire to ascertain the real state of things among the members of my own Society, I feel bound to say, I returned with grief, under the conviction that the Society, in its corporate capacity, could not be considered as advocating total and immediate emancipation. I think it our duty to speak out boldly. We ought to consider it matter of thankfulness that Providence

has not placed us in an atmosphere which clouds the vision, like that of America; but we are not our brother's enemy because we tell him the truth. I was glad our friends this morning spoke strongly, and if they spoke too strongly, I would say to the parties to whom they referred, "show by your future conduct that the accusations were unjust." The Quaker character, however, still stands so high in the position of abolitionism, that the slave runs to him for security rather than to any other person. But the descendants of William Penn, whose ancestors, under the blessing of Providence, were able to be the instruments of clearing the Society of Friends from any contamination of slavery, are bound to do more than their fellow Christians.

Rev. Dr. MORISON.—Representing, as I do, the body of Congregational ministers in this great city, and taking a deep interest in the discussion which has led to the resolutions now before us, I have felt that a silent vote would scarcely be consistent with my sense of conscientious duty. First of all, allow me to say to the Convention, and to the gentleman who has lately addressed us, and who put to us the questson, Whether we were prepared in this country to go the whole length of refusing church fellowship and ministerial communion with those on the other side of the Atlantic, who are unsound upon the great question of slavery, that I am prepared, as far as I am concerned, to act up to the letter of this proposal, and in fact I have done so for the last three years. I should not receive the church testimonials of American Christians, unless I found them sound on the question of slavery. I understand how these testimonials are obtained; I know that they are generally granted, whether a man thinks rightly or wrongly upon this most momentous subject. I have taken the same ground with reference to ministers from that country—a country which I most deeply respect—a country to which I wish well from the very bottom of my heart—a country which I trust is yet destined to rise superior to all the untoward circumstances which now bear upon it. God grant that the time may speedily come, when America may shake herself from that incubus which now presses upon her moral reputation, to say nothing of her intellectual energies! Within the last three weeks, I had a clergyman call upon me with bland address, and kind and gentlemanly manners, combined, as it appeared to me, with the most Christian feeling, and I had it in my heart at once, and without a feeling of suspicion, to ask him to occupy my pulpit; but I did not do so until I had gently pressed my anti-slavery catechism, fairly and honourably. I am happy to say that that individual was from the state of Maine, which I believe has never been a slave-holding state; and I am bound to say from what I know—and my American brethren will not differ from me—that that state has done its duty in this cause nobly. I saw a letter which the ministers of the Congregational body there had sent, not merely to their own brethren, but beyond the limits of their immediate circle, which I think was as sound in anti-slavery principles as anything that this Convention can possibly issue. Where we meet with such facts as these, we ought to rejoice to state them. I wish to see blame rest where it lies. If Mr. Phelps will pardon me, I will state honestly and fairly what I think was the fault of his speech. I thought that in point of quality it was an admirable speech. It detailed facts and results as to the anti-slavery cause, which could not but be most highly gratifying to all who take an interest in this great undertaking. But it did seem to me, as he gave the details, that the anti-slavery friends had proceeded almost with the ease of a carriage upon a railroad. Unless, however, the Convention does cause obloquy to rest on every man who is on the pro-slavery side; unless it does look slavery out of countenance, we may sit for one hundred days, and produce but a slender impression on the public mind of the country. I thought he ought to have told us more of the kind of current

which the anti-slavery friends have to stem, of the dangers and difficulties to which, if honest, they have to expose themselves; that he ought to have given us a detail of the untoward events, in the process which has conducted them thus far to a favourable and most delightful result. These are the things we want to know. We do not want to know about slavery—we hate it, and are prepared to do what we can to stay its progress from one end of the world to the other; but we wish that our American friends would state the adverse character of the measures with which they have to contend, that we may have an opportunity of expressing the detestation we feel towards them, and our honest disapprobation of the conduct of those ministers of religion, and those members of Christian churches, who have thwarted anti-slavery proceedings. I trust I shall be pardoned for making this allusion. I have made it, because several of our friends from America have yet to speak, and we want to know who are the men that hinder them from doing what is right, and what are the means to which professedly religious men resort to check the progress of the cause. If they will give us this information, our Christian press shall deal honestly with it, and the testimony of the British churches shall pass like a voice of thunder across the Atlantic waves, and shall resound from one end of America to another, as the testimony, not of men of the world, but Christian men speaking to men professedly Christian, and telling them that they belie their principles; that they cast a reproach on our common Christianity, by every measure they adopt which tends to keep up the reign of that accursed thing which we are met to denounce. Such a testimony cannot but have a powerful influence. I cannot sit down without alluding to the business to which the resolutions refer, and which was brought before us in the early part of the day. Allusion has been made to it by our friend Mr. James; yet considering its importance in every view of the measure, the allusion has been somewhat too slender to engage that degree of British attention, and British sympathy, to which, I think, it is justly entitled. I refer to those noble, self-sacrificing services, which our friend Mr. Johnston, from New York, has been carrying on for some years past, on behalf of those slaves, or those coloured men, who have escaped from their proprietors in the Southern States of America. It is most important that the British public should show that they are prepared to do something more than talk—that they are prepared to give a practical testimony of their cordial sympathy and co-operation with our esteemed friend and his coadjutors. They have borne the burden and heat of the day; they have encountered a large measure of obloquy; and although it has been said to-day by one friend—I suppose in perfect truth and fidelity, that the authorities are disposed rather to protect runaway slaves than to surrender them—that there is a feeling in the counties of the Northern States, particularly about New York, to sympathise in the deliverance of these poor unhappy men; yet, we must not forget, that the moment the master's eye fixes on the runaway slave, or that his agents grasp him, that moment the American authorities are obliged to be the kidnappers of the state, and be the means of conveying back the poor man to all the misery and bondage from which he had escaped. We have felt to-day, that there is a law which takes precedence of all other laws—the law of the Bible, so abundantly recognised this morning. But we know, that in a state of society like that which prevails in America, it becomes important that the friends of the slave, who take the responsible task of endeavouring to convey him, when he escapes from bondage, into a place of safety and liberty, should be sustained here, if they cannot be sustained in their own country. I am sure that Mr. Johnston has only to put before the Society of Friends a good case, in order to obtain the means for carrying on to a greater extent than he has hitherto been able to do, the work

in which he is engaged; although it is delightful to think that he has sent so many to Canada. I hope that Englishmen will show the Americans that they are not only ready to maintain anti-slavery doctrines, but to give a practical demonstration of their feelings, by contributing of their substance to aid this glorious undertaking.

Rev. J. BIRT.—Some remarks that I made, not having been sufficiently intelligible, I find have occasioned pain to some whom I should be sorry to grieve. I was understood to say, with regard to Baptist churches, that many would be ready to receive slave-holders to their communion; but so far from intending to convey that impression, I do not believe that there is one that would do it; indeed, I know that most of the associated churches have declared that they would not; what I meant to say was, that it was important that the Baptists should be on the alert, because, owing to the Baptists being so numerous in America, the churches here were the more in danger of receiving, unknowingly, Baptist slave-holders from that country. I may be allowed, however, to repeat my regret that there should be churches in this country, by which Mr. BLANCHARD, for example, would not be received, any more than a coloured man would be in America, or than a slave-holder ought to be in this or any other country.

Mr. BUFFUM.—I wish to offer a word of explanation. I have learned that some understood me this morning as saying, that by the discipline of the Society of Friends, in America, coloured people could not be received into the church; my remarks were confined to the city of Philadelphia.

A DELEGATE.—There are coloured members in the city of Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN.—I can hardly think that we are to descend to what particular meetings in America may have done. I believe it is clearly understood, that throughout that country there is no rule among the Society of Friends that limits membership to a particular colour.

Rev. A. A. PHELPS.—I am much obliged to my friend, Dr. MORISON, for the reference he has made to the speech I had the honour to make this morning. It is due to myself to say, that I attempted in a rapid way to pass over three topics, either of which, to do justice to it, would have required all the time I occupied. Had there been time, I should have been happy to have gone into the matter of difficulties. I prefaced the remarks by saying, that the difficulties with which we had to contend from pro-slavery action, were spread before the former Convention, and through it, before the country generally, and I did not suppose there was any need of repeating them on the present occasion. I am glad that my friend is disposed to reduce principle to practice. As Dr. MORISON, in illustration of the soundness of his own abolitionism, has given some account of his interrogation of Mr. CONDIT, of Portland, I would like, if in order, to ask him some questions in respect to it, as I may gain some information from him that I have not obtained at home. I am aware that the General Conference at Maine has corresponded with ecclesiastical bodies at the South, the tone of which was elevated, and that Dr. M.'s friend had something to do with it; but it did not come up to non-fellowship with slave-holding churches. The point which I wish to ascertain from Dr. MORISON is, whether, in the thoroughness and faithfulness of his interrogation of Mr. CONDIT, he inquired if the church of which he is pastor, adopts the practice of non-fellowship? whether he had ever preached to his people, in Portland, on the subject? whether he had ever identified himself with the anti-slavery body? or whether the place of worship occupied by the church and congregation of which he is pastor, has ever been open to anti-slavery meetings? But as it may not be in order to put these questions to my friend, I will only say, that what, in this case, has passed with Dr. MORISON as abolitionism of the

genuine stamp, has never been known as such in the United States, and never, to my knowledge, been identified in any way with the abolitionists there; and had the Doctor, in his thoroughness, been a little more thorough, he probably would have found it so.

Rev. Dr. MORISON.—I put to him this question, "Do you think that slavery is a sin against God?" I think that is a test for all.

Captain STUART.—I wish to ask how it is that the American churches—speaking generally, allowing for the exceptions presented to us, and that these exceptions are increasing continually—still are the bulwarks of slavery in the United States? I wish to tell you how, in my own opinion, this is true; suggesting these remarks for your own consideration. It is not by their being slave-holders only—for the great body of the ministers of the slave churches in the slave states, are slave-holders—there are very few Friends there—I do not know that there are any Covenanters there; it is not by directly excusing slavery only, for multitudes of slave-holders do expressly and emphatically excuse it, but it is by letting slavery alone—for that is all the devil needs to destroy the world—and still more by directly and efficiently assailing anti-slavery societies. I wish you to inquire for yourselves into the circumstances of the division which has lately taken place in the state of Indiana, in the Friends' church. I implore your sympathy for the abolitionists there, who have withdrawn, as I felt compelled to do, from a branch of the Presbyterian church—from the society they loved, and whose principles they love still, but who would not act up to our views of abolition. We were told yesterday that if each thread of slave-labour cotton had a tongue, it would tell fearful tales of tyranny and blood. Let us remember, that though these threads have no tongue for human ears, yet they have tongues which God hears; and I wish to ask what the verdict of God will be, when at the final judgment He shall pass his sentence upon the slave-cotton charge against us, and upon our defence?

The resolutions were then put, and carried unanimously.

UNITED STATES.—GENERAL AND FINANCIAL VIEW OF THE EVIL OF SLAVERY.

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—Allow me to say, as I shall touch upon the general progress of the abolition cause in our country, that the question has been raised there, What are the people of England to do? We must reply, "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them;" do all that you would do if they were Englishmen, instead of Americans, who are in bonds in America. If they were Englishmen, although you could not reach them, yet you would contrive a great many methods by which you would affect their destiny. But what we want now is, that England should take care of herself; and through the good hand of God upon us, the anti-slavery cause is now in a position in which the people of America will take care of themselves: it will go on. We see already that the heads of colleges, that the politicians, are conscious of this; and that they are beginning to take care of themselves, as a man takes care of himself if he gets on the track on the Birmingham line, and sees a train coming. If England will take care of her own interest, her own laws, her own subjects, her own commerce, her own diplomacy, her own peace, we ask nothing more—the anti-slavery cause goes alone. The time has been when twenty-two men and two Quaker women, in the city of New York, were drummed from street to street, by a handbill of which I happen to have a copy. Then we should have been glad of the help of these ministers, of these college presidents, and of these politicians; then we should have been glad to receive ministers from England that would stand side by side with us. Then they could have helped us; but now let them come, if they please, and

let them take care of themselves,—that is all we ask of them. At a meeting called to form the first Anti-Slavery Society in New York, on the 2nd of October, 1833, this handbill was put forth:—"Notice to all persons from the South. All persons interested in the subject of a meeting called by J. Leavitt, W. Godell, W. Green, jun., J. Rankin, and Lewis Tappan, at Clinton Hall, this evening, at seven o'clock, are requested to attend at the same hour and same place. New York, October 2nd, 1833. Many Southerners. N.B. All citizens who may feel disposed to manifest the true feelings of the state on this subject are requested to attend." On that occasion we were hunted from place to place; and the conviction entered into my soul, that in advocating the cause of the slave I was placed out of the protection of law, and that the demon of slavery had his foot on my neck, through the influence of my neighbours in the Northern states. In the presence of Almighty God, his grace assisting me, I resolved that, living or dying, my efforts should not be remitted till that foot was off my neck. For eight years one-half of the states of the American Union were forbidden ground to me. I could go everywhere else in the world but to one-half of my own country. I can, however, now go to the city of Washington, which is situated eighty miles within the slave country. I have gone back and forth, and resided there nine months at a time, taking notes of the proceedings of the American Congress. My head has been in the lion's mouth, and come out safe; for which I thank God. I make these remarks because we have been requested to tell you our difficulties. We have told you these in times past; but now that we have attained our present position, what is the use of stating them? We have something else to do. I came to tell you your duty, your interest, your own position, and the position of the world, in reference to the question of slavery; and not to entertain you with appeals to your sympathies about our difficulties: God will take care of them. I was to speak of the financial influence of slavery. I can hardly speak of that with any effect, for the want of time: I can say, in a word, it is "hard times" in America. I dare say, Sir, that you have something in your cash-box that tells you of that pretty well. I will read you a sentence or two from a Western paper, published at Cincinnati, to let you know what hard times are:—"To have produce so cheap and abundant that one fip (about 5d.) economically laid out at a pork-house, will supply a moderate family with meat for a whole week," (a supply of meat for an American family, you will understand, is no small quantity,) "and yet hundreds of families, among whom are respectable, well-dressed citizens, compelled to depend for food on the charity of the soup-establishment, for want of the means of obtaining that one fip. To have farmers in the country, one or two hundred miles from market, with land, and stock, and produce in abundance, obliged to shiver in their summer clothing through the severity of the winter, because the avails of their produce in market will not defray the expense of getting it there; and they have consequently no means of purchasing winter clothing. To be obliged to decline (as has been done in our office) the offer of a cow and calf, in Indiana, in payment of a dollar in advance for the *Morning Star*, because the proprietor of that paper had no way of realising that amount of cash from it." That is hard times in America. These hard times are not a mere transient shower, but an English steady rain. They began in the spring of 1837, and are not yet ended. I am speaking the opinion of many of the most competent men of business when I say that it is very uncertain whether we have seen the worst. We do not know whether we have found the real value of our property; therefore we cannot say that our decline has touched the bottom. In 1836, the temperance reformation, which had then been ten years in progress, especially through the free states, had, directly or indirectly, been the means of

saving to the country no less than 100 millions of dollars per year. These accumulations were the basis of that extraordinary appearance of prosperity which spread over our land during those years. The appearances on which the financiers and bankers were led to make their calculations, were not all fallacious; they were not imposed upon by sheer misrepresentation and fraud, when they were made to believe that there was an immense amount of productive industry most profitably employed in our country. We went on; to be sure, we got very wild, and I am sorry to say that our good mother, England, did not hold the leading strings, or the purse strings, as she might have done, to her own advantage. You offered very freely, and it is not very strange that we took all you offered, as far as we could find room for it, in the way of credit. By and by the crash came and opened our eyes, at least it did mine, to the secret cause of our commercial and financial calamity. That cause was slavery. We have been, I venture to say, as industrious, enterprising, and successful a people as there is upon the face of the earth. We have been at work six years in endeavouring to recover ourselves by the energies of free labour and enlightened industry, yet here we are now—why? Because that which crushed us at first, is crushing us still. The wound of the life blood is not yet staunched; and till it is staunched, the appearance of healthy trade will be like the appearance of health in the sick man when the fever is on him. I cannot go into details, but I will state a single fact. The state of Mississippi, in about five years, brought on to its new and fertile soil a labouring population of 100,000 souls. They cost ninety millions of dollars, while Mississippi was yet a new state. There was no capital, there was no bank, there were no capitalists there. Where was the money obtained? Can you tell me? Is there any gentleman in this room, or out of it, who has got Mississippi bonds? That is where the money came from. Can you tell me any gentleman who has United States Bank Stock? That is where the money came from. Can you tell me any gentleman in the city who has Alabama Stock, North American Trust Company Stock, Florida, or Louisiana Stock? That is where the money came from, and that is where the money went. Ninety millions of dollars, you see, for the simple purpose of bringing 100,000 labourers on the soil. She has nothing else to show for it. If there had not been a vast accumulation of real wealth in the free states to bear the shock before it came to you, you would have understood more than you do. But we, standing between you and them, and being the indorsers, you have had the benefit of whatever commercial fidelity or political faith there was in us, before the shock has reached you. Why do I detail this? As a thing that is done? No: as a thing that is just begun. These slaves, for they were slaves, were bought at extravagant rates, calculating that cotton would never be lower than from 16 to 20 cents per pound. They made their calculations that they should grow rich very fast, giving a wide margin. They can make a decent living at 10 cents, but they cannot if it is under that sum. When I was looking over the price currents in America, I found that cotton was now ranging on an average of 4 to 5 cents per pound. Where has the loss fallen? Upon the money value of the lands and the slaves for which the money was borrowed, to buy them in these years of apparent prosperity. It might be thought that this great decay in the price of slaves would lead to emancipation. You would say, What can they do with their slaves but to emancipate them? Let me tell you that the principle of slavery, although nurtured and strengthened by avarice, is itself a principle more powerful than avarice. When the slave-holder emancipates his slave he makes him a man; and if you will point me to a case in the history of the world, in which those possessed of unrighteous power have placed their serfs upon an equality with themselves, from mere pecuniary considerations—the mere pressure of poverty, then I may

believe that the mere pressure of hard times is likely to bring about emancipation. A memorial was presented to Congress, in the month of June, 1842, by the sugar planters of Louisiana, representing that they had fifty millions odd dollars invested in that branch of business; that the price had become ruinously low; therefore there must be a protective duty imposed upon it to enable them to subsist. There were about five hundred sugar planters, and if these duties had not been imposed, the effect would have been, that they might have become even poor men—we will admit the worst of it. Well, I am a poor man, and I can conceive of a great many worse calamities than I have ever yet been called to suffer; and especially one calamity—that of depending on the labour of slaves. That is all the calamity that would have befallen them even if the sugar product had gone down—some five hundred, or five hundred and fifty men would have become poor. To meet their demand, Congress, which always does as the slave-holders bid, passed a Bill imposing a duty of 2½ cents per pound on raw sugar, in order to keep up the price. Sugar was then 5 cents per pound; and for some reason or other—whether it is that the law of trade is more powerful than the law of Congress, or whether it is that the determination of Divine Providence could not be controlled by the law of Congress, or whether it is neither one thing nor the other, or both in one—it is a fact that sugars have fallen, during the past winter, to 3½ cents per pound, notwithstanding the duty on foreign sugar.

With reference to the *political* influences of slavery, I must be allowed the freedom to say, that when we became an independent nation, separating ourselves from the dominion of the British crown, we established ourselves on two principles. We were before that time a number of colonies, each of us referring ourselves directly to the British crown, having no bond of union among ourselves. When we effected the separation by the declaration of independence, we declared that we had done it as *one people;* and then we declared that every individual man was endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that governments were instituted among men for the purpose of protecting those rights; that when government failed of its duty, and became an oppressor, and after all other means of securing redress had failed, it was not only the right, but the duty of the people to change that government. That was the American principle. The principle on the other side, as was stated by Dr. Johnson, was, the absolute supremacy of the government. It was so laid down by him in his pamphlet on the subject, and which was patronised by the ministry of the day. He argued that there must be in every government, somewhere residing, a power that was absolutely supreme—that could not be called to account by any other power. That was the precise position of the question between us. In process of time the British Government recognised our independence as a nation, and we took our place with their cordial consent. George the Third told our ambassador, Mr. Adams, that although he had resisted this step as long as he could, yet now that it was done, no man in the world could feel more cordial at the reconciliation than he did: and although there has been one unfortunate brush since, and although our government knock their heads together, and the members of Congress make a good many foolish speeches, and editors say some foolish things, yet these two countries have never forgotten—they did not in the time of the revolutionary war, nor in the subsequent peace, nor in the second war, nor in the present peace—they have never forgotten that we are very much alike. Sometimes we have quarrelled as a man and his wife do, because we are so much of the same mind. During the time the question of independence was pending in Congress, prior to the issuing of the decisive declaration, there was a party of friends to liberty in general, but who had never entered into the spirit of that principle which

was at stake. They were opposed to the declaration of independence, and they were therefore regardless of that principle. They still clung to the idea of state independence, or state rights, under the royal sovereignty; they clung to the idea that there must be in government an absolute sovereignty. Unfortunately, though the fathers of the Republic were so much pleased with the declaration of independence, that they were less careful than they ought to have been to carry out the principle in the original construction of the old confederacy; yet, when it fell to pieces, and a new constitution was formed, the new constitution laid down certain objects upon which the people of the United States undertook to form a government. But after the constitution was adopted, then there came up this old idea of state independence and state sovereignty. I will tell you what brought it up. It was slavery. The slave-holders were unwilling to place their interests in the common mess with the rest of us; they, therefore, claimed the right to nullify the decision—the action—of the federal government at their pleasure. I could go into detail to show how they came to have the power which they had in the federal government, but it would take too long; suffice it to say, that by a succession of encroachments and of usurpations, the slave-holders in Congress have for 30 years past established an absolute control of the government, so that the doctrine of state rights or state sovereignty, which is only another form of Dr. Johnson's absolute sovereignty of government, transferring it from the British Crown to the state legislature, has come to be the recognised law of the American republic. Your British government have found it to their perplexity in the boundary question, and in the case of Mr. M'Leod; and our government has, by Mr. Webster, acknowledged itself to be incompetent to discharge its admitted duties. It is slavery that has made us a congeries of nations instead of one nation. The free states are obliged to adopt the same principle in self-defence; for it will not do for us to be bound by it, any more than slave governments are bound by it; and the consequence is, the doctrine of state rights is the American doctrine—the principle by which we are to stand or fall. I believe there is intelligence and moral principle, and political integrity enough, through the blessing of God, to carry us through and bring us to a proper state when the great counteracting cause is removed. But we can never do anything, be anything, we shall always be in every body's way, an annoyance to every body, as long as slavery continues. I might show in regard to the political question, as perhaps I have shown satisfactorily in the financial question, that if you suffer in consequence of our anomalous position, we of the free states suffer more. We have to bear the brunt of the shock; we suffer in every form, and yet there is no way but for us to suffer. We are one people, notwithstanding; they are our brethren; we are one country. A great deal has been said about dividing the Union; it would be an easy thing. It is a very easy thing to divide a stick of wood, if you take it along the grain and the grain is straight; but our grain is not straight, we are a crooked-grained people; therefore, there is no seam at which we can be divided. We have to go through with it; we have to see the end of it; we have to pay the bill; we have to bear the dishonour, to encounter the difficulty. We shall keep you in that position, that the burden we cannot bear will by and by settle down on John Bull's shoulders, as it did in the days of repudiation; but meanwhile the brunt of the burden falls upon us, and will continue to do so until the cause is removed. You cannot dry up this river by baling it out with a pail; you must dry it up at the fountain head, and then the streams of misery, and evil, and impoverishment will no longer flow. I will say, as an illustration of this, that slavery controls our government. I am requested to explain in what way the slave-holders have votes for the slaves. The fathers who formed the institution got into a snare; they were entangled in the web of sophistry. The constitution speaks of all human

beings only as persons. Mr. Madison, though a slave-holder, who died with hundreds of slaves to follow him to the grave, yet, in that convention, he said it would not do to admit in the constitution, that man can be the property of man. That sentiment is not new: nor the language. Now when they came to apportion the representatives of the states, a difficulty arose. You know that in England it is not a question easily settled, to give universal satisfaction when you come to apportion representatives. They first agreed on population as the basis; then the question arose, whether the slaves were population? The people of the North said to the slave-holders, you regard them as property and not as people, and therefore you ought not to claim a representation for them. The slave-holders, on the other hand, said to the men of the North, you insist on making the federal constitution regard them as people and not property, and therefore you ought not to reject the claim to represent them. There they were in a dilemma—how were they to agree? We have a way sometimes in our country of settling the point; if we cannot agree, we split the difference. The difference was wide between persons and property, but they contrived to reconcile it very curiously. They allowed a representation of three-fifths of the slaves, by which it was to be understood, that they were three-fifths persons and two-fifths property; and in those cases alluded to of fugitives from slavery, indicted at the South for stealing, the real gist of the indictment is, that the three-fifths have stolen the two-fifths, and run away with it. The effect of that has been to introduce the principle of property representation, and to cement the holders of this property in one combined interest, so firmly united, so determined, so desperate, that by the mere force of that desperate determination they have obtained the absolute control, I might say, of the government. In the last Congress, they had twenty-five members on account of their slave property. This apportionment is given not to the individual planter; the planter does not cast so many votes, but it is given to the state. Supposing that the ratio of the apportionment is 70,000. A state which has 70,000 free persons will have for each 70,000 a representative. A state or district which has 40,000 free persons, and 50,000 slaves, would have what we call a federal number of 70,000, and be entitled to a representative; so that 40,000, who alone possess political power in the one case, would have the same weight in the legislation of Congress with 70,000 free people in the other case. That is the injustice of it. The effect of it has been, not only that the twenty-five members represent that interest, but by having this political power, and by having also the skill of an overseer, they possess the entire political control of the whole of the slave states. There is not one of these slave states in which any other interest, however important, is ever allowed to come in competition in the slightest degree with the interests of slavery; but throughout the whole, although the slave-holders are supposed to be no more than one in seven, yet they control the state. The consequence is, that the whole 100 representatives of the slave states are the representatives of slavery and nothing else. We are therefore crushing the spirit of liberty; we have not only to sacrifice the principle of liberty, but also the supreme regard to the rights of man as man: and this not only in the slave but the free states. There is a decision of our supreme court which has gone the length of depriving us of all security, except that of public opinion, for our personal liberties. As far as that decision stands as law, we are all in that position. We have lost our birth-right, which our fathers carried with them from this venerable island—the right of *habeas corpus*. *Habeas corpus* is in the air we breathe, and yet slavery has withdrawn its vital elements. I have said therefore, that whatever calamity American slavery may bring upon you in England, we have to meet the first of the shock; and I must say, that through the good hand of our God upon us, so far as the establishment

of the general principle is concerned, I believe we have met it; I believe that it is a thing of the past, and that slavery has for us, with the single exception of its pecuniary operation, done its worst. I hope that the effect of this Convention will be to awaken the attention of the people of England more particularly to slavery, as it affects the destinies of the world. It is a World's Convention, and it is in that point of view that I desire our action may be regulated. We cannot sit here and weigh with the nice scale of the apothecary or the jeweller the precise measure of personal blame that belongs to individuals or religious societies. We have none of us done what we might, and we have all done enough that we ought not to have done. Let us repent as individuals, as communities, as religious societies, and as nations; and let us bring forth fruits meet for repentance in the sight of God. It is a small thing, Mr. Chairman, to be judged of you, much as I honour you, or of any man's judgment. I am grieved, allow me to say, when I see men here so anxious to condemn, or so anxious to justify, or so anxious to explain, or so anxious to enhance, what is said in regard to individuals or societies. This Convention cannot measure out guilt or innocence. This Convention can neither comprehend the circumstances that enhance the guilt, nor, if there are any, which mitigate the guilt, of those who have taken one part or another in this struggle. We are struggling against the enemy of mankind. Although I have expressed a hope that we have seen the worst of it—and if we have seen the worst of it in America, probably we have seen the worst everywhere—yet let us not be too hasty in putting off the harness. We are struggling against an enemy that, when he dies, means to die hard. We are struggling against what is called an institution; and if hell has institutions, let it take the name of an institution. We are struggling against that which has its gigantic hands upon the pillars of society—religious and civil government; and if in its death-throe it can tear down those hallowed fabrics, it is not too bad an act for it to do. As I have said on another occasion, those who will uphold slavery will do anything. You cannot bind them,—conscience, laws, treaties, legal decisions, the gospel cannot bind them. Honour cannot bind them. Why, what honour has the man that will whip a woman? I wish that the people in England, both religious, political, and financial, in all their interests, would understand these things. But if the slave-holders can *gouge* you, as we call it, they will do it: if they can get an advantage, they will do it. I wish you also to understand that every concession which is made to slavery is made wrongfully. No matter whether done by religious communities or by statesmen, everything that is done in its favour is done wrong. You have declared that the slave-trader is a pirate. What is the slave-holder? Let him be a minister, or a church member, or a member of Congress, or President of the United States, he is a man that holds slaves. How comes he to hold them? He claims them to be property. Where did his property originate? You say, and we say, it originated in piracy. When did piracy ever confer rights? Can a man that buys of a pirate obtain property by it? Certainly not. Even if he does it innocently, he acquires no right by it; much less when he does it guiltily, as every man does who buys a slave. He knows he is buying a man; and therefore when the British government says to the slave-holders, who act as the American government, if your slave ships are full of slaves, we cannot touch them; I ask you, sir, and I ask through you the whole of England, whether that is the law of England in regard to piracy? Suppose that an American pirate should take the beautiful vessel that is soon about to hover around your coast into its possession, and hoist the American flag over it, or transfer its precious contents—precious indeed they are to the people of England—Queen Victoria and her royal consort and their children—to an American ship under stripes and stars, piratically; I ask then whether, if you found them prisoners

in American chains, the flag would cover the goods? That brings it to the test. That is piracy; and yet the British government tells the slave-holders of America, You may fill your ships with slaves by piracy, and because they are not British but African kings and queens, we will not touch them, but speed them on their way. I give that as an illustration, not as argument, to show you that every concession that is made to slavery is a wrong. If the Convention will realise the importance of its trust; if the members will consider that we have One who will do us all justice as individuals, and who will do the religious societies with which we are connected ample justice; and will let us give our attention to the business that we are upon—the business of the world, I do hope that this meeting will not be in vain. I have said that we have made advances; yet it is difficult so to describe them in a few words that you will understand or appreciate them. Our excellent brother (the Rev. J. A. James) wished that we might explain and exhibit our difficulties. Sir, the difficulties some of us have had to encounter never can be known in this world, and they need not be known. What is the use of making them known? They are not difficulties that man can meet. Why tell them? But let us look at our advances. Allusion was made on the first day of the Session to the case of the *Amistad*. I wish to say a few words on that case. It was a great day with us when those unhappy beings were brought into our port by an American armed vessel. They were claimed as property before the Admiralty Court of the United States. They were libelled for salvage by the officers who took them up, and libelled as property by the miscreants called Spanish gentlemen who had bought them in Cuba, knowing them to be Bozal negroes fresh from Africa. It happened to a very small number, a majority of whom you see here, to stand as a committee in behalf of these men. We had, in the first place, to go back to first principles, as Granville Sharpe did; and then we had to meet the Courts. They were libelled in the District Court, the Court of Admiralty, as property, and we brought them by the writ of *habeas corpus* to the Circuit Court, to test their right to personality. The Circuit Court, on that, decided that the trial before the Admiralty Court on the question of property was prior, was paramount, to the trial before the Circuit Court on the question of personality. Here we had the first blow struck at *habeas corpus*. I will tell you on what decision that was based; on a decision of the Admiralty Court of England, given by Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, and which is always referred to by the advocates of slavery to prove that the British law recognises the right of man to hold property in man. I wish that decision were overhauled by some one that understood law. Let it come before the present Admiralty Court, and let the British public see what the decision will be. We then, through a long series of processes, carried the case to the Court of the United States. It fell to me to watch its progress at Washington; and when I arrived there, a few days before the sitting of the Court, there was a universal impression that these Africans (thirty-five in number) would inevitably be given up to Spanish vengeance, to be burned in the midst of the baracoons of Cuba. But, through the blessing of God upon us, our Counsel were enabled to present the case in such an aspect, that the Court decided them to be free; and they were sent back, as you have heard, to their own Country in the enjoyment of freedom. The President of the United States, expecting a contrary decision, had given orders to his subordinates to take them by the mere force of executive mandate, and carry them from the American shores, in an American armed vessel, across the sea to a foreign country. So far have we departed from the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, and so far have we lost the legal principles of our ancestry, through the influence of slavery, that an American President dared to give a warrant for carrying

men beyond the seas without process of law; and that man is now confidently expecting the American people to reinstate him in the office he has degraded. (Cries of "name.") His name is MARTIN VAN BUREN—a Northern man with Southern principles. In case the decision of the Court had been in fact, such as he anticipated, he had a vessel lying in the harbour, ready the moment the decision should be given, before there was time to enter an appeal, to hurry them off beyond the reach of the law. We gained something, considering the relation in which we stand to other states, by another decision of the same court. The state of Mississippi had prohibited the introduction of slaves for sale; and the reason given by the counsel of the state—a distinguished senator, was, that they were suffering such an accumulation of slaves. He stated in his argument, that in the state of Mississippi there were whole patrol districts, (for the South is always in a state of fear, and guarded by armed patrol, the same as if it were a camp in which there was not more than one white man to 300 slaves,) and the accumulation was so rapid that the people became alarmed at their position. This law was passed to restrict their introduction; so that hereafter no man should bring slaves to the state unless he came to reside with them,—a very small limitation to be sure. The slaves which were sold in large numbers were brought in and sold contrary to this law; and when the bonds came to be put in suit, which had been given for them, they were resisted on this ground, that having been introduced against law, the bonds were void. They got the negroes, and left the man to whistle for his pay. The case was very eloquently argued by Mr. WALKER, the senator for Mississippi, and the ATTORNEY GENERAL of the United States, on one side, and by Mr. HENRY CLAY and Mr. DANIEL WEBSTER on the other. The supreme court, in their decision, gave us one most important principle which is, that the constitution of the United States does not recognise man as property, and that consequently Congress has no right to regard the removal of slaves from one state to another as commerce. The removal of slaves from one state to another is not commerce, and slaves not being property in the eyes of the constitution, Congress have no right to control the removal from state to state of that class of persons any more than of another. That was the decision of the supreme court. I think there is a flaw in it, but I will not stop to discuss it. I think their compulsory removal is a matter within the power of Congress, on other grounds than that of commerce. I see that the supreme court of Mississippi has emphatically declared that these bonds and mortgages given for slaves, as I have said, to the amount of many millions of dollars, are all void; and so far as it affects the interests between the negro seller and the negro buyer, we are in a position that we do not care which meets the loss: let the law decide it. The other decision was one which does, as I think, great dishonour to our courts, and one that has done more than any other thing that I ever saw or read of to shake our confidence in judicial tribunals. I have had great reverence for courts; I have looked to Westminster hall; I have looked to the tribunals of this our parent country, and to those of my own country, with perhaps more veneration than I ought ever to have paid to any human institution; but when I saw this court, learned and able, giving the decision that it did through the mouth of Mr. Justice STORY, I was shocked, I was overwhelmed; and I may say that the hour that I spent in listening to that decision, as it came from his lips, was one of the most distressing hours of my life. He decided that the constitution—I have mentioned it before—had given the slave-holder the right to take his slave wherever he could find him, by his own mere authority. The case was of this kind. A woman having, as she said, the consent of her master, went across the line from Maryland to Pennsylvania. She there married, and had a child born in a free state. The father was free. In process of time, after

the death of the old master, his heirs being, as I suppose, impoverished and needy, directed their attention to this woman and child, as the means of restoring their fallen fortunes. They therefore then came within the separate jurisdiction, upon the free soil of Pennsylvania, and there seized the woman and child living in the peace of the commonwealth, and without warrant or form of law, carried them to Maryland, and sold them whither they would. The wretched husband, on returning to his desolate hearth, found that the spoiler had broken in upon him. The feelings of Pennsylvania were strongly roused: for the man was respected by some worthy citizens. The kidnappers were indicted, and they were demanded under the process of a neighbouring state to be delivered up for trial. Unfortunately the government of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania is in servile hands, and, by some of the most paltry tricks, an agreement was made for an amicable suit to be carried up to the supreme court. An amicable suit, in which the interests of slavery were at stake, and the defenders on the one side were slave-holders, and the parties on the other the tools of slave-holders! It was as bad as a fraudulent verdict, before a packed jury. The supreme court is established by the constitution of the United States to try questions arising between citizens of different states as a common tribunal in the last resort. It is so contrived that it is always made up of a majority from the slave states. Although the slave states are but two-fifths, or less than that, to the free people, yet they contrive to have five judges out of nine resident among them; and we have to go to that tribunal in the last resort to seek justice. The decision was given, such as it was, through this mismanagement, to our deep consternation, and it was given by a judge the most distinguished of them all—a judge well known to every person in the kingdom who is conversant with our judicial writings—a citizen of Massachusetts, and an inhabitant of the same village with myself. I had hoped that he would now have been in England, and that he might have been called to meet his own decision in the face of the British public.

It is unadvisable to take up more time in explaining our difficulties; and I will now show how we contrive to meet those difficulties and to overcome them. Shortly after this decision was given, a man as white as the majority before me came to Boston with his wife, who was soon expecting her confinement, begging for concealment and security against the slave-hunters close at their heels. They had contrived by some curious means to make their escape from Virginia, and had reached Boston in safety. The master found where they were, and obtained a fraudulent process from the police against the man as a thief: I suppose because the three-fifths had stolen the two-fifths. Having got him in his possession he consigned him to the jailor. Although it has been decided as long since as the time of Henry the Eighth that no jailor can farm his jail, yet this man dared to receive him for safe-keeping on the mere warrant of the slave-holder. When we brought him before the state court of Massachusetts on a *habeas corpus*, that court had the timidity, the servility, or the weakness to recognise this decision of the supreme court of the United States, and say that in consequence of that decision they could not undertake to test the validity of this proceeding under a *habeas corpus*. If I or you were there, under similar circumstances, the *habeas corpus* would not be more available to us than it was to that poor fugitive, except that public opinion would throw a shield over us, because we are of the privileged class. But the law which was made to shield the humblest individuals has withdrawn it from them in obedience to the dictates of slavery. Such an excitement, however, was created, that we made Boston too hot for the slave-holder, and he was glad to get home. The man is now free in the state of Massachusetts, and telling his story. His name is George Latimer; the master's name was James D. Gray, of Norfolk, Virginia. We got up a *Latimer Journal* on the

occasion, and a little bit of paper sometimes kindles a great fire. This *Latimer Journal* was conducted by two excellent individuals, young men in Boston; one of them, Mr. H. J. Bowditch, whose name will be more interesting to some that are men of science if I mention that he is the son of Dr. Bowditch, who translated into English and published at his own expense, La Place's great work on Astronomy; and the other was Mr. Channing, the worthy son of that honourable man who has so recently left a vacancy by his decease, Dr. William Ellery Channing. These two men threw themselves into this breach, and by their *Latimer Journals*, and petitions, and meetings aroused the whole commonwealth. A large petition was brought into the Legislature, filled with the names of men and women, praying for the enactment of a law that would effectually prevent the use of all our civil tribunals, our courts, or our prisons, for any purpose of slavery whatsoever, or making any such prostitution of them. Such was the excitement, that the Legislature came together, only desiring to know what we would have them to do. You never saw men more anxious to know what to do than these legislators were. We got up a similar petition to Congress, and put it into the hands of John Quincy Adams to present. As it stood on his desk one of the slave-holders said, "It is a hornet's nest; there are fifty thousand hornets in it." He was asked what it was; he said it was "a petition to abolish slavery in the free states, headed by George Latimer, a citizen of Massachusetts, a native of Virginia, connected by blood with the principal founders of that renowned dominion." I hope these things will satisfy our friends that our progress is not nominal. We have gained thus far on our way, and we look forward with hope to the end.

The Convention then adjourned.

FOURTH DAY'S SITTINGS, FRIDAY, JUNE 16.

(MORNING.)

SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of yesterday were read and confirmed.

SYMPATHY WITH T. CLARKSON, ESQ., AND W. ALLEN, ESQ.

Rev. T. SCALES.—The Committee appointed to draft minutes, in reference to Thomas Clarkson, Esq., and William Allen, Esq., have brought up the following report:—

This Convention have received with feelings of deep emotion the intelligence, that their revered and honoured friend, Thomas Clarkson, is prevented by his state of health from personally presiding on the present occasion. A luminous and forcible address from him to the Convention, on the position of the anti-slavery cause, has however been read with the liveliest interest. In thus recording their affectionate regret for the cause of his absence, the Convention would express their thankful sense of the good providence of God, in leading him forth in early manhood into that work of mercy and labour of love which has marked his career on earth, and in sustaining him throughout a long life, as the ardent and unflinching enemy of cruelty and oppression in every form. And whilst the Convention earnestly desire that others may be raised up to

advocate the sacred cause of suffering humanity, it is their fervent hope and prayer that it may please Almighty God to bless the remaining days of their aged friend with the rich consolations of his gospel, and finally grant him an admittance into those regions where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

The Convention assembled for the purpose of promoting the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world, has been deeply affected by information, that that devoted friend of humanity, WILLIAM ALLEN, who, it was hoped, might have presided over its deliberations, in the absence of THOMAS CLARKSON, is prevented from doing so by enfeebled health. The Convention feels it to be due to its loved and honoured friend to enter this notice upon its records, and to express its high sense of the eminent dedication to philanthropic effort, and especially to the advancement of the great cause of the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, and the welfare of the free people of colour, which has so signally marked his life; and its warm and affectionate desire that, during the remainder of his days on earth, he may be abundantly blessed with peaceful hope, and an abiding trust and confidence in the mercy and merits of his God and Saviour.

Mr. STACEY.—I beg to move the adoption of these minutes as a part of our proceedings.

Mr. L. TAPPAN.—I doubt not that they will receive the sanction of every abolitionist in the United States; and therefore, of every Christian throughout that country. I most cheerfully second the resolution.

The motion was then put and carried by acclamation.

SYMPATHY WITH SIR T. F. BUXTON, BART.

Mr. J. STURGE.—Our friends are aware that we received a letter from another long-tried friend of the cause, and though it is known to many of those who have taken an active part in it, that it has been the painful situation of some of us, at certain periods, to disagree in judgment with our friend, as to the best means of securing the end in view, I believe that none of us at any time doubted either his sincerity or his earnestness; I allude to Sir T. F. BUXTON. I am sorry to say, that he is in that enfeebled state of health, that it is probable he will never again be able to take an active part in the cause; and though, with reference to some points, including the African Civilization Society, I took a different view from him, yet I can cordially unite in a short expression of sympathy towards him, in his bodily affliction. We must not forget that there was a time when he stood almost alone in the House of Commons. If, in reference to any of the promoters of the society to which I have referred, I have at any time used a single expression stronger than Christian faithfulness required, I sincerely ask their excuse. I now suggest that a small committee be appointed, with a view to draw up an expression of sympathy with Sir T. F. BUXTON, in his present weak state of health.

Mr. HOLLAND.—I move that the subject be referred to the same committee that prepared the other minutes.

Mr. STANDFIELD.—I heartily second that motion, and I rejoice that Mr. STURGE has brought the matter before the assembly. Sir T. F. BUXTON fought the battle of anti-slavery unaided and alone in the House of Commons for many a year.

Mr. J. CREWDSON.—I can cordially unite in the address to THOMAS F. BUXTON, but I think that there should be great care in introducing matter of that kind.

Mr. FULLER.—I am not the man to detract from THOMAS F. BUXTON. I go heart and hand with the minutes that have been read, and I rejoice that they have been prepared; but we do not come here to laud each other, and I think that we should be jealous of resolutions of this description.

Mr. J. FORSTER and Mr. BLAIR expressed their approbation of the motion.

The CHAIRMAN.—Intimately connected with Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON as I am, I may state, that I am sure any sympathy on the part of this Convention will be exceedingly grateful to his feelings. Having known his proceedings from early life, it may not be amiss to repeat—for it has been already alluded to—that for a long period of years, this cause was as unpopular here, as it can be now in any of the Southern States of America. For many years, the only support which the cause received in the House of Commons, was from WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Dr. LUSHINGTON, and DANIEL O'CONNELL. I mention the latter name, because it is due to him. The intense labour of Sir T. F. BUXTON, the deep anxiety he suffered for a long period of years, has had such an effect upon his constitution, as often to have brought him near the door of death. In the case of the Governor of Mauritius, it will be remembered, that not only the Government, but the House of Commons, and the whole West India interest, were arrayed against him, when he brought forward his charge against the governor for encouraging the slave-trade in that colony; but by the facts elicited the case was proved, and the cause gained. The anti-slavery cause has occupied nearly the whole of Sir T. F. BUXTON's life, and his present weak health arises in a great measure from his intense labour and feeling on the subject.

Mr. J. STURGE.—I entirely accord with the observations of J. C. FULLER and others, that the Convention should not spend its time in the expression of praise to the living; but when our friends are labouring under a weak state of health, having worn themselves out in this cause, an expression of sympathy on the part of an assembly like this, cannot but impart comfort to their minds; and I think that the delegates will not regard time so spent as lost to the great cause. I should equally rejoice in moving a vote of sympathy with any of our transatlantic friends under similar circumstances.

Mr. FULLER.—I hope the vote will be unanimous.

The resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

INTRODUCTION OF SLAVE-GROWN PRODUCE FROM CUBA AND BRAZIL.

Rev. T. SPENCER.—It is with considerable reluctance that I rise to address the Convention, because I fear that what I am about to state, may not agree with the views of all present. I should be glad, if possible, not to offend the feelings, or even the prejudices of any man, but the cause of truth requires, not merely that we should endeavour to live peaceably with all men, but should speak the words of truth, whether they are pleasant or disagreeable. There was a step taken on the tenth day's sittings of the last Convention, which I have looked upon with regret, and which I think contradicted the steps taken on a previous day. A resolution was passed on the tenth day, to this effect, "That, impressed with the importance of avoiding all means of strengthening slavery and the foreign slave-trade, this Convention is of the judgment, that the British government ought on no account to allow of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market; and that the friends of the abolition of slavery ought, in their individual character, to uphold this view." In a former part of that same Convention, there had

been a strong expression of opinion, as to the possibility of free labour competing all the world over with slave-labour; but this resolution seems to me to be rather inconsistent with that statement. I wish, therefore, to take the opinion of the present Convention on that point, more especially, as it has given rise to animadversion in various parts of England, and formed a conspicuous topic in debates in the House of Commons. The motion, therefore, that I have now to bring before the assembly is this,

"That in the judgment of this Convention, the introduction of the slave-grown produce of Cuba and Brazil into competition with the free-grown produce of the British West India colonies and British India, is rendered necessary as an act of justice to the people of this country, and is in consistency with the principles on which this Convention is constituted."

I am as great an advocate, I hope, as any man for the abolition of slavery all over the world. I hate the very name; and I detest the thing under whatever form it may appear, either at home or abroad. I hope that as long as God spares my life, I shall hold up my hand against that crime; at the same time, I am not to be so led away by my feelings, as to do an act of injustice to one class, whilst I endeavour to support another. I would not leave the persons emancipated to suppose, that their dependence for prosperity rested upon any protection we could give them; but rather, that their reliance must be placed on their own good conduct, and on that free commercial intercourse upon which all nations depend for prosperity. Neither do I wish to appear before the world in contradiction to myself. I would not say, when advocating the cause of the slave, that emancipation would be beneficial to the master as well as to the slave, because free labour is better than slave labour; and then, as soon as the captives obtained their freedom, say, that unless they were protected from competition with those who retained their slaves in bondage, they could not live. It would be like saying, Here is a boy that will beat another in a race or in wrestling, and then when the two were brought together, insisting that one hand or one foot of the opposing party must be bound. When I say, *able to compete*, I mean on fair and equal terms. Now, as many persons present may not recollect, or may not be aware of what was done at the former Convention, I will read a few extracts from a report then agreed to, on free as compared with slave labour. I consider it one of the most important documents in the book I hold in my hand—[Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, 1840]—one of the most important subjects brought before that Convention, and before the whole nation. There were two things which the Committee appointed by that Convention declared they were about to prove—one was, that the cost of slave labour was greater than that of free labour; the other, that slave labour was less productive than free labour.

"I. The expense of slave labour consists, in the first place, in the cost of purchasing or rearing the slave, and supporting him in sickness and old age, with interest on these amounts; and, in the second, in the sum expended in his maintenance during the effective years of his life. These two amounts added together, and divided by the number of those years, will, therefore, give the annual cost of such labour to the master. If we omit the case of purchased slaves, and suppose them to be bred on the estate, (and breeding is admitted to be, under ordinary circumstances, the cheapest mode of supply,) the expense of free labour will resolve itself into precisely the same elements, since the wages paid to free labourers of every kind, must be such as to enable them, one with another, to bring up a family, and continue their race. Now, it is observed by Adam Smith, 'The wear and tear of a free servant is equally at the

expense of his master, and it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for replacing, and repairing, if I may so say, the wear and tear of a slave, is commonly managed by a negligent master or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office, with regard to the freeman, is managed by the freeman himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich, naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former; the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor, as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter.' The Russian political economist, Storch, who had carefully examined the system of slavery in that extensive empire, makes the same remark, almost in the same words. Hume expresses a similar opinion in decided terms. A statement from one of the slave districts in the United States shows that, taking the purchase-money, or the expense of rearing a slave, with the cost of his maintenance, at their actual rates, and allowing fifteen years of health and strength, during which to liquidate the first cost, his labour will be at least 25 per cent. dearer than that of the free-labourer in the neighbouring districts.

"II. Slave-labour is less productive:—As 'the slave,' says Storch, 'working always for another, and never for himself, being limited to a bare subsistence, and seeing no prospect of improving his condition, loses all stimulus to exertion; he becomes a machine, often very obstinate, and very difficult to manage. A man who is not rewarded in proportion to the labour he performs, works as little as he can; this is an acknowledged truth, which the experience of every day confirms. Let a free-labourer work by the day, he will be indolent; pay him by the piece, he will often work to excess and ruin his health. If this observation is just in the case of the free-labourer, it must be still more so in that of the slave.' Hume remarks, 'I shall add, from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man. The fear of punishment will never draw so much labour from a slave, as the dread of being turned off, and not getting another service, will give a freeman.' Burke observes, 'Slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as freemen. The mind goes a great way in everything; and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours the more he is to acquire, this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues, under which he would otherwise have sunk.' Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbadoes, as Secretary to the late Hon. Edward Hay, the Governor of that island, observes, 'That it has been known for many ages, by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves, whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is really far dearer in general than that of freemen.' The following facts will sufficiently establish the correctness of these opinions. I will give one of the most important. President Cooper, of South Carolina, says, 'Slave labour is undoubtedly the dearest kind of labour. The usual work of a field hand is barely two-thirds of what a white day labourer, at usual wages, would perform; this is the outside.' 'Nothing,' he continues, 'will justify slave labour in point of economy, but the nature of the soil and climate, which incapacitates a white man from labouring in the summer time on the rich lands in Carolina and Georgia. In places, merely agricultural, as New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, slave labour is entirely unprofitable. It is even so in Maryland and Virginia.' From a calculation, made under the guidance of M. Coulomb, an able mathematician and experienced engineer, who conducted extensive building works both in France and the West Indies, it appears, 'That field slaves do only between a third and a half of the work despatched by reluctant French soldiers, and probably not more than a third of what those very slaves would do, if urged by their own interest.' Dr. James Anderson, in an excellent pamphlet, entitled,

'Observations on Slavery,' published in 1788, shows, that the labour of a West India slave costs about thrice as much as it would cost if executed by a freeman. Taking another case, he demonstrates that the labour of certain colliers in Scotland, who, till our own times, were subjected to a mild kind of vassalage, regulated by law, was twice as dear as that of the freemen, who wrought in other coal mines in the same country, and thrice as dear as common day labour. In further confirmation of this fact, Mr. J. J. Prescod, the editor of the *Barbadoes Liberal*, and a delegate to this Convention, states, 'Throughout the colonies the effective powers of the labourer have been greatly increased by his emancipation; and he can now do double, and occasionally treble, the quantity of work, which he was thought capable of doing when a slave!'"

Upon this report the last Convention acted, and there were certain resolutions brought forward, and adopted by it. I call the attention of the present assembly to that report, and to those resolutions, which are well worthy of the time and consideration of every member of the Convention. Some of the gentlemen who attended that Convention made very important remarks in their advocacy of the principles contained in that report. An amendment was proposed to the resolution, and Mr. Scoble, in reply, stated, "The authorities which were quoted to us this morning in the admirable report brought up by the Free Labour Committee, were sufficient generally to establish the fact, that free labour will be found, upon the whole, cheaper than slave labour. The rider which I hold in my hand, and which my friend, Mr. Turnbull, wishes to be added to the resolutions submitted to the Convention, contains a fallacy upon its face." And that amendment was rejected. There were other gentlemen who made remarks upon it, one of whom was Mr. John Sturge, who says, "The reason why the argument was introduced into the report, and formed a part of the resolutions, was this, to show that by fair competition, free labour would put an end to the slave-trade;" not merely that it was equal to slave labour, or superior to it, but that it would put an end to the slave trade; and it would do this, "by rendering cultivation by imported slave labour an unprofitable engagement." Then we have some remarks by a very important person on this subject—Mr. Justice Jeremie. He says, "I have witnessed the working of both systems in the Brazils, in St. Thomas's, and in our own islands, both in the East and the West. What is a sugar plantation under a system of slave importation? The rankest, the most wretched species of lottery: it is neither more nor less. Some draw prizes; but for one prize there are fifty blanks: where one man makes a fortune, twenty are ruined: you hear of the former, but the latter are studiously kept from public notice. This is a matter of notoriety amongst us; and, therefore, in every view which we can take of this question, my friend, Mr. Turnbull, is proceeding on a fallacy." With this report, these resolutions, and these excellent arguments, on the part of the Convention, we should naturally have supposed that they would in the face of the world have maintained the principle that they could trust free labour anywhere in competition with the labour of slaves. But then it is stated that some circumstances make the case different; that the slaves are sometimes worked twenty hours out of the twenty-four, and that, with the certain knowledge that they will soon die; and hence it disturbs the principles of calculation. This I contend contradicts the declarations of anti-slavery men of former days. They have told us that the slaves about whom they spoke were always worked as hard as nature could stand, and that, nevertheless, if a master were to get as much out of the slave as he could, yet under those circumstances he was not able to obtain such valuable service as from a free labourer. How can it be said, therefore, that the case is altered with

reference to the slaves in South America? One man may take a horse to the water, but ten cannot make him drink. One man may take his fellow man to the field and whip him, but he cannot fetch that useful labour out of him that may be obtained from a freeman. There was a beautiful case stated in the *Patriot* last week [June 8] of eighty slaves obtaining their freedom in the manner therein described. The owner first began by giving the Sabbath to the men, because that day ought to be sacred. He found that they required some part of the week for themselves, and he gave them Saturday afternoon; but he allowed them to work for him, and to leave the money in his hands towards purchasing the other half of the day. This was effected in about six years. Their money again was suffered to accumulate, and they purchased another day; and thus they continued to act until they had bought the whole of their time, and were all set free. It is stated there that a gentleman who was in the neighbourhood, and watching the working of the slaves, came to the master to inquire of him how it was that he never saw so much work done in all the days of his life; and he offered him 5,000 dollars for the foreman. The owner, however, would not sell him, nor would he tell the secret; he did not wish his plans to be known till the matter came to an end. The reason why these men worked so wonderfully, and at the same time were more sober, more prudent in their conduct, and exhibited a greater appearance of self-respect than those around them, was this; there was a mainspring that kept the whole of the wheels in motion. They had the hope of freedom, and they had a desire not only to obtain that, but to serve a kind and good man. This shows the secret of real and good hard work. Living, as I do, in an agricultural district, and seeing the difference when grounds and allotments are worked at the piece, and when they are worked per day, and having read this account in the *Patriot*, I am convinced that free labour, with good wages, the men being left to depend on their owngood conduct, will surpass slave labour under any circumstances whatever. I think, therefore, that we have nothing to fear from competition with the sugars of South America, or any other part of the world, but that we may still go on working out the great principle, not only of freedom for man, but freedom for man's labour. I should be exceedingly sorry if the Convention, while declaring the rights of man to freedom, should declare that trade shall not be free. I am not about to enter upon any topic unconnected with our business, but I would suggest, that there is such a thing as the slavery of trade and of tradesmen, that all restrictions whatever on trade are the slavery of merchants, and of all parties concerned; and that when you put restrictions which cause a high price upon sugar or anything else, you impose a degree of slavery upon the poor people who have to pay that price. Slavery is not confined to the possession of a man by purchase, it consists in being worked without wages, without any consent of the man's own feelings; but if there be an increase of price through restrictions, if there be anything done to secure freedom for one class that imposes a burden upon another class, and causes them to work harder and to work longer than they would otherwise do, then we are only transferring slavery from one part of the earth to another. From the lessons of the past, we ought to be particularly cautious with reference to the future. Allow me to say, in a single sentence, that the price we paid for the emancipation of the slaves, is now as a part of the national debt, causing a great burden on the people of England; and I hope that we shall not put additional burdens on any class, especially when it is proved to our own satisfaction that freedom requires no such protection. Our free coloured population in the West Indies do not require such protection: they are able to support the missionaries, to build chapels, and to raise large sums of money. We should give them justice—nothing more and nothing less; and at the same

time have a regard to equal justice at home. There is another point on which I touch; for if that is against me, all I have said must go for nothing. It is urged that, supposing free labour can compete with slave labour and surpass it, and even be the means of destroying slavery all over the world, yet still man has such a thing as a conscience to which to appeal, and its verdict will be, that it is neither lawful nor right to touch the produce of slave labour. This is a very important and a very delicate question. If it is wrong to touch the sugar grown by slave labour, and if it ought not to be allowed to come into the country, the matter is settled at once. The argument rests on this—that sugar grown by slaves is stolen goods. I own that the men are stolen goods; and if they can obtain their freedom, they are at liberty so to do; for they are held without right. But I do not allow that the work of their hands is stolen goods; that the grounds on which they work are stolen, nor that the tools with which they work are stolen, nor that the produce when held in the way of commerce is stolen produce. If you are to consider the work of slaves to be stolen goods, you will find that you involve yourselves in difficulties altogether inextricable. I am extremely happy to find that the Convention are aware of the importance of the topic before it. Viewing the subject in all its bearings, I do not believe that one more momentous can occupy our minds. If sugar is to be rejected because it is produced by the labour of slaves, it will follow that the cotton which every person has about him, more or less, must be rejected in the same way; that the money you receive for just debts must be taken out of your purses and thrown out of your bags, inasmuch as gold is slave produce, and that whatever profit you have received from men who have gained their money by slaves must be discarded. I do not know how it is that some of our best friends have gone and received the hospitality of slave-owners, and have eaten bread at their tables which, according to their own theory, was stolen goods. I do not see how we can reconcile it with a visit to the house of a slave-holder, even if he is a man who says, "I do not know that I am wrong—come and look at my slaves, come and dine at my table, come and talk and reason with me." If such a man as Mr. Joseph Sturge has gone and been a guest in the house of a slave-owner, I cannot help recollecting and perceiving, on this theory, that he has eaten stolen goods. I mention this to show that the principle cannot be carried out; and I maintain, that I am the servant of Him who is not a hard master, who never wishes me to be a slave, or to bring me into bondage by difficulties of this kind. He will have "mercy, and not sacrifice;" and if I am never to eat till I am sure that every particle of food has been got honestly; if I am not to put on clothing till I know that there has not been bondage in the land from which the raw materials come; if I am not to transact business with any man till I know that he has not been guilty of oppression, I must stand still, or lie down, and die: for in this wicked world we cannot escape from such scenes as these. What says the Scripture? If a man that is called a brother be guilty of certain crimes, we are to avoid him; but, that with respect to other men, we cannot do it altogether, else must we needs go out of the world; and so say we. The service of God is perfect freedom; it calls upon us to maintain grand principles, to seek justice to all classes; but it does not call upon us to regard those minute distinctions which will involve us in a labyrinth of perplexity, overwhelm us with confusion, and be impossible for us to carry out. If this be really the case, and if there are gentlemen still of opinion that this not only is right, but that it must be carried farther, I do not object to their acting upon such principles *themselves* as *individuals*, nor in their trying to induce others to do the same. If a man says, "I will not eat sugar; I will not wear cotton;" I respect this man: I do not blame him, he has a right to do so; but he has no right to get a law to

compel me to do it. I will illustrate what I mean by a simple case. You are not all teetotallers. I never wish to force my opinions down the throat of any man, but no beer can be made without the Sabbath being broken in the making of malt. Suppose a man says, "I will not be a party to the breaking of the Sabbath, and therefore I will not drink beer:" he has a right to do so; I do not blame him. But suppose he says, "I will get a law made to compel abstinence from that drink which causes malt to be made on the Sabbath," there he is doing wrong. The Government are not the people to tell us how to keep the Sabbath. If you go upon this principle, you must take them for better for worse. If you say, "I have a conscience, and what is right for me is right for other people and right for the State," you must recollect that the conscience of the State is not exactly like yours. Mr. GLADSTONE is of your opinion in this respect, and he will be glad to carry out your views; and if he should carry them out a little further than you intend, you must not blame him. He says, "The nation has a conscience;" and if he is allowed to prevent us making use of slave-grown sugar, because it is sinful; if he is allowed to prevent the making of malt on the Sabbath, because it is sinful; so he will tell you that you must have that religion that his conscience requires, which is an Established Church; he will tell you that he considers schism a sin; and, as a statesman and a minister, he will feel bound in conscience to educate the children in his own principles.

The CHAIRMAN.—We are a little looking out of the question.

Rev. T. SPENCER.—I am perfectly convinced that this is a part of the argument. It is of no use blinding our eyes. If you use the Government for one thing, they may claim the right to do another thing, and interfere in other ways. I think the greatest duty which patriotic men can perform is, instead of calling upon the Government to do more, to call upon them to do less. As one of our American friends said, "All we ask is, to be let alone." All we want is, that Government should let religion alone, let commerce alone, let education alone. If we wish to obtain freedom; if we go about to accomplish it; if we wish to make the people wise and sober, we will endeavour to do it by persuasion and argument; but we want not the power of law. We will say to the Government, "Stand back;" we will say that we have the Governor of heaven and earth on our side. We have great confidence in the truth; we have no fear as to truth prevailing. We have confidence in the might of justice. We believe, with Bishop BUTLER, that if justice has a fair trial with injustice, it must prevail; that virtue, if you give it fair scope, will ultimately prevail over vice, and wisdom over error. It is in the nature of vice to flee: "The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth, but the righteous is bold as a lion." If the room is dark, and you bring in a light, the darkness will flee before it; it cannot help itself. Neither can ignorance help itself; if you only bring just and enlightened principles in contact with it. I extremely regret if I have at all hurt the prejudices, and feelings, and opinions of any of our friends; but as our conduct is at stake as a public body, and as Parliament will consider what we do, I do hope that this Convention will, without being deterred by the decision of the former Convention, seriously and candidly consider the resolution which I have proposed.

Mr. GEORGE WASHINGTON ANSTIE.—You have had so excellent an address from Mr. SPENCER, comprehending, as I think it does, all the material features of this case, that in seconding the resolution I feel called upon to be brief. As an abolitionist, who has for nearly twenty years laboured in this cause, I am grieved to think that we have departed from our principles in the resolution of the last Convention. I sincerely agree, with what Mr. SPENCER has said, with reference to the impropriety of governments interfering with matters of trade

to the extent to which they have gone. There is one point, and one only, in which I differ from my eloquent friend, who has preceded me; it is in this—if any one can show me a practical method involving either self-denial or personal exertion, by which I can throw into shame and confusion that odious traffic—the slave-trade, and that equally odious system—slavery, I will adopt it with the greatest pleasure. I would do it not only as a matter of pleasure, but also as a duty; if, therefore, any proposition can be suggested by the Convention, which is rational and practicable, most cordially will I unite with those who endeavour to promote such a movement. But when I look at the resolution of the last Convention, and perceive the feeling excited in the country by it, I am satisfied that it has done great injury to the anti-slavery cause in England. These remarks express the opinion entertained, not only by myself, but by the anti-slavery friends in the neighbourhood of Devizes. We regard the sentiments expressed by the Anti-Slavery Committee, in London, on this point, as mischievous in their tendency and effects. We believe it is not just towards the labourers of this country, who are enduring at the present time deep distress, to oblige them to pay, by a restriction upon their employment, and a tax on their labour, for those coercive measures we wish to adopt for the discouragement of slavery; that is our objection. Justice is the *first* principle of our religion, benevolence the *second;* whilst, therefore, we endeavour, as far as we can, to do good, we must take care that we do not injure our neighbour. On this ground I second Mr. SPENCER's resolution. I also do it from a conviction that the resolution of the last Convention is inconsistent with principles avowed by the abolitionists of England. In order to prove this, I will read a few short extracts from a work which many old friends remember, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*—published under the sanction of the committee of the society then existing. It is in the number for October, 1826. "The direct pecuniary sacrifices which this nation is now making for the support of slavery, are great and mischievous. But great and mischievous as they are, they probably fall far short, in their injurious effect, of those limitations and restrictions which our commerce is forced to bear for the maintenance of that criminal system." I now beg your attention to a few words having direct reference to a state of things existing at the present time. "Our manufacturing population have lately been, and still are, suffering most severely. Amongst the variety of causes which have been assigned for this reverse, has been that of our having overtraded. If, however, our operative manufacturers have not had too much work, this over-trading could have had no reference to them. It must, most obviously, have arisen from a want of demand; in other words, from the want of a market for the produce of their labour." The next remark is as to agricultural labour; and I mention this, being a resident in an agricultural district. "Let us take another view of the subject. Agriculture affords no adequate employment for the population of Ireland, and for want of such employment, two-thirds of that population are in a state of misery, which is most opprobrious to the Government under which they live. Manufactures seem their only resource; but where are they to find a market, whilst the trade, even with a large portion of our own dominions, is restricted by the most impolitic regulations?" "Independently of the direct benefits which must follow from a free trade, the idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, which still pervade our vast dominions in that quarter, could not fail to give way before a more liberal and extended commercial intercourse. The culture of indigo by European settlers has already produced the happiest effects, and these must be promoted by every increase of our commercial relations with them. That such an injurious policy as that which has been exposed above, should be pursued in an age and country so enlightened as this, would appear incredible, if the facts of the case were not so

incontestable. And what is more surprising, is, that this policy is not pursued from ignorance on the part of those who administer the government; for the King, in his speech at the opening of the session of 1825, recommends to his Parliament to persevere, (as circumstances may allow,) in the removal of all restrictions on commerce, and assures them of his 'cordial co-operation in fostering and extending that commerce, that whilst it is, *under the blessing of Providence*, a main source of strength and power to the country, contributes, in no less a degree *to the happiness and civilization of mankind.*'" I will only refer you to one further expression of opinion, and that is an appeal directly to South America, and other states, which were not British possessions. I beg particular attention to it. It appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for March, 1827. "If the traders of these countries take British manufactures in exchange, it is, commercially, quite immaterial where they reside, or where the goods are brought into use. The articles are paid for, and therefore the purchase money is spent in England. If the colonial ports are now free to the traders of other countries, the colonial commercial character is at an end; and the colonists are not British proprietors, commercially considered, but they are the inhabitants of a neutral country, trading to other countries, and also to England. Moreover, a sugar trade, which can only exist by means of bounties, and protecting duties, at the expense of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, is not a trade, but a contrivance for transferring money from the pockets of the people of England into those of West India proprietors. This dexterous transfer, and not the sugar trade, is their boasted staple. It is no more than a system of pauperism, on a large and most extravagant scale." These are the opinions of the abolitionists, so long ago as 1827, and I have endeavoured to uphold them from that period to the present. It occasioned me therefore very considerable regret, when the Convention was held in 1840, to hear that on the tenth day, when unhappily some of us had gone home, the resolutions referred to by Mr. SPENCER were passed by that body. I know that there are some who still uphold the resolution of 1840, and who say, "we admit that *all other things being equal*, free labour is more advantageous than slave labour." But I appeal to those who have heard the opinions before expressed on this subject, whether in discussions on this subject *any qualifications* were made; whether we then had any "*ifs*" or "*buts.*" I am not aware of any, and I never entertained them. Another argument has been brought forward by some friends in conversation, which I think at the present time they must agree to lay aside. When representations were made to some members of the London Committee, in 1840 or 1841, it was said, "We agree with your proposition, and if you will but go with us for two or three years, until the free labourers become settled, we will then assent to it." That period has transpired, and therefore I am fairly entitled to call upon them to carry out their principles to the full extent.

Captain PILKINGTON.—Allow me to explain that there is no inconsistency in saying, that free labour is cheaper than slave labour, and at the same time being afraid that the slave-trade may be injurious to those individuals, who in our West India colonies have been made free, and are now producing sugar; I do not wish to say a word on either side of the question, as to whether we should admit Brazilian sugars or not, but I desire to plead for consistency. Supposing the labour of the slaves in the West Indies to be estimated by a figure, we contended that if as slaves they laboured to the value of two, if they were made free, they would produce to the value of four. We assert that the result has proved the soundness of the theory; but we do not imagine that the value of four may not be injured in the market by the introduction of slave-grown sugar from the Brazils, for the produce of the slaves there may

so far exceed that of the West Indies, that injurious consequences may follow. I have been in the Brazils, and therefore can state, from personal knowledge, that it is thirty times as large as Great Britain; it contains about two millions and a half of slaves; and if our West India colonies, which were cultivated by 750,000 slaves, now that these slaves are free, produce as much as would be raised by 1,500,000 slaves, there is still a great preponderance of labour in favour of the Brazils; there is, therefore, no inconsistency in saying, that the slave labour of Brazil may injure the free labour of our colonies, since the amount of labourers in the former so far out-numbers that in the latter. I must be understood, as not interfering with the political question of free-trade.

Mr. J. RICHARDSON.—The speeches of the mover and seconder of the resolution affirm one position, and their resolution a different position. The resolution only goes half way, instead of carrying out and embodying the entire principle. The resolution is, "That in the judgment of this Convention, the introduction of the slave-grown produce of Cuba and Brazil into competition with the free-grown produce of the British West India colonies and British India, is rendered necessary as an act of justice"—but to whom?—"to the people of this country, and is in consistency with the principles on which this Convention is constituted." The object which I have in view in rising,—and I believe I shall have the full concurrence of Mr. SPENCER, and of the seconder of the resolution,—is not merely to declare the principle in relation to the people of England, but as an act of justice to every individual interested. The amendment I propose is, that it "is rendered necessary as an act of justice, not only to the people of this country, but to all other parties interested in that produce." This will carry out the great principle on which all trade should proceed; and though the delegates are not met here to debate the principles of free-trade, yet they are driven to the necessity of taking up the question, and cannot proceed in their deliberations without in some degree contemplating it.

The amendment was then adopted by the Rev. T. SPENCER, the mover, and Mr. G. W. ANSTIE, the seconder, of the resolution.

Mr. RICHARDSON, continued—The amendment being adopted by the mover and seconder, so far as that question is concerned, no further remark is required. It has been stated by the respected mover of this resolution, that we are in danger, not so much from the want of legislation, as from its excess; and every man who has looked at our voluminous statutes at large, will arrive at the same conclusion. The movements of Government have not been sufficiently watched over by the anti-slavery party, and other individuals who are interested in this question. I trust that it will not be thought that I am wandering from the topic, in referring to the great principle which ought to be kept in view when we resist encroachments, or seek the repeal of bad laws, or the enactment of good ones. The principle is simple: that the province of Government ought to be limited to the protection of life, the protection of property, the protection of liberty, and the protection of labour. In these four points we shall have a test by which this Convention, and all anti-slavery bodies, should proceed, when they take into consideration the proceedings of the Legislature. This principle applies particularly to produce. Provided that all produce be introduced into this country, whether it be the result of slave or free labour, we then have competition in the markets of the world, and the contest will be then fairly tried—whether the labour of slaves or of freemen is the most productive. This principle affords a key by which the movements of the Convention should be regulated in the consideration of laws; and the inquiry would then be, Does the law embody the great

principle of Government protection, or does it impede and lay a clog on the movements of society? If the latter, it becomes the interest of man to resist it to the uttermost of his power. Whatever lays a clog upon the movements of society, introduces a most dangerous and alarming precedent, the consequences of which can never be foreseen; because a bad precedent, in practice, is found to work more and more injuriously. On this ground, I trust, our friends on the other side of the question will hesitate before they divide, and that at least they will argue it fairly, and let us see to what extent their arguments go. In past times we had upon our tables the free sugar of the East Indies, and the slave sugar of the West Indies; and it was then a practice with many individuals to exclude the latter from their table. If it produced no other beneficial result, it gave rise to thousands of conversations on the subject of slavery; therefore, let our friends who are opposed to slave labour produce introduce that of free labour, and make it the subject of discussion; but do not let them do injustice. Every man has a right to bring his produce, and sell it wherever he can. (Cries of "No, no," followed by loud cheers.) I should have supposed that this allegation would have met with almost general support here; and I am quite sure that there is one gentleman in this room (Mr. Cobden) who will support that principle, as he always has done in every part of this country. Every man has a right to bring his produce to this country, and every man has a right to purchase at the cheapest market; and unless you adopt that principle, I contend that you will overthrow one of the great maxims of Christianity, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you."

Mr. BLAIR.—I have no intention of entering into a formal or lengthened discussion of the very important question which has now been introduced to the meeting; I am too well aware of the value of time to attempt anything of the kind. But at the last general election, in the city I represent here, if I may use that term, a direct appeal was made to anti-slavery friends in general, and to myself in particular, to justify or reconcile the support which we deemed it our duty to give to the then Government measure for the reduction of the sugar duties of Cuba and Brazil, with our avowed principles as abolitionists, charging us with sacrificing these principles to mere political partisanship. As I then deemed it imperative, publicly to vindicate the course which I in common with many of the long tried and well known friends of the slave considered it our duty to pursue, I desire, if it were only for the sake of consistency, (that I may not be supposed to maintain principles in 1841, on a political question, which, still retaining, I would not avow in 1843 in an Anti-Slavery Convention,) to assign a few of the reasons that weigh with me for supporting the proposition before the meeting. I am aware that this is a large and, perhaps, a difficult question; and being, at the same time, equally satisfied that it is one upon which the opinions of many of our friends are a good deal divided, I hope I shall say nothing in the observations I have to make of a dogmatic character, or appear to evince a disposition to force this question through by a bare majority; for I am perfectly convinced that in order to give efficiency to the proceedings of the Convention, it is highly desirable that all its resolutions should be characterized as much as possible by unanimity of feeling and sentiment. Putting out of view, for the sake of brevity, and especially as it has been dwelt upon by others, all consideration of the immense and pressing interests of our own population in this country, and passing over, for the same reasons, the monstrous inconsistency—for I can apply to it no other term—of our receiving every slave-grown produce under heaven except sugar, and looking at it strictly with the eye of an abolitionist, there are two reasons that appear to me to justify us in advocating

such a reduction in the present scale of duties as shall allow of the produce of free and slave labour coming into full and fair competition. In the first place, it has always been maintained, and made a leading and powerful argument with abolitionists in their controversies with slave-holders, that if free and slave labour were brought into fair competition, the former would drive the latter out of the market. Now, whether we look to the differential scale of duties which the late Administration proposed to fix between Cuba, Brazil, and our own colonies, or at any other scale likely to be adopted, I see no reason to doubt the ultimate triumph of free-trade principles. It is no longer a question, our opponents themselves being judges, whether sugar can be produced by the labour of free men in our West India colonies; and I believe that the province of Bengal alone would produce a sufficiency of that commodity to supply the whole of Europe below the price at which it can be raised in any slave-holding state. I remember Mr. Zachary Macaulay, in a conversation which I had with him on the subject many years ago, (and he was an encyclopædia of knowledge on anti-slavery questions,) telling me that if the duties on East and West India sugar were equalized, and British skill and capital directed to the East Indies, that it might be made and shipped in Bengal in any quantity, and with a profit to the grower, at 1d. per pound. Whether he was correct or not in putting it at so very low a figure, I do not pretend to determine; but of this I feel perfectly assured, from my personal knowledge of India, having resided there for several years, that abolitionists have never yet appreciated, as they deserve, the immense facilities which our East India possessions afford for producing both sugar and cotton at very low prices, and to an almost unlimited extent; and thereby driving the sugars of Cuba and Brazil, and the cotton of America, out of the market, so long as those articles come to us stained and contaminated by the unrequited toil of the slave. Indeed, I am prepared to maintain that the battle of freedom may be advantageously, nay, triumphantly, fought upon the plains of Bengal and the coast of Coromandel; and it may be one among many other reasons why Divine Providence has intrusted those vast and splendid possessions to Great Britain, that she may not only have the disposition, but the ability, by means of free labour, of wiping out the foul stain of slavery from the face of the whole earth; or, as one of our own poets has said,

> "Wherever Britain's power is known,
> Mankind may feel her mercy too."

If I may take the liberty, I will venture to recommend that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and all similar institutions in America and elsewhere, should direct their attention particularly to this point, with the design of collecting and diffusing information which shall be brought to bear practically in a commercial point of view. I am sure it will prove an *argumentum ad hominem*, and that will tell more on the abettors of slavery than the most eloquent denunciation of their cruel and unrighteous system that can be pronounced. Judging by the past, I believe that we shall be more likely to make an impression on the slave-holder—and I hope I may say it without being considered uncharitable—through his pocket, than through his head or his heart. In the next place, if negotiations or treaties are entered into with Cuba and Brazil for the purpose of reducing the duties on sugar, I conceive that articles might be introduced into them that would tend to the early abandonment of the costly and cruel system of slavery, and its attendant evil, the slave-trade. If we refuse to take their produce, what hope have we of exercising any beneficial influence over them, moral or political? By pursuing this restrictive policy, we get no credit with these Governments as abolitionists. They see through

the hollow pretence of our Government in refusing to receive their produce, believing, as they are justified in doing, that our policy is directed by no other consideration than with a view to protect and uphold the West India planters. I feel that I am sanctioned in making these remarks, notwithstanding the new-born zeal recently manifested by certain parties in this country, and the pious horror they have expressed at touching a grain of slave-grown sugar; for we know that, from the first moment when the horrors of the middle passage were described, down to the last hour of our conflict with the slave-holder, they maintained a death-like silence, or threw the weight of their influence into the opposite scale. Their conduct reminds me of the man described by Dr. Johnson, who, while you are in the water, struggling for life, refuses to extend a finger for your relief; but you are no sooner landed on the bank, than he offers you his congratulations, and encumbers you with help. Without looking to this Administration or the other in particular, but regarding the whole British nation as professing anti-slavery principles, I repeat, that we can obtain no credit whatever with these countries as abolitionists, and I do not know that we are entitled to expect it: certainly our Government is not, while at the very time we are refusing to receive their sugar because it is the produce of slave-labour, we are contented to receive almost every other slave-grown article. The only effect our restrictive policy can have on other Governments is, to exasperate them, and induce them to retaliate, by enacting hostile tariffs, and by restrictions upon our commercial intercourse with them. But if we consent to remove the restrictions which now exist in our trade with these countries, we may almost dictate our own conditions in return. Our Government would be in a position, while making such concessions, to insist upon the introduction of an article in any new treaty, that should declare the slave-trade to be piracy; and this, with the concession of the right of search, would go far towards the speedy and effectual extinction of the detestable traffic in human beings. Certain it is, that all the restrictive and coercive measures we have hitherto adopted have failed in producing any effect on these Governments; it is high time, therefore, that we should pursue some other system of policy towards them; and I confess I feel sanguine that this will be found to consist in the alteration of the sugar duties, and in the fair competition of free and coerced labour. I will only say, in conclusion, what I hope it is almost unnecessary to say, that if I thought the measures which the resolution before the meeting contemplates would have the effect of augmenting and aggravating the slave-trade, no consideration on earth would induce me to support it; but, believing, on the contrary, as I do, that it will tend to hasten its final extinction, I feel bound to support and commend it to the adoption of the Convention.

Mr. E. N. BUXTON.—I hope that no one present will imagine that I am going to undertake the defence of Sir Robert Peel. We have present, happily for us, a member of the House of Commons, and he, no doubt, will undertake that agreeable office. But though I have no wish, and no intention to defend Sir Robert Peel, or the party that vote with him, yet I must think that I should be doing wrong if I decided one way, because Sir Robert Peel for any reason—good or bad—decided the other. I am ready to admit, that many people may have adopted the cry of philanthropy to serve their own ends; but whether they have or have not, if we can show that the cry itself is founded in justice, we may very freely unite in it, not caring whether the Government or the party opposed to them, think with us or against us. I had once the honour of saying a few words on this subject at Exeter Hall, and, with the consent of the Convention, I shall now propose an amendment upon the resolution before it. The mover and seconder of the resolution, rather accused the old anti-slavery people of want of consistency, between the course

they are now pursuing, and the statements made by them, in former days, that a slave would perform less labour than a freeman, or rather that slave labour was dearer than free labour. Now, any one, who reflects for a moment, must perceive that their argument was this, that the same man, fixed on the same locality, would do more as a freeman than as a slave. It is utterly impossible that any one could be so bold as to assert that under different circumstances, in a different situation, a slave could not compete with a freeman. Look at the differences which exist between our colonies, and Cuba and the Brazils. In the West India colonies we have a limited number of labourers, and the numbers remain much the same; whereas in Cuba and the Brazils, they are continually augmenting their population, by fresh importations from Africa. In the next place, the soil of Jamaica, exhausted by our former slave labour, cannot compete with the immensely fertile and virgin soil of Cuba and Brazils. Could any one suppose that in such a case, competition would be possible? Another point connected with this subject is, that the proprietors in Cuba and Brazils are resident, and obtain the last penny that can be derived from their produce; whereas, our estates in Jamaica are, generally speaking, conducted by the most expensive agency. That is one reason why sugar in the latter is, and must be, dearer than in the former. I think I may fairly say, that this room is not the place to discuss the principles of free-trade, and therefore I shall, as far as possible, avoid touching on that topic. My own personal opinion is, that, as a matter of trade and policy, no inducement whatever should lead the Government to make any difference in the duties, for the sake of patronising our own colonies. Other people may entertain a different opinion, but I confess that for myself, I would, on that ground, not make one farthing of differential duties. If people think that it is so important that sugar should be cheap, that it is desirable in order to effect it to encourage slavery and the slave-trade, then I have nothing more to say to them; but there is, in my opinion, most ample proof that if you admit the sugars of Brazil and Cuba, you will thereby encourage slavery in those countries, and what is more cursed than slavery itself—the diabolical slave-trade. We find that, notwithstanding these countries are excluded from the best market in the world—that of Great Britain—they have imported, during the last ten years, 100,000 slaves per annum. They are utterly uninfluenced by all feelings of morality and religion—they care no more for human life, than if their slaves were dogs. They flog these poor creatures to death, and then obtain another supply; and yet it is now proposed to open to them another market—the best and the dearest. Will any one tell me that this will not give an immense stimulus to the slave-trade? Now, the gentlemen who moved and seconded the resolution, went to this extent—and they put it on high moral ground—that the Government of the country had no right to interfere in a question of morality. If it be morally wrong for a Government so to interfere, I have no more to say upon it, except that I totally differ from such a sentiment. Government have the power in their hands, by one course of action, to prevent the increase of the evil; and by another, to give it the greatest stimulus; and I contend, that it will be a national sin, if, for the sake of obtaining cheap sugar, we suffer 50,000 negroes more to be annually carried across the Atlantic, and flogged to death. It has been said that we already admit slave-grown cotton. I know we do; and it is a curse, which, unhappily for us, we cannot possibly avoid. I wish I could go the length of saying, that we would exclude all American cotton; but it is the most unreasonable doctrine in the world to say, that because you commit one sin, you may commit another. We are in that unhappy condition in this country, that having taken one wrong step, we must, of necessity, take others in the same direction.

I should be grieved, however, if the country were to say, that because we commit the one sin, we must therefore commit the other, and thus give the slave-trade a greater impetus than we have hitherto done. I do not say that it is a sin in the present generation to take American cotton, because, if we were now to refuse it, our manufacturing population would starve; but it was a gross sin in the first instance. I shall conclude by moving as an amendment

"That the introduction of slave-grown produce from Cuba and Brazil is calculated to encourage the system of slavery in the former countries, and to stimulate the African slave-trade."

This amendment is not absolutely opposed to the resolution. The resolution enters upon the duty of the Government on a question that has nothing to do with the slave-trade. This amendment, I contend, contains all that concerns this meeting: the question of free-trade is foreign to our purpose.

Mr. J. T. PRICE.—I rise to second the amendment, and I should not feel satisfied were I to omit saying a few words upon it, although they may be much of the same nature as those already expressed by E. N. Buxton. I consider that in uniting myself with others in this Convention, I did so to contribute to the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade; but were I to be a party to a resolution like that which has been moved in this assembly, I should feel that I was directly promoting both one and the other. It appears to me, as plain as any proposition that ever was submitted to the Convention, that the adoption of the principle recognised in the resolution would enhance the value of the slaves already existing in Cuba and Brazil, and thereby encourage the slave-trade; whereas, we are desirous of supplanting that by the encouragement of free labour in the East Indies, and in other parts of the world. We do not for one moment depart from the principles originally laid down, with regard to the efficiency of free over slave labour; but time must be allowed to work these things. It takes time to introduce capital and skill into the East Indies and elsewhere, and to produce those effects by which slavery and the slave-trade would ultimately be greatly diminished, if not entirely abolished. I believe, however, that Divine power will bring these evils to a termination, more speedily than it would be effected by natural causes. I should be sorry to see the Convention induced, by anything that has been said, or can be said, in support of that resolution, to pass such a measure, and indeed I could not conscientiously go along with a body that passes such a resolution. I am intimately connected with some individuals, who feel conscientiously restrained, even from the use of cotton the produce of slave-labour, and could I pass a resolution to annoy them? Certainly not; I would rather encourage them. Though they may not be able to carry out their views to the utmost, with regard to the gold and silver which is obtained by means of slave-labour, yet I contend, that if they are carrying out their views as far as they can, we should desire to see them encouraged. We must also take into consideration, the condition of the country alluded to by my friend Buxton. Having encouraged slavery and the slave-trade in America, by the introduction of their cotton into our market; having encouraged the establishment of manufactories, and the employment of almost millions in this country in the manufacture of cotton the produce of slave labour, it requires time to allow of free labour cotton being brought into competition with that of slave labour. I hope that America will foresee that by free labour produce her articles will ultimately be driven out of the market, and that to obviate the difficulty in which she would be placed were that realized, she will take timely measures for the purpose of abolishing slavery and the slave-trade. With these views, I could not support the resolution. I do not regret, however,

that the subject has been brought under review, because the effect must be to throw light upon it; but we are not assembled to discuss political or commercial questions; on the contrary, we have united for the purpose of abolishing slavery and the slave-trade, and the measures calculated to effect those objects, are the measures that we ought to carry forward. As Cuba is alluded to in the amendment, I may state, although the subject is not exactly before us, that from that island we import the ores of copper, which are raised mainly by slaves. I live in a part of the country where we are every day seeing large cargoes arrive, and which operate detrimentally to free labour in this country; but yet, I would not recommend the Convention to adopt any resolution calculated to interfere with matters of trade. It appears to me that that is not our business. The only effectual means of putting down the slave-trade is, to suppress slavery; and I hope and trust that the measures of the Convention will tend to that end, not only in Brazil, but in Spain also, which has the control over Cuba.

Mr. FULLER.—Our friend, J. T. Price, talks of the produce of America being driven from this country. I hold in my hand a sample of sugar, the produce of free labour. The following is the mode of its manufacture.

"This sugar was made from the Indian corn stalk, and is in the condition in which it came from the pans. It is almost a first experiment. It has not been refined at all: 1000 lbs., or at more than that rate, has been obtained from one acre, and it is confidently expected that more than 2000 lbs. can be obtained. It can be made by common farmers, without an expensive apparatus, and with as much facility as any other article of household produce. The free states will be able to supply themselves with sugar at a moderate expense, and so will all countries where Indian corn can be grown. It is stated to have been ascertained, that by the saccharometer, pound by pound, the Indian corn stalk contains 2 per cent. more of saccharine matter than the sugar cane."

That sugar was made in the state of Delaware, and can be manufactured at twopence per pound. The question before us resolves itself into a very simple matter. We have not come here to discuss free-trade, at least I have not come for that purpose. I have come to discuss and to maintain the rights of humanity—the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. My friend Spencer said, if we are not suffered to consume the products of slavery—the whole matter is granted—the argument is given up. I ask, how can a consistent anti-slavery man consume the products of slavery? If there were no consumers, where would be the producers? This matter lies in a nut-shell; and although I may not be able to beat it into your heads, yet your children would be able to solve the question. Without any arguments at all, the women and children understand this question. My friend Spencer quoted scripture—I was glad to hear him—I will do the same: we are not to do evil that good may come. When scripture was quoted, my mind went back to the time when Stephen was stoned. Paul, who held the clothes, thought himself as guilty as those who threw the stones. I consider the man who consumes the products of slavery to be as guilty as the slave-holder; yes, and even worse. The slave-holder says that slavery is right; that it is a valuable institution; and so say the doctors of divinity in America. [Several delegates—"Not all."] We say that slavery is wrong. Who is it that sustains American slavery? The inhabitants of Great Britain. I heard it stated by a man from Manchester, whose word is a guarantee for the truth of any statement he may make, that three-fourths of all the cotton grown in America was consumed in Manchester, and within seven miles around. I have nothing to boast of, but I am as consistent a man as some that have preceded me. They have stood up in cotton, and advocated the growth and consumption of slave-grown produce. I put

nothing of it either into my mouth, or on my back. I was convinced of the impropriety of it, by my little child, more than twenty years ago; and I have no doubt that other people's children are as wise as mine. I believe that we have got before us an apple of discord that will lower the tone of the Convention, and lessen its influence upon the public mind. [Cries of "No!"] Some allusion has been made about going to the Southern states. I have been into the Southern states. I believe that Providence sent me there; and if Providence had designed that I should not have eaten, the Almighty would have taken away my appetite, and I should have come out as well as I went there. But duty took me there; and I did as an old Quaker minister once did. He was faithful to Him who had given him his commission, and he thundered against slavery. No one invited him to his house. He fixed his eye upon a Friend, and followed him. The Friend said, "I expected thee;" to which he replied, "I thought so." He sat himself down, and presently dinner was ready. As he walked in, the owner of the house said, "All the provisions on the table are the productions of slavery." "I thought so." And he sat down, and made as good a dinner as the rest. If duty leads us to the slave states, and appetite is not taken away, I believe we are innocent in the sight of Heaven, in partaking of food. When I was at the hospitable table of HIRAM WILSON, in Canada, I saw a runaway slave take tobacco. I asked him if he was sincere in running away from slavery; if it was so bad a thing as we thought it. He answered in the affirmative; and I then said, How can you chew that tobacco which is stained with your brother's blood? Why, the perspiration ran down in great drops: he could see that the doctrine I was inculcating was true. I am sorry that friend SPENCER alluded to the eighty emancipated slaves; if he had known the whole facts of the case, I do not believe that he would have done it. Those men redeemed some of their time by desecrating the day of rest: and they were emancipated on the condition that they should be sent to Liberia. If we bear testimony against slavery, and yet sit down and devour its products, I believe that we are guilty of our brother's blood. I do not know how slavery is to be abolished, except by abstaining from the products of slavery. If we are not faithful, how the cause is to be carried on, I do not know, except by God raising up others to do it.

Colonel NICHOLLS.—I do not know whether the city of Glasgow, which has asked me to be a delegate here, will be obliged to me for what I am going to say, but I am about to support every word that that honest man, Mr. FULLER, has said. I have been forty-seven years in the public service, during twelve of which I was a governor on the coast of Africa. Well do I know the abominations of the slave-trade; and if you had all seen what I have witnessed, there is not one here who would stand up and say that he would admit slave-grown sugar. Let me tell you a few things that have passed between slave-dealers and myself, when they have been taken prisoners. I have had a great deal of communication with the people of Brazil and of Fernando Po. I had no very cordial regard for these slave-dealers, but I thought that it was the duty of hospitality, when they were prisoners, to treat them kindly, and get as much information from them as I could. I have said to them, "Now you are prisoners, the slaves are free, let us talk about Brazil;" and the result of those conversations has convinced me that were we to admit Brazilian sugar, it would at once lead to an immense increase of the African slave-trade. If you pass this resolution, you will stultify yourselves. Because we have admitted cotton and other products of slave labour, is that any reason why we should commit another evil? I am anxious to see Africa exalted, and not made a scape-goat either for the East or the West Indies. As a proof of the

intelligence of the Africans, I may state that there are two African boys whom I have succeeded in getting into the dock-yard, and there are no cleverer boys employed there. Let me say to the ladies, Do not suffer one of your families to be polluted by slave-grown sugar; stick to your British sugar, and you will put slavery and the slave-trade under your feet.

Mr. RICHARD COBDEN, M.P.—I received with my diploma from Manchester, appointing me a delegate to this Convention, a letter written by one of the most ardent friends of abolition in that town, and one who has proved his sincerity by the great sacrifices he has made in this cause. He expresses his wish that I should attend, in the event of anything being done to sanction restrictions on trade by way of promoting abolition. He feared, in consequence of some steps taken by the London Committee on a late occasion, declaring its opinion against free-trade in certain commodities, that they would now claim the sanction of your authority. I have not come here to try to convert the Hall into a free-trade meeting. In the first place, it would be unfair; in the second place, free-traders seek no alliance with any party. The question for us to consider is this—Are you, or are you not, taking a right course to promote the abolition of slavery all over the world (for that is your object), by calling on our Government to pass fiscal laws for the purpose of restricting our foreign trade in certain articles? I have the strongest possible opinion that you will be wrong if you call upon the Government, as a Government, to aid you in any way. Nay, more; from my observations of anti-slavery movements, I believe that everything you have done, or attempted to do, *through the Government*, has retarded your sublime mission more than anything else that you have done. (Cries of "No, no," and counter cries of "Yes, yes.") To prove my assertion, I will begin with our armed cruisers to put down the slave-trade: that is a Government scheme, and I will take Mr. BUXTON's authority to show that it has been the occasion of an immense sacrifice of life, of great misery and suffering, at a cost of fifteen or sixteen millions sterling, besides having stultified all your professions of Christianity. It has failed, as it deserved to fail, and as all attempts to coerce and govern the opinions of mankind by physical force must fail. I now come to the Niger expedition. I attended a meeting in Manchester, held for the purpose of sanctioning that scheme, and raised my voice against it. That was a Government scheme, and at the instigation of the friends of abolition. You need not be told of the disastrous result. I do not know whether our interference, by means of an envoy in Cuba, Mr. TURNBULL, met with the sanction of this body or not. I have read the despatches and correspondence connected with his proceedings; and I venture to say, that, as a semi-official interference, it has been more calculated to embitter the feelings of Cuba and Spain than anything else that could have been done. I now take up your diplomacy, and remind you of the numerous treaties which our Government has been attempting to carry out. There has been most extraordinary activity in forming treaties of all sorts for putting down the slave-trade; but has the Government interference in all these ways done good in promoting the abolition of slavery? or has it not done evil, in exasperating other governments? Is not the conduct of the cruisers off the coast of Africa involving our Government in angry altercation with Portugal? and has it not brought us to the brink of a war with the United States, which might have plunged Christendom in carnage? What good have you obtained by going to the Government to put down others not of our opinion? It is going to Government to induce them to do by force what ought to be done by our own individual efforts operating on public opinion. If we are true to our mission, true to our honest conviction, we may effect the object in view by acting on public opinion, without calling in Government interference

GEORE SHELBY GIVING LIBERTY TO HIS SLAVES.

" He appeared among them with a bundle of papers in his hand, containing a certificate of freedom to every one on the place, which he read successively, and presented, amid the sobs and tears, and shouts of all present."— Page 382.

to help us. Mr. Buxton has told us that if we do not pass a law to prevent the introduction of Brazilian sugar, we shall encourage slavery: I say, that if you do pass such a law, you cannot, even according to his principle, prevent the encouragement of slavery, unless you do more: you must prevent exporting as well as importing, or you support slavery. We send out our cotton goods; our Government has a treaty with Brazil, by which the Brazilians receive these cotton goods, stained as they are with slavery, at a lower rate of duty than the produce of any other country. In exchange for these cotton goods, we bring back sugar, and send that to Hamburgh, and with it buy German wool to bring to England, and of which the coat is made which you wear on your backs. Now, I contend that those who bring this German wool, bought with Brazilian sugar, are as much contributing, according to your principles, to the support and increase of slavery, as though that sugar were brought to sweeten the coffee of those in this room. (Cries of "No, no.") Does any one say "No?" I am surprised that he should have so little knowledge as to doubt the truth of this proposition. We go and buy the sugar, but we refuse to consume it here, though we have no conscience about carrying it to other countries. We are guilty of a double transaction: we buy the sugar in the first instance, and then we sell it to another country, and bring back wool, tallow, hemp, and other commodities, with which we pay ourselves; and I therefore maintain that those who consume these articles give employment to slaves. At all events, then, to carry out your plan, it is most futile to stop with the prohibition of Brazilian sugar; you must stop your manufactures; you must isolate yourselves; you must stop all intercourse with Brazil: and is that the way in which you think to civilize, humanize, and Christianize the world? There is not one of our friends here from America, who did not come in a ship laden with slave-grown cotton or tobacco; and when you send the tidings of this meeting to all parts of the world, the very paper will be the produce of slave labour, for the greater part consists of cotton. Will you tell me that by isolating yourselves, and preventing inter-communication with your species, and shutting out men from the social communion because they have slaves, that that is the way to reform mankind? It was not the way in which the great Propounder of our religion went to teach mankind. He mixed with the bad and the good. Do you mix with the bad as well as the good; and your good example will be more infectious than that of the bad. That is the way to reclaim the world. Then it is said, if you refuse to take slave-grown sugar, you will check its growth. That is founded upon the assumption, that England is the only country that can trade abroad, and consume foreign productions. If we continue to go on as we are now going, in a downward career, we shall not long be the greatest consumers; and if we put restrictions on trade here, the Germans are ready to take the sugar direct instead of receiving it through England. Thus you will have a trade carried on with Brazil, in which the same quantity of sugar will be consumed, and the same stimulus given to the slave-trade; and the traffic will be carried on with a country which will have none of your scruples of morality, where there will be none of that zealous expression of abhorrence against slavery which you entertain, and which, if you only trade and mingle with the people involved in it, will put down slavery and other abominations. I said that I would not make this a free-trade meeting, and I will not attempt to do so; but there is one thing in which I have full faith, viz., that every true and just principle harmonizes and unites with every other true and just principle. I believe most ardently, as you all know, in the advantages of peace, the advantages of civilization, and in the happiness which the freest inter-communication between nations will give to the family

of man; and believing that, I cannot believe that any interference with that just principle, on any ground whatever, can, in the end, tend to good. I say, of a thing be just in itself, it will be found to aid and co-operate with every principle that is just. My first point, then, is this, your calling in the aid of Government will do more harm than good, as it has done in every instance. It was another thing when you wished to pass a law against your own slavery. When you came to Government to put down the institution of slavery in your own dominions, you had to deal legitimately with Government; you could not do it but by going to Government. But how did you then go to work to accomplish your object? By influencing public opinion. Pursue your work in the same way now. Do not go to Government. They will make tools of you if they can. You will find men in the Cabinet whose pockets are filled with the produce of flesh and blood, which they owned twelve years ago; you will find such men talking of the horrors of slavery, and quoting you as colleagues of theirs. I say, have no such partnership at all. But my next and strongest point is, that your plan is utterly impracticable. Commerce cannot be bound and cramped in the way you propose. You must do more than you have proposed, to have a shadow of chance of accomplishing your object. If you shut out all communication with Brazil, of what avail will this be? You cannot prevent yourselves, as a commercial people, ministering to the indirect increase of the trade of Brazil and every other country, so long as you encourage any foreign trade at all. I repeat, it is an attempt to do by the strong arm of the Government what you must do by persuasion. But do not despair; you can effect your object by other and better means. Is not this Convention, including people from all parts of the world, a proof that it can be done? Look back five or ten years, and consider what immense strides you have made. When you can bring philanthropic coadjutors across the Atlantic, as well as from France and other countries, is it not a proof that you are making progress? Put forward from this room an appeal to public opinion. You can tell Christian bodies, if you will, that, in your opinion, they ought not to have Christian communion with men who do not dissolve their connexion with slavery. It is a very different thing for you to express that as your opinion,—and such is a legitimate use of public opinion,—from going to Government, and telling them that by force they should compel the abolition of slavery. Be assured that the opinion of such a meeting as this will have influence throughout the world. Whoever conceived the idea of a World's Convention, it was a sublime one; if it belonged to my friend Mr. Sturge, it was a sublime conception, worthy even of him; and I say, carry out the plan, continue it, and you will infallibly succeed. Try by your persuasion to win people from slavery, to convince them of their error; show them, if you like, their awful responsibility; call upon them to renounce the sin of slavery: but do not go to Government to pass laws to put down slavery in other countries. Having said so much, I should be sorry if it were thought that I have come here with the idea of passing a resolution to aid free trade. The resolution before us appears to have been drawn up in rather offensive terms, as if by those who are hostile to its success. All I desire is, that you abstain from calling upon the Government to come forward with fiscal laws, or armed force, or diplomatic arrangements, to put down slavery; have no stipulations by treaty with the Brazils; leave other Governments free, to be acted upon by their own people. I do not desire any triumph, still less do I wish to produce any schism in the meeting; and for the terms of the resolution I am not responsible. I came in the fulfilment of a duty to those who appointed me to protest, in the name of the Anti-Slavery Society of Manchester, against this

Convention taking any step similar to, or sanctioning the step taken by the London Central Committee two years ago, in advising that Government should in any way put restrictions upon foreign trade.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I was anxious, before the honourable member left this sitting of the Convention, that he should hear what are the sentiments of those gentlemen whose principles he has attacked, and whose conduct he has reviled. Mr. COBDEN has wholly mistaken the position of the Anti-Slavery Society, both in reference to the question which has been brought under discussion, and the relation in which it stands towards the Convention. The Anti-Slavery Society did not originate the resolution which was passed at the former Convention; I know not who did; but allow me to say, that it was not only unanimously adopted, but that it was in perfect accordance with the tone of the entire press of this country, and the views of the Government which were then in office. It was only after that Government had shifted its position in reference to the sugar and other questions, and introduced a new principle of action, which they no doubt thought would promote the interests of the country, that that portion of the press which advocated their general policy changed its tone, and a new sentiment seemed to spring up throughout the land in connexion with the declarations which had been made. The Anti-Slavery Society, however, has ever been consistent upon this subject; and the discrepancy of opinion which may exist among some of its friends, will find its explanation in the altered circumstances of the country. Something has been said in reference to the wording of the resolution offered to your attention by the Rev. Mr. SPENCER, and so eloquently and powerfully seconded and supported by the honourable gentlemen who succeeded him. It is true that I drafted that resolution; but it was at the request of the reverend gentleman and his friends. Some difficulty was found to exist, in connexion with the resolution it was originally intended should be presented to the meeting; and as it was supposed that, in a friendly conference I had with them, I had caught the true idea of the gentlemen who intended to advocate the introduction of slave-grown produce into the British market, I was requested by them to put it upon paper, and that paper was adopted by them as their own, before it was submitted to the Convention. I have thought it necessary to make these remarks, in consequence of the statements of a different character which have been made this morning, lest it should be supposed that, by some manœuvre of mine, or of those with whom I act, I intended to place those gentlemen, whose resolution it is, in a false or difficult position. It appears to me, that the question before the Convention is an extremely simple one, and that its discussion may be brought within a very short compass. Now what is the proposition before the meeting? If I understand it, it is, that the slave-grown produce of Brazil and Cuba should be allowed to come into immediate and full competition with the free-grown produce of the British colonies in the British market; and as I suppose that the gentlemen who have advocated this proposition believe that the effect of such an arrangement would be to overthrow slavery and the slave-trade, I have waited with great patience and anxiety for the arguments by which such a proposition could be sustained. Had these gentlemen reversed their proposition, and proposed to this Convention, that the free-grown produce of the world should be brought into contact with the slave-grown produce of the world, I should have given it my cordial and hearty concurrence, and have believed that it would in time overcome and destroy both slavery and the slave-trade. But it is one thing to bring the free produce of free labourers into competition with slave-grown produce, and it is another thing to bring slave-grown produce into competition with free-grown produce. As for example: If free-grown produce be brought into competition with slave-grown produce, every ton of the latter

which is displaced by the former is a gain to freedom and a loss to slavery. But if slave-grown produce be brought into competition with free-grown produce, then every ton of the latter which is displaced by the former is a gain to slavery and a loss to freedom. And the same effect follows wherever a new market is opened to slave-grown produce: it is a gain to slavery and a loss to freedom, no matter what the circumstances may have been which led to the opening of such market. Much has been said by the preceding speakers in reference to the morals of the question, and the legislation, which it is presumed, we propose should be brought to bear upon it. Permit me to say, that this is the point of view in which I look at the question. Shall I, now that I have the power of keeping the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil out of the British market, by allowing of their introduction into it, consolidate the slave system of those countries, and thereby stimulate and increase the slave-trade? If by the introduction of the slave-grown sugars of Brazil and Cuba into the British market, I add a new fetter to the limbs of the slave, or put a fetter upon the limbs of any man who may be free,—if by such means I consolidate and strengthen the system of slavery,—if I expose humanity to all the atrocious incidents of slavery,—if I prolong the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade,—if, in short, I thereby increase the sum of human misery,—I say, come what will, I will never be a party to the introduction of such produce into the British market. I contend that the effect of such a resolution as that before the meeting would, if carried into operation, increase the number of the victims of the slave-trade by thousands annually, and doom the survivors to interminable bondage. (Cries of "It would," with counter cries of "No.") Some members of the Convention think it would not. I am most anxious that the gentlemen who hold that opinion should show that the inevitable operation and tendency of the proposition for which they contend, would put an end to slavery and the slave-trade; but until the honourable and eloquent gentlemen on the other side are able to show us by facts and arguments, which will admit of no contradiction, that such would be the result of their scheme, they have done nothing to make it the duty of this Convention to pass their resolution. The honourable gentleman behind me (Mr. Cobden) has told us that we are not to look to Government for support and countenance in advancing the cause we have in view.

Mr. J. T. PRICE.—Except for the abolition of our own slavery.

Mr. SCOBLE.—If Government are to interpose for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, may they not interpose their good offices and influence to put down slavery and the slave-trade in other countries? (Cries of "No.") Some gentlemen say "No." I say that upon the broad principle of general duty—upon all those great moral principles which should regulate the intercourse of man with man, and nation with nation—they are bound to set their face against all inhumanity and oppression, wherever they exist. (Cheers.) But we were told in one of the speeches addressed to us this morning, that if we touch this question, there are a very large number of other questions that must also be touched. I admit that that may be true; but let us look at the class of questions we propose to touch. We do not propose to touch the question of free trade; let that stand on its own merits, its own foundation. Let, me, however, say, that I do not yield to the honourable gentleman behind me in attachment to the great principles of free trade; but let it be observed, that those principles have their limits and exceptions as well as others that may be advanced for the improvement of man in his moral, social, and religious relations. Now what stands in the way of the application of the principles of free trade to the nations with which we have been brought in contact? It is slavery. It is not anti-slavery principles which shut out the products of Brazil

and Cuba from the British market, but slavery. The honourable gentleman has told us, that the best way to put down slavery is by enlarged commercial intercourse with those nations in which slavery exists. Very well; let us examine this proposition—let us test it by facts. Will the honourable gentleman tell me, and he is largely connected with the cotton trade, whether our commercial intercourse with the United States has increased the system of slavery there, or has put it down? Is it not a fact that it has consolidated and strengthened that system, with all its wretchedness, degradation, and iniquity? (Cries of "No," and loud cheers.) Gentlemen say "No," and that in the face of facts which are as palpable as that the sun shines in the heavens. Does not slavery exist there at the present moment? Is it not fed and sustained by our commercial intercourse with the United States? And will it not continue, so long as British capital shall be expended on the cotton raised by toil-worn and care-worn slaves? Have we not been told again and again by our American friends and coadjutors, that it is our commercial intercourse with the United States, our vast purchases of their staple, which has kept up slavery there? (Cheers.) Let us then apply our experience to the case of Brazil and Cuba. If we were to go, in the language of the honourable gentleman, to the Brazilian and Cuban planters, and say, "We know you set a high value upon the slave-trade, yet you are anxious to put down slavery, you consider it an evil. If we were to say, we will not take your produce, you would be angry and exasperated, you would keep it yourselves; but now we come to empty your stores; we come to raise the price of your sugar; we come to supply you with capital for carrying on your plantations to a greater extent, and with more vigour than ever. We come to tell you, that so great will be the demand for your sugars, that you must increase the number of your population, in order to meet the demand." Will these gentlemen abolish slavery and the slave-trade on such grounds as these? Is that the argument by which we are to overcome these enormities in those parts of the world? No; if you wish to employ any method for putting down slavery and the slave-trade beyond the moral means which you are bound to use, allow me to say, that the argument addressed to the pocket will be found a very strong one. I therefore call upon you, in the name of humanity, to starve slavery to death in Cuba and Brazil. Who are the characters for whom the honourable gentlemen have in effect pleaded? I will not say that their intention was to plead for them—no, I give them credit for being as strenuous in their advocacy of the liberty of their fellow-men as I am myself,—as earnest in their denunciations of slavery and the slave-trade as I am myself; but when I look at the nature of the arguments which they have used this morning, I feel astonished. Yet in truth there is nothing in them to answer; and I am placed in the position of a man who has to deal with truisms, which the more you attempt to illustrate and enforce, the less you appear able to effect your object. It is in the nature of all self-evident truths that, in attempting to sustain, you weaken them. But to proceed. By putting capital into the hands of the Spanish and Brazilian planters, we shall give them the means of continuing the system of slavery to which they are wedded; and not only so, but of carrying on the slave-trade, which is a necessary adjunct to the system of slavery in Cuba and Brazil. For, permit me to say, that, for many years past, the importation of slaves into these countries has consisted chiefly of the male sex; and, therefore, if you could put down the slave-trade, so far as they are concerned, the result would be, that, in a very few years, the greater part of males would have died off, and whence are they to obtain cultivators to supply this waste of mortality? At the present moment, I rejoice to say, they want the means of sustaining slavery and the slave-trade; but those means you propose to put into their hands. (Cries of "No.") Why then open your market

for their surplus produce? If that be not the design, it is certainly the tendency of the measure you contemplate. I am bold to assert, that the inevitable effect of your proposition would be to consolidate the system of slavery, and vastly to stimulate the horrible slave-trade. You believe in the omnipotence of your principles of commercial intercourse; but what facts have you to sustain the expectation that that intercourse would put down slavery and the slave-trade? The principles of Christianity, which are all truth, have been nineteen hundred years in the world; but, among civilized men, how few there are who have cordially received them into their hearts, and made them the rule of their lives? I do not expect more from the slave-trader, hardened in his iniquities, than I expect from humanity at large. I do not, in short, expect that your principles will convert him. I believe most fully in the silent and gradual operation of right principles in the world, which will eventually overcome all the great evils which afflict and degrade humanity; but their progress is slow. As the upholders of those principles, we are bound to give them fair play,—to apply them legitimately, and not to burden them, as I think we should do if we passed this resolution, with an amount of difficulty over which it is scarcely probable they can prevail. My notes are extended, but I will not weary the meeting by pressing the subject much further. My anxiety has been to show, that I believe, if the resolution were carried by this Convention, it would stultify, as a gentleman has already said, all its proceedings up to this time. (Cries of "No.") I stand here not for the protection of the emancipated labourers—it is not on that ground that I ask you to reject the proposition now made; I stand here not as the advocate of the West India planters; I stand not here either to defend the interests of the one class, or to maintain the interests of the other; but I stand here as the humble advocate of the African slave, toiling under the whip in Brazil and Cuba. I stand here as the advocate of the native African ready to be torn from his home by the ruthless man-stealer; and I beseech you by your humanity; I beseech you by the religious principles which you advocate; I beseech you by all that is precious in human liberty, and all that is holy in our great and glorious religion, that you never consent, by any act of yours, to fetter a human being, or to subject a human being to degradation in any part of the world. I will not trespass longer, but I most earnestly beseech the friends present to take this subject into their serious consideration; and before they adopt principles which they suppose are good in themselves, and which are good when righteously applied, to look at the effect they will have upon the destinies of untold millions of the human race. I most cordially, therefore, support the amendment.

Mr. HOWELLS.—When I came to the Hall, and ascertained the subject that was under discussion, I began to wonder whether I had made a mistake, and gone to the wrong place; or whether the friends assembled ostensibly for the abolition of slavery had gone over to the opposite position. I am a friend to free trade throughout the world; but let it be free trade based on the principles of justice. I can admit of no principles that will not abide the test of the day of judgment. It does not appear to me that the motion is in accordance with the object for which we have come together. Our design is to propose, to lay down, and to carry out measures which will destroy the accursed system of slavery throughout the world. But how can that end possibly be attained so long as we offer a boon to the man who robs his fellow man of all that he possesses, and converts both his body and his soul into an article of merchandise? American abolitionists maintain the principle, that they cannot, they dare not countenance slavery in the United States. There are several societies formed there for the purpose of consuming none but free-labour produce. The other day I opposed the introduction into this country of the slave-labour produce of

America—my adopted country; with what consistency, then, could I give a vote sanctioning the importation of sugar from Brazils or Cuba? I should be a guilty man were I tacitly to assent to it. Justice is not lop-sided; it applies to every right connected with every human being throughout the world. It has been said that no successful appeal can be made to the slave-holder, except through the medium of his pocket; but I maintain that he is a man as well as myself, and that he is just as capable of being affected by the principles of eternal truth, as I am. He has been trained up under an influence fatal to his own morals, and to his own happiness; but still he is within the reach of hope, within the reach of mercy, within the influence of Divine truth. It is unfair to the slave-holder to say that he has no conscience except in his pocket; I deny it. I believe that some of the noblest abolitionists were slave-holders but a few years ago. There are thousands of slave-holders now in the United States that will become abolitionists. They are kept in ignorance by crude policy, by misrepresentation of our views: but let them come to the light of truth,—let them have a fair opportunity of testing our principles, and multitudes will join us. There has been some attempt made—an attempt sustained by argument, and I do not for a moment question the sincerity of our friends—to make crime consistent. Crime never can be consistent unless you abandon "things that are lovely and of good report;" and because we are involved in one crime, shall we be guilty of another in order to justify it? This would be absurd in the extreme. Let us take the right ground, and fight for it, inch by inch, under the assurance that we shall eventually gain the contest; but do not let us compromise with the world. We cannot serve God and mammon; every man has hitherto failed in the attempt. We can have no compromise with the unfruitful works of darkness. We dare not bring the goods obtained by a banditti by plunder into the market, to compete with those of the honest trader; but it is infinitely worse to import from Brazil and Cuba the produce of the labour of men who have been stolen by the slave-trader. The former is mere pelf; the latter affects the bodies and the souls of men. The subject is one on which conscience, and not mere argument, must be brought to bear; it is one that requires the judgment to be enlightened by the Spirit of the living God, in order to come to a sound decision. I hope that we shall not compromise or blink the question, but view it in the light of truth. If the Government of the country is disposed to take ground against the admission of slave produce, it is our duty to sustain them; if they are backward, it is our duty to call them up to the mark. We profess, in England, to be a free country; let our principles of liberty be of the right kind; let them be carried out in our commercial intercourse with other nations, and we shall soon see happy results. But till that is the case, there will be a tissue of contradictions, and America will point to us with the finger of scorn, and say, "You talk of being the friends of liberty, the friends of emancipation; you have paid twenty millions to emancipate your slaves in the West Indies; and now you are about to give another twenty millions to support slavery in Cuba and Brazils." (Several voices, "No.") Yes, this will be the result, if you import their produce on an equality with the productions of free labour. I hope that we shall come to a decision, of which our conscience will approve in a dying hour; that when we are summoned hence we shall not have this sin laid to our charge; but that we shall oppose the introduction of plundered goods in every form, and especially those produced by the blood of men and women.

The Convention then adjourned.

FOURTH DAY'S SITTINGS, FRIDAY, JUNE 16.

(EVENING.)

SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

INTRODUCTION OF SLAVE-GROWN PRODUCE FROM CUBA AND BRAZIL—(SUBJECT CONTINUED)—DECISION THEREON.

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—I have not many words to say on this subject; two of my American colleagues having already spoken upon it. I feel an inclination to claim for us, on the other side of the Atlantic, a sort of birth-right, which I believe we came honestly by as descendants of England—that is, to be of different opinions amongst ourselves. On this point I differ from my respected colleagues; and if I were called to vote, I should vote in favour of the original resolution. At the same time I must say that I am by no means desirous of obtaining a vote in its favour, if the subject can be justly, equitably, amicably, and satisfactorily disposed of in any other way. Those who prefer another course than that of a vote, will make their suggestions; and if they are satisfactory to the meeting, then I trust the question will be disposed of in the way I have stated. The question seems to be presented to us in reference to three great interests—one is, the moral influence of the prosperity of the British West India islands upon the question of abolition in America, and in other countries. That has been to me, as an American, a very interesting point of view. It has seemed to us of very considerable importance to be able to show that these islands were prosperous; and in order to show this we have been obliged to insist upon applying to their condition the same measure that we apply to people of other countries. It is a point which we have to contend for, inch by inch, against the prejudices of our own minds—namely, the duty of looking upon the people of Jamaica, of Demerara, of Trinidad, and the various West India islands, just as we look at other people. But the providence of God is, I feel, driving us to the necessity of assuming the same measures to estimate them. Are they not prosperous by the same measure by which you would judge of the prosperity of a county in England? We certainly have abundant evidence to the effect that the moral condition of the mass of the people is improved. We must not consent for a moment to have the condition of the West India islands measured by the yard stick, or weighed in the scales which the pro-slavery party would put into our hands—that is, the quantity of sugar they export. We never promised, we were unauthorised so to do, that after they had liberty to employ their energies and talents as best suited their own judgment, their own interest, they would produce the same quantity of sugar which they did when all their energies and talents were coercively bent to that one solitary object. We will never consent to have the value of emancipation weighed in the scales with sugar hogsheads; and if we attempt to go to trial on this ground with the slave-owners, in order to establish a moral conviction on the part of slave-holding countries, that emancipation is always beneficial, we shall, for a long time to come, be defeated. Perhaps I do wrong in saying a long time; for really the wonderful improvement in the character and intelligence of the people of Jamaica is such, that it may be but a very short time before their improved tools and increased skill in agriculture, and the employment of machinery, of animal labour, and of steam-power, shall enable them successfully to bring forth the

same amount of sugar which they did in the palmiest days of slavery. But that is to be thrown into a new cast, to come up in a new form, and on new principles. We must, however, appeal to the general prosperity of the people, as an evidence that freedom is beneficial; and we must carry our case not before a packed jury of planters, either in America or France, or even in England, but before the moral sentiments of mankind,—before impartial men, who will judge of the prosperity of the island by the prosperity of the people, and not by the accumulations of fortunes in the hands of a few distant absentees. With regard to the moral influence, therefore, of the productions of the West Indies on the question in slave countries, I do not care if they do not export a spoonful of sugar: in its bearing upon America, and other countries, I leave it out of the question. The next point of view in which it seems important to regard it, is, as it respects the prosperity of the people of those islands. Here we come, to be sure, upon a very wide field, and upon a subject in regard to which it is very unlikely, after all the debates of the last fifty years, that this Convention will be able to settle it. I should be more surprised at our settling this question, than I should be at our abolishing slavery, by the simple vote of this Convention. I think it would be easier of the two to settle the question of slavery, than that of free trade. But my own individual opinion is, very clearly, that the solid and permanent prosperity of those islands would be essentially promoted by throwing them upon their own resources. What were they? They were slave colonies, and the land was in the hands of distant non-resident proprietors, or of resident proprietors, it may be, who held large tracts of land, out of which they expected exorbitant profits, while they allowed to the men who cultivated the soil but a bare and meagre subsistence. Now, I must be permitted to speak freely in this World's Convention; and I say, that in a population like that of Jamaica, in an agricultural population of free people, the best thing that can be done for them is, to give them an interest in the land—to make them land-owners. Whether it should be according to the English or the American system—that is, whether by making them freeholders or tenants, is a point about which I have a decided opinion, but which I have no occasion to argue at this time. That they should, however, be cultivators of their own land, for their own profit, is undoubtedly one of the greatest interests that they have; and if the failure of the great land-owners to make their lands as productive to themselves now, as they were when they wielded the whip, is to be the result of the free admission of sugars into this country, it will, at once, throw all those lands into the market at a low rate, for the benefit of the people of those islands; and this, in my view, will be placing them on a foundation for permanent and most expansive prosperity. Another thing that is necessary is, as I said before, that these people should be put on their own resources. What we promised was, that free labour could compete with slave labour; but, in order to this, we must put free labour upon the energies of free labour. Now, what are the energies of free labour? They are the increased intelligence, the increased skill, the increased fidelity, the increased mutual confidence, which naturally spring up wherever free labour is left to its own resources. These are the energies which bring out the application of machinery, the application of labour-saving processes, of animal power, of steam power, and improved readiness and means of communication, the division of labour, and all those things which mark the advance of productive improvement; and in order to bring out these qualities in the mind of any mass of human beings, you must put them to their necessities. Necessity is the mother of invention. So long as they are given to understand, that the British Government will make Jamaica agriculture profitable at any rate, you may rely upon it, the people

will never feel themselves put to their necessities. They are very much like us in America, and I strongly suspect a good deal like you in England; so much alike, that even this moral resemblance is a strong proof that we all descended from father Adam alike—that they are very willing to be helped, if they can find any one to help them.

Mr. STANDFIELD.—We are not arguing upon what will redound to the benefit of the inhabitants of Jamaica. I wish the question to be put on its right basis. Is the introduction of slave-grown sugar calculated to advance the abolition of slavery or not?

The CHAIRMAN.—I think the prosperity of the actual inhabitants of the West Indies is in order; but it is only a small part of the great question.

Rev. J. LEAVITT resumed.—The question is, the direct financial and moral effect of free trade on the slave-trade, and on the abolition of slavery. The chief consideration, as I understand it, is, its financial effect on the slave-trade. (Cries of "No.") What I understand by the financial effect is, that the admission of slave-grown sugar, or of all sugars upon the footing of free trade, into this country, will give a stimulus to the slave-trade, and strengthen slavery, by throwing a great amount of capital into, and creating great demands for the products of slave-labour in Cuba and the Brazils. That is a financial question. (Cries of "Yes.") In the first place, any change that can be made in favour of human prosperity anywhere in the world, will benefit slavery to a certain extent. Why, if the providence of God, favouring and aiding the efforts of the Government of this country, and of the philanthropists of England, should suddenly restore great prosperity to the mass of the people here, what would be the effect? The present price of cotton in the United States is from about three to five cents per pound; but I am informed that if the people of England were in the enjoyment of as great prosperity, as they have been at some periods within the last five or six years, the demand for cotton to supply the home consumption of this country would be so increased, as would, in all probability, double the price of American cotton and American slaves. Would not that greatly strengthen the cause of slavery in America? Would not the restoration of prosperity, and of abundance of comfort to this country, fill the heart of every peasant and of every operative with gladness, and make every hearthstone smile with plenty? But is that to be deprecated, because, in consequence of it, the price of American slaves would be increased, and the demand for the horrid American slave-trade would be revived? I cannot so see it. We might as well pray to the Almighty to suspend the rain from the earth, because that would abolish slavery. But he sends his rain upon the evil and the unthankful, as well as upon the good; and when the rain of commercial and general prosperity comes upon the earth, you cannot prevent the slave-holders from reaping their share of its benefit. I think, therefore, that to destroy the general prosperity, or impede it, of the free, for the sake of coercing the slave-holders by hard times, as we call them, is not the direct, nor the just, nor the humane method of abolishing slavery. There is another view of the question which I wish to present, and that is, that I very much doubt indeed whether the prosperity that would be imparted to the slave countries of Cuba and Brazil, would strengthen or give permanence to slavery. I have often thought how apt certain things are to burst just as soon as they get full, and I am inclined to believe, that slavery in Cuba is very nearly full to bursting. I do not suppose that it is of so great consequence to the market—to the supply of sugar—nor that so great an impulse to the slave-trade would follow from a change of policy on the part of the British Government, as many imagine. I think its effect upon slavery, so far as it had effect, would be small in comparison with

its effects on general humanity. Therefore, we should not sacrifice the interests of general humanity, for the sake of this trifling influence which it might have, even upon the strongest supposition, upon slavery and the slave-trade. And, furthermore, I do not think that it would have any other operation upon them than to hasten their overthrow. Much as I should regret that any such measure as this should have the result of subjecting one more hapless captive on the coast of Africa to the horrors of the middle passage, I should equally regret that the contrary measure should subject one more hapless family in Great Britain to the horrors of starvation. In regard to the whole case, I freely admit that there is great weight in the suggestions which have been made on the other side. I do not undervalue those arguments—on the contrary, I appreciate them; I think I weigh them, at least, I mean to do so, candidly. I therefore speak with a certain degree of confidence in my own judgment, because I think I have weighed the arguments candidly; and I have come to the deliberate and honest conclusion, that if we are to put the question to a vote in the Convention, I shall without doubt, and without the least hesitation, vote in favour of the original resolution. But I would prefer that nothing more should be done than to withdraw the action of the former Convention.

Dr. LUSHINGTON.—I rise very briefly to deliver my opinion upon this very important question—one which I deem to be of the greatest and gravest consequence, whether I look to the results which may follow, if it be carried in the affirmative, to those at present in a state of slavery in the West Indies, or to those on the coast of Africa liable to be made slaves; or whether I look to the great principles which the anti-slavery body has ever maintained. I will confine myself to the leading circumstances of this question, promising to present only those which I think are the great principles, and those consequences which are of the utmost importance. Indeed, I came here totally unprepared for the discussion of this question; and not having had the advantage of hearing those who have taken both sides of the argument, I am under the necessity of drawing upon such resources of knowledge and of information as I collected together in former days. Now, I apprehend that the real and only point to which my attention is to be directed is the following: supposing the duties upon sugar made in the Brazils and in Cuba to be very greatly reduced, so that these sugars should come into this country for free and open sale, in competition with British sugar, what would be the result? Would it tend to the present diminution and final extinction of the slave-trade; or, would its infallible consequence be to stimulate, excite, and support it, and for a time, at least, lead to greater atrocity than even now exists? That is the first question to which I will apply myself. I declare that, to my mind, there never was a question, and I say it with the greatest deference for the opinion and judgment of others, that appeared to me to be more capable of demonstration. Take the case as it now stands. Suppose that at the present moment, which is somewhere about the fact, that Cuba is manufacturing sugars to a very large extent, at from 11s. to 14s. per cwt., and that she is confined to the foreign market, there being a prohibitory duty, or nearly so, upon any of these sugars entering the English market. The inhabitants of Cuba and Brazil are carrying on the slave-trade, and continuing all the horrors of this most detestable traffic. Why? Because, even at this low sum, they still have a remunerating price. Their love and thirst for gold, their passion for avarice, are gratified even under these depressing circumstances; and it is worth their while, as a pecuniary matter, to sacrifice the liberty, the lives, and all that is dear to thousands of the unfortunate Africans, for the sake of putting into their pockets even this low price, for sugar coerced from these Africans by the most intense labour

and sufferings. Now, what would be the inevitable consequence of a new market being opened? If Great Britain were to take, say 100,000 tons, at 12s. per cwt., the price of sugar must rise; and then what would be the next result which would infallibly follow? A stimulus to raise more sugar; and more sugar cannot be raised except by the destruction of the living slaves, or by the procuring of others. Will any man deny, for a moment, that this would be the immediate, the certain, the infallible consequence? And then, on whose conscience would the blame rest? Not, I trust, upon the Anti-Slavery Society, which has taken for its guide the laws of God and the inalienable rights of man. I ask, be the consequences great or be they less, are you prepared to renew the scenes which you see portrayed in that picture? [Slave-trade on the coast of Africa.] Are you prepared to sacrifice one other human life? No; then let some one come forward and show me by clear and demonstrable reason that you do not even run the risk of that consequence. I am afraid of the risk and the chance: though risk and chance I deem it none; for I believe, according to the law which regulates commerce in all her undertakings, such must be the issue. But what is the answer, and what the great and leading principle I have to encounter elsewhere? I mean not to deny the fact that free labour is cheaper than slave labour; on the contrary, it is one of the principles I have upheld all my life; but not in the extravagant manner in which it is now done. I have maintained, that if you give the slave and the free man the same advantages of soil, with the same means of cultivating it, that, according to all the principles which God has given to govern man, the free spirit of the individual working for his own benefit will infinitely surpass the greatest exertion which the slave can make. But did any man ever lay down the wild principle,—one so utterly incapable of proof,—that free labour can compete with slave labour under *all* given circumstances. For instance: Cuba has the most fertile soil for the production of sugar; Trinidad may, in this respect, compete with it; and the free labour of the one may be able to compete with the slave labour of the other. But take a barren soil, one whose fertility has been exhausted by the production of sugar; then the similarity of the two fails; and no one maintains that free labour can, with these disadvantages, compete against slave labour. The real truth is, that free labour, *cæteris paribus*, has beaten, and will beat, slave labour. Now I have opened a line of argument which I intended to open, because I am aware that it may be adduced against me; but I seek truth, and nothing but the truth; and I only hope that the result of the arguments this day will be to dispel falsehood, and diffuse truth. You may say, Aye, but Trinidad and Guiana are rich and fertile soils—they will come into competition with Cuba and Brazil—and, enjoying the advantages of free labour, sugar will be produced at a lower price there than in Cuba and Brazil, and consequently the latter must be displaced by it. Now, stop a moment; think a little; how long a time must elapse before there is a possibility of this theory, however sound, being carried into practice? There are not above 40,000 inhabitants in the whole of Trinidad and Guiana, and the population is inadequate to the estates that have been already brought under cultivation. Give me the very largest increase of population that was ever heard of,—even in that nursery of children, the United States,—and tell me how many years it will be before Trinidad and Guiana can come into competition with Brazil and Cuba? Is it not as plain as daylight, that unless you import Africans,—the very thing looked upon with alarm by nearly every person in this assembly;—unless you can hold out some inducement,—a thing impossible,—to influence Africans to come in herds, and locate themselves in Trinidad and Guiana;—that during the period while you are raising up the necessary population, the slave-trade will have depopulated the coast of Africa,

and there will have been no limit to the loss of human life, no limit to the sufferings occasioned? We know, by long past experience, that whatever may have been the efforts made to put a stop to that trade, and to prevent the exportation of Africans—so long as the foul spirit of avarice has had a sufficiently strong stimulus, she has broken through your fleets, and evaded all your designs. That coast has been for nearly two centuries a standing proof of the inefficiency of every law laid down by Government for the prevention of the slave-trade. Are you prepared to perpetuate it? If not, by what steps will you prove to me that such will not be the consequence? You are acting as if the great object to be obtained were the production of sugar at a low price. I know that free trade will produce that result. I am ready to maintain, as I have maintained, that if low price were the only point to be kept in view, sugar could be so procured. I wish that it were low, for the gratification and advantage of the poor; but I will not buy it at the expense of African blood. I might be willing to buy it at the loss of property belonging to British subjects; I might be willing, for the sake of the people of England, to say it is their right to enjoy this commodity, so essential to the happiness of themselves and their families, at whatever loss to the West India proprietors; I might say I would see them compelled to live on their estates; and to that length I am prepared to go: but I am not prepared to say, that reduction of price should be attained by the revival of the slave-trade. These are the opinions I entertain, and I wish not to be mistaken. I have been slandered on this account. It has been said that because I maintain these opinions with respect to sugar, therefore I must import the principle into every other article. Into that question I enter not; I leave the whole tenor of my past life, and the opinions I have given, to speak on that subject; but I will be led by no fear, I will be moved by no intimidation. I will bear the charge of being an advocate of monopoly, if by so doing I can put a stop to the horrors of the slave-trade, and a spell over desolating the coast of Africa. It has been said, and perhaps truly said, that for the people themselves in the West Indies free competition would be the best thing in the world, that cultivation should be given up in many islands, that the tenants should be thrown on their own resources, and that they would then become more industrious, more active, and there would be a better state of things. If such were the consequence, I should be glad to see it; but I am not prepared to expect it. While they have the means of enjoying freedom, and are able to exercise their own industry, and do exercise it,—while in all the islands they are educating themselves, and are evincing to the whole world that all that has hitherto been said against the African race as a people inferior to ourselves is falsehood invented by man for his own selfish purposes,—while they show themselves, above all other people, attached to their religious observances, and desirous of advancing, by justice, prudence, and good conduct, their situation and condition of life,—I am content with their procedure, and I do not wish to give them any additional spur, which spur, if it were given in the manner held out, they would well know was purchased by the groans, the sighs, the tears of the African race. But it has been said, that because the consequence of returning prosperity to this country might be an advance in the price of cotton raised in the United States, and augmentation of the sufferings of the slaves there, yet surely no person would, on those accounts, be an enemy to the increase of prosperity. No one ever dreamt of it. There are inevitable evils springing from all things. We take, however, the blessings which Providence gives us with gratitude; and because others abuse them, it is no reason that we should discard them. Prosperity in this country produces evil as well as good; increased means of purchase have led to indulgence in spirituous liquors; and numberless evils have arisen from the want of discipline applied

to the minds of men. But such consequences are not inevitable. God does not give you prosperity, and *necessarily* attach to it evil; but he gives you prosperity, and men abuse the gift, and so produce the evil: that is the true state of the case. I am aware that I have trespassed on your time, and perhaps my arguments have not been so well arranged, and so conclusive, as others which might have been adduced. I can, however, assure you, that before I gave my last vote in Parliament, when I stood alone, against my own friends, and thus placed myself in a perilous position, I had well considered the whole of this history. I believe, in my conscience, that those principles which induced me from the early time of youth to advocate the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, militate against the introduction of sugar produced by those who carry on these crimes. I now take my farewell of you; but if it should be the determination of this meeting, if it should be their disposition to carry this resolution, and to affirm that the introduction of slave-grown sugar from those dominions which now carry on the slave-trade, is advantageous, beneficial, and consistent with their principles, it is not consistent with mine, and I wash my hands against it.

Mr. E. MIALL.—I am aware of the disadvantageous position in which I have risen to advocate the original resolution submitted to this Convention. After the very powerful speeches that have been addressed to you on the other side of the question, and the statistical information which has been brought to bear against the resolution, and after the weight of authority that has been offered here, and something like, I regret to say, a menace of the withdrawal of valuable services, it appears presumption in one like myself to advocate the original resolution. That resolution, although it fully embodies the principle with which I most cordially agree, does not embody it just in that precise and particular form in which I could wish it to have been presented to the notice of this Convention. I think there is a little of angularity about it that need not have been attached to our view of the subject; and as the mover and seconder have somewhat of the same opinion, I believe it is their intention, with the consent of the meeting, to substitute for it some such resolution as this. Mr. MIALL then read the resolution, which, though it differed verbally from that moved by the Rev. T. SPENCER, was the same in substance.

The CHAIRMAN.—I think that after a resolution has been moved and seconded, it is not right to give it the slip, and put another in its place.

Mr. SCOBLE.—This is a new question.

The CHAIRMAN.—Any one is at liberty to move an amendment; but I would give the Convention a caution. Only consider the inextricable confusion of moving amendment upon amendment. I think we had better withdraw all the motions, and go to other business. I cannot sanction any alteration taking place in the original resolution at this advanced stage of the discussion.

A DELEGATE.—Is it to be understood that the members of the Convention will not have the right of proposing amendments?

The CHAIRMAN.—Every individual has the abstract right, but I doubt the policy of exercising it. If we come to a vote, the simple point will be this—shall we or shall we not admit Cuban and Brazilian sugar. The settlement of the question will not depend on the terms of the motion.

Mr. MIALL.—I am aware of the abstract right that I possess to move this as an amendment. I did hope that the meeting would not consider it necessary that this should be formally done. I beg it to be understood that it is not with any view of escaping from the conclusion to which we have been brought, that this resolution is submitted to your notice. We do not shrink from the full, entire, explicit avowal of the sentiments contained in the first resolution, nor do we shrink from the words in which it is expressed. I wish the

Convention fully to understand that this resolution is simply submitted as a substitute for it, as a mark of courtesy.

The CHAIRMAN.—We cannot take it as a substitute.

Mr. MIALL.—I am explaining the motives which led me to put it as a substitute, and not an amendment. If I lay it aside, as I am willing to do, I do not lay it aside with the view of escaping any difficulty which I see to be contained in the original resolution. Now with regard to that resolution, I think it may be well for us to remember that we are a Convention of anti-slavery advocates from all parts of the world. I think that all our discussions ought to be conducted, not simply with the best possible temper, but also with as full and entire an appeal as possible to the understanding rather than to the feelings. I fully sympathise with those gentlemen who have described to us, and in the most affecting terms, not only the horrors of slavery, but all the dreadful miseries attendant upon the middle passage. We are all supposed to sympathise with the friends of the slave in this respect, or we should not have gathered ourselves together in the World's Convention. Our object in offering the proposition contained in this resolution is not at all to call in question either your feelings, or to endanger your reputation. All appeals in this direction seem to me to be a little beside the mark. We are to exercise calmly, devoutly, and with reference to the last day, our judgments, not upon the horrors of slavery,—because upon that we are all agreed,—but upon the best, the wisest, the most efficient means—the means which we believe to be most in harmony and unison with the dictates of infinite wisdom and infinite love, for putting an end to a system which we all detest. Let it be fully understood, that there is no disposition on the part of those who advocate this resolution to look with an eye of less concern, or a heart beating with less pity upon the sufferings endured by the slave, than is manifested by those who advocate the other side of the question. It is not about the object we are differing, but simply about the means of carrying that object into effect. I think there may be subjects in which we are all supposed to agree, and it is well to clear away what I regard as the rubbish, and see what is the point we have to settle. It would tend much to the satisfactory solution of that which seems to be the difficulty before the meeting, if the observations I have now to make, fell upon the ear of our American friend, Mr. FULLER. Those who advocate the resolution do not wish to throw the slightest impediment in the way of any friends to the anti-slavery cause discouraging the use of the produce of slave labour, and carrying that to the full extent of the dictates of their consciences, and urging the friends of the cause to imitate their example. We ourselves possibly have acted on the same principle; and many of those who advocate this resolution would themselves, as far as possible, refuse to give their individual sanction to the use and the purchase of the produce of slave labour, lest by this means it might seem that there was an encouragement given to the principles of slavery, and to the horrors of the slave-trade. This is not the question that we have to discuss—it is not the question involved in the resolution; but the one question now before the meeting is this, whether or not it behoves us to influence the legislative powers of the kingdom to compel others who have not our views, who are not guided by our judgment, who do not sympathise with us in our feelings, who have no conscience in reference to the subject of slavery, to act upon our sentiments, in order that the slave may be free. In reference to that question I say, and say most emphatically, No. When I feel that I have a great, eternal, immutable, all-pervading principle of truth on which to stand, and facts, statistics, arguments, statements are brought forward to influence my mind, and which make a startling appeal to all my feelings, but which do not affect my judgment—if I can only feel that my feet are firm upon the truth, and that my

judgment is in unison with the mind of infinite wisdom, the consequences to me are nothing; and though the world may expire at my feet, I am bound to go on in the path of truth and of justice. It may be, for aught I can tell, that the adoption of the principles of free trade, of unrestricted trade in reference to the sugar of Cuba and Brazils, might render more intense the sufferings of the slave; it may be that the plan which has been hitherto acted upon, namely, that of discouraging, by legislative restriction or prohibition, the introduction of the produce of slave labour from those countries into this, is the speediest way of accomplishing the object that we have in view; but suppose it should be so, make that point out clear and plain to my apprehension, and then I say, that if I am to attain that object by trespassing over one principle of right, I cannot do it. This is a matter of morals; and as the Duke of Wellington once said of war, "There can be no little war," so, in morals, there is no little principle. I do not understand throwing up principles of truth. If once I perceive that a thing is right or wrong, my conduct is decided; and I thank God that he takes all the consequences into his own hands. I have nothing to do with them; I have only to go forward acting in the path of duty, and rely confidently on his word, feeling assured that out of right cannot come eventual wrong, but that he will guide the events of this world, and will take care not only of the slave, but of myself, in acting out these principles. Now I come to the application of this part of the subject. In my apprehension, by restricting the commercial intercourse between one man and another, for any object, you do that which you have no right to do, you are trespassing upon that which is the right of your fellow man. (Cries of "No, no.") I like to put things in a strong light, so that parties may fully and distinctly see what it is that we mean, and go away without any mistake as to what we wish to urge upon the Convention. I know there are some dissentients from my opinion; but allow me to express the opinion I entertain. I hold it to be the inalienable right of man to dispose of the produce of his own labour where he will, none daring to make him afraid. I hold that none can take away from him this, which I esteem to be his birthright; and although he may consent to a restriction of that right in some cases, in order to reap advantages which he deems to be absolutely necessary to the protection of life, and property, and liberty, yet I contend that, except it be done with the free and full consent of the individual concerned, he who takes from him his right to trade where he will absolutely trespasses upon the rights of human nature. If this be a right, then, even to accomplish a great and important end, I am not permitted by the laws of Christianity—the laws of God—to trample upon it. Though it may appear to be a right of the smallest importance, quite insignificant, a trifle in comparison with the great blessings which the world would reap from the abolition of slavery,—though it were much less than in fact it is, and not so intimately connected with the welfare of mankind as I believe it to be, yet if it be a right, then that right can be surrendered only by the individual himself; and no benevolent intentions on my part could justify me, though it were for the advantage of another, in taking away from him that which belongs to him. I think that the anti-slavery cause is one which may well trust itself in the hands of God, content with acting only upon the principles of duty which have been imposed upon us as the disciples of truth and of benevolence, making known throughout the world the great, important truths of Christianity, and urging upon the consciences of men the evils which they commit in the sight of God in retaining their slaves in bondage. I hold that he who goes forth truthfully and faithfully with this good seed in his hand, scattering it in all the world, is far more likely to succeed, and may look up with far more confidence for Divine assistance, than when he casts himself partially upon the

very questionable, very equivocal, and somewhat warlike—in the ultimate result—aid of the governments of this world. I know the truth will be sorely tried while passing through the world, and it may seem well to deviate a little from the strict line which truth has marked out, in order that we may accomplish a great and important end. But who can tell, when we have once deviated, how far we may go? Should we be led by hope or by fear, for the sake of the slave, to tread on the rights of human nature, who knows what may be the ultimate consequences? and who shall calculate what may be the effects even upon the very question that has gathered us together? I think this is a cause too great, too holy, too God-like, too much associated with heaven, to be very intimately mixed up with temporary expediency; that "Cæsar's wife should be above suspicion;" that there should not only be no charge upon the conduct of the Anti-Slavery Society, but that there should be scarcely a charge upon its reputation itself; that its path should be so clear; that its work should be so consistent with every great and holy principle, whether of a commercial or of a social character; and that we ought to go so directly to the one great end in view, as that any mistake concerning our motives should be absolutely impossible. We are seeking the abolition of the slave-trade; and I would earnestly entreat you not to turn out of the path of universal rectitude. Do not go into that line which, although it deviates from right, seems to lead most directly to the object in view, whatever it may promise you. Be assured you have fallen into bad company here, and will again; and although your motives may be pure—as I know they are—yet there are persons ready to get rid of the moral aspect of the cause you advocate, and to take advantage of the little slip you may make in the management of this affair, in order to turn their own selfish purposes to account. Now, let us go straight-forward; let us trespass upon no one principle of right. We repudiate slavery; but do not let us trespass on the rights of men in any shape whatever. Do not let us commit ourselves even to a very little wrong, which we could not vindicate in another place. If we adopt a principle which we could not fully carry out in the advocacy of this great cause, we are throwing a stain upon our reputation, we are bringing a dark cloud over it, and consequently we are impeding the very object we wish to advance.

Mr. J. STURGE.—Perhaps no subject of much greater importance than the one now under consideration has come before the present or any other Convention. I take a view of it different from that entertained by some of my friends, with whom, on many other public questions, I cordially unite. Before saying a few words upon it, however, I think it advisable to put the meeting right with reference to the amendment proposed by Edward Miall. It was evident that this question must come before us, and our friends wished to bring it forward in a way that would best promote a search after truth, and cause the least unnecessary delay; but the original resolution was drawn up with an expectation that a somewhat different amendment would have been moved. I therefore think that the mover and seconder are absolved from any agreement with us to stand by their resolution. This is the reason why they wish to make some alteration; but if the Convention do not feel disposed to sanction it, they will not press it. With regard to the question before us, I think that the ground on which the last Convention acted has been rather lost sight of. We must not forget that three years ago we affirmed, and we did so again yesterday, that slavery was a crime of that nature that we ought to withdraw from Christian fellowship with any individual who, after brotherly advice, would not give up the holding of slaves. I do not, I think, go too far in saying we have affirmed, that to deprive an innocent person of his liberty is a robbery of the deepest dye; and therefore we cannot but regard the articles produced

by his uncompensated toil in the light of stolen property. I hold as strongly as any of my friends present the principles of free trade; but I contend that these principles are, in this case, trampled under foot at the threshold. If a man comes to me and says, "I have stolen this coat; will you buy it?"—I am, in conscience, bound to refuse; and I consider it is equally my duty, as a member of the community, to try to induce my country to refuse to take stolen property when it is offered upon our shores. My friend, RICHARD COBDEN, spoke on the question with his usual ability; but had he now been present—incompetent as I am—I should have tried to meet one or two of his arguments, which I thought were not very much to the purpose. Because I may be so inconsistent as to use one kind of stolen goods, it is no reason why I should use or encourage another; and if there is anything on which a country is justified in legislating, surely it is against the purchase by their subjects of goods known to be obtained by robbery of the grossest character. That is the principle upon which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, and this and the former Convention have acted; and it must be remembered that they did not now bring forward this question, but our friends, who felt opposed to the resolution passed three years ago. I trust that before the present Convention rescind that resolution, they will fully weigh the consequences. I agree with EDWARD MIALL, that if we are right in principle we should leave the consequence to God; but we hold that slave-grown produce should be treated as stolen goods, and that therefore we rest on the principles of eternal justice in refusing to receive it. It has been said, that on the present occasion we ought not to appeal to feelings, but to reason: I know, however, that when great commercial questions are under discussion, sometimes, the only way in which we can fairly bring our judgment to decide upon sound Christian principle, is by supposing a strong case. Let me, therefore, submit to our friends who advocate the original resolution, the following case. Suppose a child of their own were stolen, and taken to the plantations to work without compensation, and there driven to death under the lash to produce any article, no matter what it may be: I ask them whether, when that article was so produced, with the full knowledge of the facts, they would think that they were acting justly in purchasing it? I will not occupy further time. I was out of this country when this became a political question; but after all the arguments I have heard, my conviction is, that the ground taken by the Convention three years ago, and which has since been carried out by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, was the correct one. I am sorry, for the sake of our foreign friends now present, that the discussion of the question has assumed a somewhat national character; but I believe that it involves a great principle, which must operate throughout the world.

Rev. J. RITCHIE, D.D.—I have, during a portion of two centuries, taken part in public practical questions, and have always found it best to do one thing at once, and to confine every society to its own one and indivisible object; nor have I ever seen this principle by others departed from without reproduction of "Chaos, Erebus, Nox." My sentiments on the great question of free trade are not unknown; nor can they, by any here, be by mere ignorance, misinterpreted. They are, like all my principles, very simple. If one boy have twice as much butter and another have twice as much bread as each needs, they will soon discover that by exchange both will be profited; and this is the whole mystery of free trade. For what are nations, but groups of bairns of a smaller, and a larger growth? But I contend that with free trade we have in this Convention nothing to do. I have not been the person to bring it within these walls; I shall do what I can forthwith to eject it as contraband here, even though I may in so doing have to tread on the corny toes of its importers. I

cannot help this; I still say, Out with it, it has no business here. We have nothing to do with the commercial concerns of colonies,—of mother, daughter, or sister countries. Our staple, only trade is—the emancipation, protection, elevation of the slave. Our righteous and concurrent assault is upon every social fraction or integer that injures the slave. It was for this purpose I was sent hither; ere I left Edinburgh, I gave pledge not to exceed this my brief. We have here nothing to do with the abstract question of opening or shutting markets, nor with the inalienable right which every man has to carry his produce to the highest market, and to supply his wants at the cheapest. The slave's redemption and safety is with us everything. Did the theme, however, come legitimately up here, I could easily show that the principles of free trade, as argued for in this room, must, if carried out, sanction the Circassian supply of the seraglio, and the traffic in the bones and muscles of our brethren and sisters. If we are not to invade such departments of free trade, we may as well take our hats and go home. I question not the mover and seconder and supporter's friendship for the slave; I know their conversation too well; but I have often come into contact with planters and their relatives, who assured me they hated slavery as much as I can. But much as I may allow to a man's theory and his principles, with me, his practice outweighs them all. If I apprehend the proposal submitted, it is, that the British market should be opened to Brazilian and Cuban sugars. Are these sugars sweet? so are East Indian and Jamaica sugars, of which you may, if you go the right way to work, get as much as you please. It is not their deficiency in saccharine matter of which I complain, nor for this I would continue to exclude them; but simply because they are raised at the expense of the comfort, of the safety, aye, even of the life of the slave; while sugars, the product of *free labour*, may, to an unlimited extent, be supplied. I was not sent here to advocate the introduction of slave-raised sugar—than counsel or adopt such a measure, let me not taste sugar "while the world stands." Nor can my friends taunt me with wearing some slave-reared articles. They grievously err: they ought to say, "Do away your evils;" but they say, "Since you have done one evil, you may as well go with us in committing another." What would be thought of me, a total abstinent, were I to order a hogshead of "Buxton's Entire?" and are we to transmit from this room to all parts of the world an altar-pledged hostility to slavery, and then show this hostility by opening up to the slave-holder greater facilities for disposing of his slave-reared produce! This, too, I know, no brother dissenter can taunt me on this score. I say to him, "There are other evils in state churches besides church-rates, why oppose them only?" He replies, "Church-rates are a direct practical evil, therefore I oppose them." Even so here: this resolution proposes a great direct practical evil—the opening of the market to Brazilian sugar. I say, Bolt it against all slave-raised sugar, simply because slave-raised. We have been charged to disregard our feelings, and to look at the question in the light of the understanding. I refuse—I never saw the feelings of a man in one room, and his understanding in another. I did not leave my feelings in Edinburgh any more than my judgment, such as it is. On all questions I must bring both to bear—I appeal to your understanding and also to your feelings. The latter are equally given to you with the former, and are as really a portion of your moral constitution; and whatever socialists and partisans may, when their quiver is exhausted, say, they always harmonise, and an argument addressed to the one will as really tell upon the other. So let it be here. Is it not plain, that if a man cannot find a market for his goods, he will soon give up business? I am a teetotaller, and while some say, "Go to parliament," "Pull down the distilleries," "Knock out the head of every cask," &c.; I say, Think not of such resorts, just don't purchase intoxicating drinks, and the matter is done. Where there is no market,

there will be no manufacturing; shut the mouth, and the shop will shut. Is there one in this room ignorant that while Brazilian sugar is bought, it will be raised? If the market is extended, the crop will be increased,—more hogsheads will be made,—more work will be exacted,—more stripes will be inflicted,—more murders committed,—more cargoes needed; and waste and supply, sin and misery will be perpetuated. The resolution which I oppose has been moved and supported by men of humanity; nevertheless, it smells of blood,—it is an anomaly in their history,—it must not be allowed to stain the character of this Convention by its adoption. Our friends know, as I do, that cruelty requires no bribe,—slavery no prop; nor would they wittingly cheer on the man-stealer and man-murderer. They know that no mitigation of this infernal system which I denounce was ever obtained but by terror. Had encouragement, such as this resolution embraces, been given to the men of blood in our own colonies, "The glorious First of August" would have been postponed, *ad Græcas kalendas*. Let the Brazilians know, that if our markets are to be opened to their sugars, themselves must do it, by proclaiming liberty to their captives, by giving hire to their labourers. To our friends who so misapply a principle, in its own sphere justly hallowed—free trade—I say, ere you press on us the right of every man to carry his goods to the best market, ponder that painting before me—a scene on the African coast. It is possible for commerce to be a curse. Legitimate commerce has nature's patent for the civilization of our race. Its pirated application has, however, been the curse of India and of Africa. What holocausts have been offered on its altars! Who can, among Molochs, point to one so sanguinary? On her movements, especially, the philanthropist should keep a jealous eye. Let us hear no more of the claims which free trade has upon us,—let us leave expediency to ephemeral politicians: these beseem not the World's Convention. If Governments have ever done any good for the promotion of our heart's desire—"the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade all over the world,"—it was you and the like of you that made them do it. They felt and yielded to "the pressure from without:" be it ours to regulate it—to make them feel it in the right direction. Its momentum has been gloriously beneficial; but we may be assured, that movement will be in the worst possible direction, and the wrongs of Africa will be fearfully riveted by her professed friends, if this resolution shall receive the sanction of this Convention,—if it shall recommend the introduction to a greater extent than ever of Brazilian and Cuban sugars, and thus miserably increase the sufferings of the injured slave, and encourage his oppressor to become, more than heretofore, the child of the destroyer. From coming to such a conclusion, may the God who hates oppression, and forbids us to do evil that good may come thereof, prevent us!

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER.—I feel that it is not a very easy task to do justice to the sentiments which I entertain in reference to the subject before us. I regard this subject as the most important that can occupy the attention of the Convention, and that not merely in itself, but because it may lead us to retrace the steps we have advanced, and to do that which will reflect on our former judgment. The circumstance that the discouragement of the produce of slave labour was an object sought to be obtained when the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was originally formed,—the circumstance that a similar principle was laid down by the former Convention, and that, at a time when there was nothing to warp our judgment, nothing of an exciting character to deter us from the discharge of duty, or to induce us to swerve from it, should lead us to consider very carefully the propriety of any measure having an opposite tendency. Every day I live confirms my belief in the propriety of the resolution to which I have referred. I would state, with regard to Brazil and Cuba,

that nearly one-half of the whole amount of sugar exported by British merchants to foreign countries is received from thence; and that in order to produce it, upwards of two millions of slaves are constantly employed. In connexion with the existence of slavery there, the slave-trade has been carried on extensively, particularly of late years. Within the last ten years it is calculated that a million of slaves have been introduced into Brazils and Cuba. In Cuba alone 400,000 are held in bondage contrary to law, and in defiance of the treaty with Great Britain. The same may be said of half a million in Brazils. I do not see any way in which slavery and the slave-trade can be suppressed in those countries, if the markets of Great Britain are open to their produce. I will state briefly the principal statistics of free and of slave-grown produce at the present moment. The fact is, that England consumes between one-third and one-fourth of the whole amount of sugar which is exported from various parts of the world. The supply from our own colonies at the present time is only just about equal to our wants; and, therefore, it will be seen that if we were to open this country to the reception of Cuban and Brazilian sugars, we should inevitably become purchasers, and consequently those results would follow to which Dr. Lushington has so eloquently alluded. I should, however, protest against the admission of slave-grown sugar under any circumstances, as a violation of Christian principle. I have, however, great satisfaction in stating, that there is every reason to believe that in the course of a few years we shall be abundantly supplied with every article of tropical produce from our Eastern and Western possessions. It is true that, under the circumstances which followed the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, a great reduction in the amount of sugar produced took place. I shall not stop to discuss the cause; but it is a cheering fact that during the last year an increase of upwards of 300,000 cwts. has been received from those islands, and there is ground to conclude that the supply will be larger during the present year. Let me state what are our prospects with regard to the East Indies. "In the year 1833 the amount of sugar received from the British possessions in the East was 153,994 cwts.; and in 1841, 1,271,582 cwts. There has also been a very large increase in the export of various other tropical articles during the same periods: rum, from 27 galls. to 1,006,712; and coffee, from 5,734,820 lbs. to 15,896,624 lbs." When I think of the prospect that we have of being abundantly supplied with all these articles from our own possessions, and that at a small cost, without being indebted to the labour of slaves, I cannot consent that we should be parties to the renewal of scenes such as those represented in the picture before us, in order that we may promote what is called "free trade." I cannot but regard it as calculated to throw discredit on the word, to call that "free trade" which is founded on a denial to the labourer of a fair reward for his exertions, and on the perpetuation of a system of wholesale murder. I cannot refrain from adverting to a circumstance which some may have heard before, and which was mentioned to myself, at Madrid, by a person who had resided in Cuba, and of which I have met with confirmation, particularly by Baron Humboldt. Ramon de la Sagra, the author of the valuable History of Cuba, states that it was not considered an immoral practice, and that it was by no means uncommon, when sugar was at a high price, to resort to the system called *travaile forcé*. The price being high, there is a temptation to work the slaves hard in order to procure a larger quantity of sugar—say so many hundred boxes more than they have been accustomed to make. The manager, by direction of the planter, examines the condition of the slaves, their number, and the quantity of sugar-cane upon the ground, and he then reports that it is possible to make a given increased quantity, but it will entail a loss of thirty labourers. The planter makes his calculation of the value of the sugar on the

one hand, and on the other, the value of the slaves destroyed and to be replaced by fresh purchase; and if he finds it to be his pecuniary interest to obtain the larger amount of sugar, he says, "Force them;" and thus the slaves are destroyed. This is a practice common in Cuba, and in all slave countries in which sugar is cultivated. Allow me to advert to the statement made by Joshua Leavitt respecting the deplorable mortality which takes place in the Southern part of the United States. He has truly stated that every fibre of cotton could tell its tale of misery; that a most affecting tale would be revealed by that clothing which many of us every day wear. But there is no comparison between the mortality produced among the slaves by the cultivation of cotton and the production of sugar. If the cotton districts have destroyed their hundreds, the sugar districts have destroyed their thousands. In the colony of British Guiana, in which slavery existed in its most aggravated form, while the decrease was five and a half per cent. of the population on sugar plantations, and three per cent. on coffee plantations, there was a small increase where cotton was cultivated. The same state of things existed in the neighbouring colony of Surinam; and were it not that slave labour is less destructive to life when employed in the cultivation of cotton than of sugar, the slave population of the United States would be less than it now is. Hence it will be seen that by encouraging the productions of Cuba and Brazil we are encouraging the slave-trade and slavery in countries where these enormities exist to a greater extent than in any others. I am of opinion that we ought not to treat either Cuba or Brazil as we would treat a nation engaged in honourable commerce. I regard Cuba and Brazil as standing in the same situation that Algiers did a few years since: the only difference is, that in the former the slaves wear a sable skin, whereas in the latter it was of our own colour. This is not a new doctrine. It has been my lot recently to travel over the records of the former proceedings of Anti-Slavery Societies, and in connexion with visits to the various countries of Europe implicated in the slave-trade, to search into the past and present history of slavery throughout these regions. I find that, in the latter part of the last century, such was the interest felt in the abolition question, that 300,000 persons in Great Britain voluntarily abandoned the use of sugar rather than be parties to the slave-trade. In 1814, when the peace of Europe was effected, it was no sooner known that a treaty had been concluded with France by which that power was allowed to carry on the slave-trade for three years, than a meeting was held in this very hall, at which the Duke of Gloucester presided, several peers and a large number of members of the House of Commons being present, at which it was resolved that petitions should be procured from every part of the country, interceding with Parliament to take means to avert so great a calamity as that of the slave-trade being carried on for this period. The petitions were procured, and were signed by a million of adult males. With these historical facts before us,—with the palpable knowledge that Brazil and Cuba are daily, hourly, committing crimes at which humanity revolts—the greatest crimes which could be perpetrated by the most barbarous savages—there are individuals who would say, Let the Government receive this sugar as if there were no guilt whatever connected with procuring it. If this be a right course of proceeding, the arguments I have now heard have failed to convince me of its propriety. It has already been shown that we consume the produce of the United States to the greatest extent. But does this engender a friendly feeling towards abolitionists? If they go to the Southern states, are they not met with the bowie knife? Would they, notwithstanding the boon we have given to the slave-holders of the South, be allowed openly to plead for the rights of the slave? By no means. Farther than this; in all slave

countries, the advocacy of anti-slavery principles is, to a vast extent, as absolutely interdicted as Protestantism is in Roman Catholic countries—indeed, there is worse than an inquisition established. I can, myself, bear abundant evidence to this fact. Let me remind you of the unworthy part which Spain has acted. Great Britain gave her £400,000 in consideration of a treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade; but what has been the conduct of Spain since that treaty was signed? She has introduced into her colonies little short of a million of human beings contrary to the treaty—a larger number than at any former period. Did this liberality produce a disposition favourable to the reception of the communications we had to make? I will tell the Convention what is the state of things in Spain with reference to Brazilian slavery. It is perilous for a newspaper or for an author to advance any statement in favour of abolition; and books in which the subject is mentioned are prohibited in Cuba. We feel it to be our duty to use moral means—messengers and books have gone to these countries; but we are not at liberty to neglect other means. Let me read the punishment inflicted upon an individual who had the temerity, without affixing his signature to it, to insert a very short article in a newspaper published at Madrid, during the time that my friend WIFFEN and myself were in that city. This individual was RAMON DE LA SAGRA, author of a celebrated History of Cuba. He says, "The arrival of my article of the 20th December, 1840, published in the *Corresponsal* of the 24th, had been preceded at the Havana by information written by M. TORRENTE and other friends of slavery, supposing me ready to raise in the Chamber of the Cortes the cry of the emancipation of the negroes, and suspecting also the coming of the two members of the Society of Friends—ALEXANDER and WIFFEN, as a combination with my projects. The reading of my article produced at Havana a great effect—a greater still against its author. All the letters received from thence complained of their conduct, and condemned with the most outrageous expressions my proceedings, as enemies of the colony, the nation, and the Government. The Havana corporations have addressed complaints to the same bodies here; individuals *all* declaimed against me; and knowing not how to show their hatred, they have vented themselves against my literary works, refusing to continue to receive the numbers of that on Cuba, to which a hundred persons at Havana had subscribed. My bookseller acquainted me with this determination, and advised me to send there no other copies than those taken by the Intendant, by direction of the Government. The people of Havana have also intrigued to procure the suppression of my salary, which, as curator of the Botanic Garden there, they had formerly paid to me; and indeed have suspended the payment of it; but the Regent has ordered that it may be continued, and I hope the order will be obeyed." If further evidence is wanted, as to the immense difficulties with which we have to contend in the use of moral means, let me appeal to the effect produced with regard to the West Indies. Did we not receive sugar from thence on the most favourable terms? But did not the West India planters regard every man as an enemy who told them the truth as to their duty to abandon slavery? I appeal to those persons who have seriously considered the subject, whether we are at liberty to omit the use of any means—physical force always excepted—calculated to bear on the destruction of slavery and the slave-trade. I contend that we are bound, as British citizens, to implore the Government not to act in a manner directly opposite to their former conduct, when they decreed the abolition of slavery, by holding out a premium to the slave-holders and traffickers in human flesh in Brazil and Cuba. This doctrine is consistent with that advanced by one of the most honourable members of the House of Commons, in relation to a similar topic, during the period of slavery in our

West India colonies. It was found that the colonists were extremely repugnant to the adoption of any ameliorative measures, such as the suppression of the flogging of women, and the permission to communicate instruction. Under such circumstances, it was proposed by the Government, as a Government measure, that those colonies which did not adopt these ameliorative provisions, recommended by such high authority, should pay a larger amount of duty on the sugar they imported than those colonies which conformed to the requirements. This was the language of Lord Howick, as a member of that Government, in supporting that motion: "What is the motive for all the hardships which the slaves are liable to? Slavery is maintained chiefly for the purpose of raising sugar, and if we admit the sugar raised by the labour of slaves on the same terms, whether or not the regulations are enforced which we think necessary for their protection, and for the amelioration of their condition, are we not parties to the guilt of maintaining the system in all its barbarity? This country has the clear right to disclaim all participation in such a system. I will not receive the labour of slaves, unless you assure me that no cruelty is practised in raising it. The negro now labours under the continual dread of the most severe bodily suffering. Any relaxation of the intensity of labour causes the lash immediately to be applied. By this means that degree of labour is obtained in our colonies, which is found to be so fearfully destructive to human life." The system of slavery is far more destructive to human life in those countries to which I have referred. I shall simply notice, and almost without comment, one or two statements made by those who have advocated the measure before us. One is, that the service of God is perfect freedom, as stated by Thomas Spencer, and that we are not called upon to observe nice distinctions. I do believe that the service of God is perfect freedom; but I believe, at the same time, that it enjoins upon me, both as an individual and a citizen, to do all I can to avoid being a party to the most atrocious criminality. I do not know how I can perform my duty in these characters unless I raise up my voice, and protest against so iniquitous a measure as that of obtaining sugar by the introduction of that procured by slavery. Another speaker, who, I am sorry to say, was ready to sustain the adoption of the resolution, has said that the labour of the slave was not slave sugar. But if sugar be stained and contaminated with the unpaid labour of the slave, are we not bound to contend against its use? Again, it has been said by our friend W. T. Blair, who is one of those whom I most cordially respect, because he is not a man who, whatever may be his political feelings, has come only recently to advocate the cause of the oppressed, either in this room or in the House of Commons; and therefore I listen more to his arguments, than to those of men whose voice is but seldom heard on these occasions, though they may be the advocates of free trade: he said, that it was much more likely that the slave-holder would be influenced through his pocket than through his heart or his head. I believe that, and therefore I am unwilling to afford any encouragement to the use of Brazilian sugar. I will make one further observation, and it is this: it has been contended by persons present, that if we do not receive the sugar of Cuba and Brazil, other nations will; and that slavery, therefore, and the slave-trade will be encouraged as much by them as it would be by us. But I should contend, that in point of morals such an argument can have no weight at all. Further than that, let it be recollected that Great Britain is by far the largest consumer of sugar of any country in the world; that we take between one-third and one-fourth of the whole amount exported by all countries; and consequently the admission of Brazilian and Cuban sugar would be an immense boon granted to them—otherwise, why do they contend for it? If they could find the same

market in other countries, why not go to them? The fact is, that at the present moment Cuba and Brazil are in a state of the deepest distress, owing to their wicked conduct, in continually adding to the number of their slaves by importations from Africa, until they have raised their crops of sugar to such an extent, that they can no longer find a market for the article; and if we open to them our market, and pay them for their slave-labour, they will have new and fresh encouragement to prosecute a work from which they have nearly ceased in consequence of their poverty. I call upon my friends to view this as a great moral question, and to weigh the testimony of some who have given it the largest amount of their attention, and who have made immense sacrifices—one of them at least,—in carrying out his conscientious convictions. I do entreat this audience not to be ready, under the pretence of free trade,—for it is not truly free trade—to lay down their anti-slavery sentiments, and those doctrines which morality and religion prescribe; to tread humanity under foot; and, as I firmly believe, to do that which will promote the repetition of such scenes as that depicted in the graphic representation before me. I hope I have addressed myself to the understanding; but I do feel that I am bound, as well, to have some regard to those feelings of compassion and humanity which I believe the Almighty Being has placed in my bosom to prevent my being accessory to such cruel conduct.

Mr. BLAIR.—I rise to say a few words, by way of accommodation and conciliation. In supporting the original motion this morning—and I have no wish to qualify or retract anything I then said—I stated that I knew it was a question on which abolitionists were very much divided in opinion, and that, therefore, I did not desire unduly to press my own sentiments on the attention of the meeting; or, above all, to force the question through the Convention by a bare majority. Now it is evident, from the turn which this discussion has taken, that the original motion cannot be carried without leaving a large and influential minority, including some of our warmest and most devoted friends; and this, I think, is a consequence more to be deprecated, and likely to prove more injurious to that cause which we all have supremely at heart, than the affirmation of a principle, for which many of us contend, by a bare majority. Under these circumstances, and looking, as I am bound to do, to the general prosperity of our great cause, above any particular measure, I should be satisfied, and I hope my friends around me will be satisfied, as is often the case in the House of Commons, with the discussion that has taken place, and that, instead of going to a vote, they will allow the previous question to be put. I do not say that Mr. SPENCER should not exercise his right of replying to the main arguments thrown out on the other side.

Mr. GEORGE KNOX.—I have a very strong objection to the previous question being carried; I object to the resolution of a former Convention standing on our minutes. It was carried when a great many of the delegates had left town, and it took by surprise the Anti-Slavery Societies in different parts of the country. (Cries of "No.") I feel that that resolution has been made a plea by Government for upholding the West India monopoly, and for refusing the admission of sugar from the Brazils and Cuba. I shall, therefore, move as an amendment upon the amendment of Mr. BUXTON,

"That this Convention does not offer any opposition to the introduction of sugar and other produce from Cuba, Brazil, and other slave-holding states, having confidence, that a full and fair competition between free labour and slavery will result in favour of the former, and tend to the more speedy abolition of slavery and the slave-trade."

If this amendment be not adopted, I hope that the resolution of Mr. SPENCER will be carried, believing as I do that the introduction of sugar from Cuba and Brazil will eventually, and indeed more speedily, tend

to the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade than its exclusion. I might argue differently if I could believe that Brazil was in the pecuniary embarrassment that has been stated, and that another year or two of restriction will extinguish alike her sugar and her slave-trade. We must, however, remember, that we are within two years of the expiration of our commercial treaty with Brazil. She now takes from this country all the manufactured goods she requires; but unless we enter into a new treaty with her on the principle of reciprocal advantage, she will form treaties with other nations, and thus new vigour will be given to her slave-trade. It is said that we ought to have a conscience upon this subject; I admit it; but I think it should be an enlightened conscience, and that our feelings ought not to be appealed to in this assembly, as several speakers on the other side have done, just as if we were not all agreed about the end, and as if no difference of opinion could exist as to the best means for accomplishing that end. I have no notion of refusing slave-grown sugar, or of my family putting off cotton gowns, and yet wearing and using those articles which are indirectly the produce of slave-labour, having been purchased on the continent by the produce of Cuba and Brazil. There is one point to which allusion has not been made. Is it not the case that Brazilian and other foreign sugars are refined at our docks, and that even our own West India colonies are supplied with that article?

Mr. SCOBLE.—The laws relative to that subject have recently been altered.

Mr. KNOX.—But, after all, what is to become of the moral argument, which seems to be lost sight of in this discussion? What is the value of those discussions which the consumption or non-consumption of slave-sugar formerly produced, and which a friend states continued for fourteen years at his tea-table, and ultimately proved too powerful for even slave-holders to resist. We have no such discussions now, and it may be said that the question of slavery and the slave-trade does not come tangibly before the people of this country.

Mr. JOHN ALLEN.—I rise to move the previous question. I entertain a sentiment on a point which has greatly agitated the Convention to-day, but at this advanced stage of the proceedings I will not enter upon it. I will, however, touch on another point. I come from a distant county, Cornwall, and I have been thinking what our anti-slavery friends there would say if on my return I informed them, that the Anti-Slavery Convention differed in opinion from the Anti-Slavery Society on a question that threatened to divide and tear in pieces the friends of the cause. They would regret it, and say, "Why not leave the question until a future period, when we might come to a safe and satisfactory conclusion upon it?"

Mr. SAMS.—Believing, as I do, that if the object sought to be attained by the original motion were effected, it would tend to rivet the chains of the poor African, and to continue and increase the horrors of slavery, I have wished for some time for an opportunity to say a few words upon the subject, but found it difficult to obtain one. I shall, however, now waive further that intention; for I believe that for the sake of promoting unity, and that we may part on this subject—exceedingly desirable as it is so to do—as dear friends, it will be better at present that the previous question should be carried. I will, therefore, cordially second the motion of JOHN ALLEN for that purpose. I would also hope that our respected friend at my left, the mover of the original motion, will not press it further, but permit this course to be taken.

Rev. JOHN BENNETT.—It was not my purpose to have taken any part in the proceedings of the day; but the question now under discussion has often been thrown in the teeth of the friends of abolition. I have, upon more occasions than one, heard declarations made at public meetings which I could not

well contradict, viz. :—that we were less anxious about the personal interests of those connected with us, by the ties of country and kindred, than about the negro slave. I do not believe that the insinuation was a correct one; but with the resolution of the last Convention before me, I could not well rebut it. I am disposed to protest (but with no ill feeling) against the views of those who are for setting aside the resolution now before us; and I do it on the ground that we shall be doing evil that good may come. It is my firm conviction that the principle adopted in the resolution of the last Convention was a vicious one; that its tendency was to impose an unjust restriction upon a right common to the whole human race. I have no more right to say to a man who has made an article, "You may sell it to certain parties, but you shall not sell it to others," than I have to say to him, "You shall not look at the sun." However morally desirable this may be considered, as a legal proceeding it is wrong; and I will never consent, from motives of expediency, or any arguments founded on expediency, to plant my foot on ground which I believe to be false and hollow, in order that some good result may issue. The question before us is a very important one. I have been astonished to hear it repeatedly said this afternoon, that in this Convention we have nothing to do with trade. Why, did not your resolution at the last Convention directly point to trade? Was not the purport of that resolution to lead you to apply to the Legislature on a question of trade? Is not the measure you wish to effect a question of trade, though it is also a question of justice, righteousness, and humanity? I have, during my life, to the best of my little ability, and in the humble situation in which it has pleased Providence to place me, done my utmost to carry out the cause of abolition; I feel the question to be one of paramount importance; I feel for the poor oppressed and suffering negro slaves: yet, notwithstanding my sympathies for them, I conceive that it is only by adopting right principles, and abandoning those which are not good in themselves and never can be made good, that slavery can be destroyed. Let the public influence of the Convention be thrown into the national mind, to impel capital and encourage enterprise on the fertile plains of Bengal, and other places, where free produce of the same kind can be obtained, and you will soon supply not only your own markets, but every market of the world, and thus most effectually compete with the produce of slave-labour.

Rev. T. SPENCER.—With respect to the resolution that I wish to substitute for my own, I desire that it should be distinctly understood that the resolution I submitted was drawn up by those who take a different view to ourselves; for we were anxious to prevent its being said that it was so framed as to catch those who did not agree with us; but the one I wished to offer to the Convention was the one which Mr. Miall read. Having said thus much about the resolution, I wish to add that a great deal depends upon your conduct this night. I am authorised to inform you that there will be a measure connected with this subject brought before the House of Commons on Thursday next. If we decide in favour of the sugar duties, our influence, our example, and our sentiments will be quoted by every monopolist in the House of Commons; whereas, if we come to the opinion that free labour can do without protection—that it will surpass slave labour; if we agree with Mr. John Sturge that it will put an end to the slave-trade, and be the shortest means of abolishing slavery, great deference will be paid in that house to the opinion of this Convention. We are in a critical position; and though I love peace, and would make way for any member of the Society of Friends, who have been most distinguished, and have been most benevolently active in this cause, respecting, as I do, their high sense of justice, yet, at the same time, I have a conscience of my own,—a sense of justice of my own; and I would not, for the greatest dig-

nitary in the Church,—and I could not, for the greatest member of the Society of Friends, blink the question and give it the go by. I think we ought manfully to come to a decision, and that there will be no division created by it; for it is impossible that in such a body we should all think alike. I was sorry to hear a kind of intimidation, that if we came to such a resolution some persons would leave us. I am sorry for that threat, because I think we ought to give our votes without such intimidation. With respect to this delicate point, and this matter of stolen goods, I have again to complain of a want of courtesy in those who urged that argument. A member of the Society of Friends will not put himself in the same box with a clergyman who was accustomed to say to them that knew his bad conduct, "You must do as I say, and not as I do." Show me the money that is in your pocket, and you show me slave produce; and can you do without it? A person has said that we cannot carry our principles out; that if we were in a slave country, we could not live without taking slave produce. There are some that take higher ground than that: they say that if conscience is concerned, a man must give up his life for it; that a man must be willing to confess Christ before men, and if he be determined to gain his life he shall lose something more important. We cannot argue from extreme cases. When a person comes forward and argues that in the case of sugar, tobacco, and snuff, we must not admit slave produce—while, with respect to gold, to the paper on which our anti slavery books and pamphlets are printed, no such objection is made,—while we receive money from a man who has got it dishonestly, or who may have been a hard master, but because he owes us 100*l.*, though we know how he has obtained it, we do not reject it, the position contended for cannot be maintained. Though there may be many in this assembly who feel strongly on the subject, yet taking us as a body, it will excite astonishment if we make this exception to a noble principle advocated here and elsewhere. All that Dr. Ritchie proved was this—that he ought himself not to use slave produce; that he ought not to wear cotton; and that he ought not from this time henceforth to have money in his pocket. But his object was to show that we ought to make our judgment the standard of other men's consciences. I think, with respect to that, that we should be much on our guard, and not confound individual with national responsibility. If I think it wrong to take an article, it is sin in me to take it; but I am not to judge my neighbour. Then with respect to one of the best arguments of Dr. Lushington—that a small island inhabited by freemen would have no chance with Brazil. Who ever thought that a few thousands could compete with a few millions? I might as well argue that the village in which I live, with its eight hundred inhabitants, would have no chance against your metropolis. The question is, whether forty thousand free labourers are to be compared with forty thousand slave labourers. The argument was unfair: it led to a wrong conclusion. There have been too many appeals to our feelings, which ought not to guide us in our path. I should, indeed, be sorry to lose the best feelings of my heart; I should wish to pity the oppressed; and I hope I shall pity the slaves. I would remember them that are in bonds as bound with them; and urged on by this sympathy, I was connected with anti-slavery conferences long ago: but I consider that justice is greater than charity. The command of the Almighty is, "Do justly," and then "Love mercy." I know an excellent man, a clergyman of the Church of England, who was a college examiner. The college to which I belong is a large one; there are several hundreds of young men there, whose future prospects depend on their examination. I have been a college examiner, and I know, that to a certain extent, the examiners have in their power the destinies of these young men through life. This gentleman said to me, "Before I enter the door, I take

out my bowels of compassion." It was a strong expression; but when we have to decide between truth and error, we must judge a man without partiality, without hypocrisy,—our feelings of friendship or of compassion must be disregarded. It is important, before you settle this question, that you should divest yourselves of your feelings. Look upon it as a question of justice; take it on grand principles; say that you will do right; say that whatever is right, is right under all circumstances. Leave to the providence of God the government of his own world. He can guide this world independently of this Convention. Let us take right principles, and not deviate from them to meet this particular case. I am inclined to think that there is a large majority that see the subject in the same light that I do, and I am anxious that they should have an opportunity of expressing that opinion.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am of opinion that the anti-slavery cause will be damaged by voting on this subject; but that no damage will take place if the previous question be carried. I think that course will tend more to our separating with harmony when the Convention ends, than if we do vote on the subject.

A show of hands was then taken on the previous question, and carried with very few dissentients.

The CHAIRMAN.—It is due to our friends on my right hand (the mover and seconder of the resolution) to say, that this decision in no degree implies any opinion on the general question.

Mr. STACEY.—I hope it will be clearly, distinctly, and emphatically understood, that by the vote to which the Convention has just come, we have expressed no opinion whatever upon the general question. The resolution of 1840 affirmed a principle which I think should attach to all anti-slavery movements; and we have now, by not reversing that resolution, simply left the case where it then stood.

S. Gurney, Esq., then vacated the chair, and his seat was taken by the Rev. J. Blanchard.

PROGRESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY OPINIONS IN PORTUGAL—REPORT OF THE ULTRAMARINE COMMISSION ON THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN PORTUGUESE INDIA.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I have now to present the following report.

On the 16th of August, 1842, there was submitted to the Portuguese Chamber of Peers the following draft,—a Law for the Abolition of Slavery in Portuguese India, viz.

Article I.—The Alvares, with the force of law, of the 19th of September, 1761, and of the 16th of January, 1763, which abolished entirely the existence of slavery in the kingdom of Portugal, will be put in force, from the publication of this law, in that part of the Portuguese monarchy which forms the general government of the states of India, and comprehends the territories of Goa, Salsette, Bardez, Damaon, Diu, Macao, and the Timor and Solor Islands, with the respective dependencies of this territory.

Article II.—The Government will organize the regulations for the above Alvares, with the force of law, which will be effectively executed in the above-mentioned territories, and communicate to the Cortes, in the next legislative session, what it has determined in this respect.

Article III.—The Government will propose to the Cortes, in one of the next legislative sessions, the measures which it conceives most convenient for the

successive emancipation of all individuals in the same territories, who, after the publication of this law, continue there in the state of slavery; so as that, after the term of fifteen years, from the date of this law, the state of slavery shall have ceased.

Article IV.—All the laws now existing to the contrary will be abrogated.

Chamber of Peers, 16th August, 1842.

Sa da Bandeira.
Conde Lavradio.

This project, presented by these respectable noblemen, was read a second time, and sent into committee. A commission appears thereupon to have been appointed, composed of the Duke de Palmella, the Viscount Sa da Bandeira, and the Count de Lavradio, who, in connexion with an interesting report, present the following project for the adoption of the Portuguese legislature, viz.

PROJECT AGREED TO BY THE COMMISSION.

The Count of Lavradio and Viscount Sa da Bandeira have brought to the Portuguese Chamber of Peers a project of law for the total abolition of slavery in Portuguese India, which, having been revised by a committee, contains the following articles:—1st. That the edicts of September, 1761, and January, 1763, which abolished slavery in the kingdom of Portugal, shall extend to all Portuguese India; viz., Goa, Salsette, Bardez, Damaon, Diu, Macao, and the islands of Timor and Solor. All persons born in, or who enter these territories, from the publication of this law, are declared free. 2nd. The Government will make the necessary regulations for the full execution of these edicts. 3rd. Slaves of either sex, existing in these territories, who are national property, shall receive certificates of manumission from the Governor-General of India, as soon as he receives this law; but they will only enjoy entire liberty three years after its publication. The first year they will serve as heretofore; but the second and third, their service can only be exacted on payment of a gratuity, which will be fixed by the Governor-General in Council. 4th. Slaves of either sex, whether private or public property, may obtain their own ransom, from the date of the publication of this law, on payment of a determinate sum, which shall be fixed by the Governor-General in Council. All slaves who may be desirous and able to obtain their freedom in the manner above specified, will possess the right of applying, for that purpose, to the highest authority of the country in which he or she resides. 5th. Slaves of either sex, who are private property, will be free at the expiration of three years from the publication of this law; for which purpose the state will indemnify the owners of slaves in a determinate sum, which will be paid on the day of emancipation, either in specie, or in bills payable as cash into the custom-houses of those dominions. The Government will make the necessary regulations to fix the amount of indemnification, which will be determined on according to the age and sex of the emancipated slaves. 6th. The alienation of slaves belonging to the state is strictly prohibited. 7th. The Government will publish a regulation for the punishment of slaves, while they exist in India, which may only be inflicted in public, and by order of a public authority, to whom the masters of slaves will declare their reasons for desiring them to be punished. 8th. The Government will present all the regulations specified in this law to the Cortes, in the next or successive legislative session; as also a return, specifying the number of slaves, of either sex, existing in those territories, and whether they belong to the state or not. 9th. All public authorities who contravene the provisions of the third,

fourth, and fifth articles of this law, will incur the penalties awarded to those who consign free persons to slavery; and will be tried, in first and last instances, by the supreme court of judicature at Goa.

This is by far a more liberal measure than the former one, and supported as it is, not only by the members of the commission, but by many other distinguished and influential persons, is likely to become law. It is gratifying to observe, that the commission contemplate hereafter the application of this project to the African possessions of the Portuguese crown.

I can trace this project on the part of the Portuguese nobility, and which has been taken up by a committee, composed of three distinguished members of the chamber of Peers, to a visit of certain individuals connected with the Anti-Slavery Society of this country, to Portugal. The moral influence of the Society has been felt there, and a personal visit to individuals whose views are similar to our own, but who probably had not the courage to discharge their duty till urged to it, has had a most beneficial influence. We have the prospect, first, That slavery throughout Portuguese India will, in the course of three or five years, be terminated; and, secondly, that there will be a measure brought on very shortly after that point has been carried, which will affect Portuguese Africa. When the Government of Portugal shall have done their duty in reference to treaties on the coast of Africa, I do hope that a severer blow will be given to the slave-trade by that means than by any other yet resorted to by this or any other country. Some gentlemen holding distinguished offices in India have sent in their adhesion to the project I have just read; and, indeed, they were the parties that suggested, that the period of three years should be substituted for fifteen, mentioned in the original project. It will thus be seen, that by keeping the anti-slavery cause before the public mind of Europe and the world, we are likely to lead persons occupying an influential position, not only to look at it, but to give something like substantial evidence of their attachment to it, by originating measures like this. Here we see one of the fruits of our exertions since the last Convention.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER.—I intend to say but a very few words on the subject before us; yet I think it is due to the Convention to be informed of the present state, so far as we are acquainted with it, of the anti-slavery cause in Portugal, particularly as it forms one of the most encouraging circumstances connected with anti-slavery movements that has recently taken place. I went to Portugal about a year ago, accompanied by my friend Benjamin B. Wiffen, and I confess that neither of us on going there was very sanguine with regard to the anti-slavery feeling which we might find in the capital of that country. We were received by Lord Howard de Walden very kindly, and by Henry Southern, secretary of the British legation. We had been previously furnished with letters of recommendation from the Earl of Aberdeen to Lord Howard de Walden; and from him we had letters of introduction to nearly the whole of the late ministry of Portugal, and to a large portion of the present ministry of that country. We received statements of their conviction, that the slave-trade was very injurious to the interests of Portuguese Africa, and that they were disposed to do all they could to promote its abolition. We were also informed, that the trade had very materially decreased. This is the general statement I have to make with regard to many of the most distinguished individuals who fill political offices in Lisbon. But, in addition to this, we had the still greater satisfaction of meeting with a few persons occupying eminent stations, who appeared to have made up their minds in favour of the abolition question. Among these I may name Viscount Sa da Bandeira and the Conde de Lavradio. We also met with a friendly reception from the Duke de

Palmella. These were the individuals who composed that commission of which you have heard. It was also our unexpected pleasure to find at the house of Viscount Sa da Bandeira, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, which had not been sent to him by us, but which he had obtained in consequence of the interest he already felt in the question. He informed us, that it was his intention, at an early period, to bring forward a measure in the Portuguese Chamber of Peers for the abolition of slavery in Portuguese India. The deputation of the Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, cannot take to themselves the credit of originating the measure; but I hope it may have done a little to encourage these noble-minded men whom we found enlisted in this good cause. I have two books, the one published in 1840, and the other in 1842. The first is a decided anti-slavery work, in which I find a reference to the most distinguished and valued friends of the cause in England, and sentiments which would do honour to any British abolitionist. The writer's name is Botello, a person who held a high office in the African Portuguese colonies. I shall do all that is needful in connexion with the question of the anti-slavery cause in Portugal, by reading the following passages from a letter received recently from Viscount Sa da Bandeira on this subject.

"*Lisbon*, 22*nd May*, 1843.

"I have had the pleasure of receiving your two letters and the address of the American Society to the non-slaveholders of the South. I have read it with very great satisfaction: its arguments are exceedingly strong in favour of the abolition of slavery. I think that this excellent work must produce an important effect on public sentiment. Your remarks on the proposition that the Duke of Palmella, Count Lavradio, and myself, have presented to the Chamber of Peers for the abolition of slavery in the Asiatic possessions of Portugal are very agreeable to me as well as to those two noblemen. Our desire for the moment is, to establish the legislative principle of abolition. From Asia we shall pass to Africa, and it is in view of this that, at my request, made in the Chamber, the Government has sent out orders to have a return of all the slaves in each of our colonies: the result of this step should be presented to the Cortes next year. The measure adopted for the immediate abolition of slavery in British India is of the greatest importance. The privileges given to the slaves are such that slavery is no longer real. I keep the document, and hope to profit by it in future. From the information that I have, and which I believe to be true, the slave-trade continues in the ports of the African continent, including the Portuguese colonies. Government has issued orders against it, but the illicit traffic continues. The gain that is derived from this abominable commerce is immense: thus the violation of the law is inevitable, so long as there are markets where the slaves can be sold. If it is desired to abolish the slave-trade, it must be abolished by the abolition of slavery in Brazil, in Cuba, in Porto Rico, and at Texas. As respects the abolition of slavery in the Portuguese possessions in Africa, I believe it more easy than many persons think it to be. In these possessions, both on the West and East, we have establishments in the interior, which are at the distance of more than six hundred miles from the respective coasts. In all the neighbouring countries, there is labour at a very low price: some even come from a very great distance for work. Thus there would be no want of labour if slavery were abolished. As to the Cape de Verde Islands, the number of slaves, which are thought to be from three to four thousand, are found concentrated in some of these islands—principally that of Santiago. It is with pleasure that I profit by this occasion, to tell you that in one of these islands, that of St. Nicholas, the most opulent and influential proprietors, Messieurs Dias, have given

liberty to all their slaves, the number of whom exceeded fifty. These freemen wished to remain in the service of their former masters, and at present they are said to work as other free labourers. I sincerely desire and hope, that from the meeting of the Convention, will result an advancement in the noble cause of liberty, and of so many millions of men who are at present in the most miserable state that can be imagined."

It would appear from the statements made, that we have great reason to feel satisfied that progress is making in Portugal on behalf of the slave—a country which, up to a late period, we have thought the most backward in the anti-slavery cause.

Mr. BLAIR.—I beg to move—

"That the report now read be referred to a committee, consisting of G. W. ALEXANDER, ROBERT JOWITT, Professor WALKER, and BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN."

Mr. CHARLES HINDLEY, M.P.—In rising to second the resolution, I take this occasion of stating that I have come here the very first moment that I had an opportunity of so doing, in order to express my sympathy with, and cordial assent to, the objects you have in view. I understand that you have disposed of the question of differential duties, and that, not on the ground of expediency, but of principle. I supported Dr. LUSHINGTON when the subject was before the House of Commons. So far as politicians are concerned, the question is a difficult one; but among Christians it admits of an easy solution. I heartily rejoice in your endeavours to remove the foul blot of slavery from the human race, more especially the civilized and Christianized portions of it. The United States will never take its rank in the scale of Christian nations till every slave there has been emancipated. I hope they will not want the energetic denunciations of DANIEL O'CONNELL to arouse them to the discharge of their duties. I might say something on the critical position of parties who wish to emancipate their slaves, but who are prevented from it by the intervention of the Government. I do hope, however, that the time will speedily come when nations and individuals will stand on the same footing. An individual stands responsible to society, and they claim the right to judge of his conduct; but governments seem to think that they are irresponsible.

Mr. J. T. PRICE.—I presume that the committee will be authorised to bring up a report for the adoption of the Convention; and that that report will not only express entire satisfaction with the progress that has been made in Portugal, but an earnest desire that that country may be encouraged to walk straight-forward in the path that is so plain before them. I trust that Portugal will look to our example with reference to the abolition of slavery in the East Indies, and will adopt a similar course.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously; after which,

The Convention adjourned.

FIFTH DAY'S SITTING, SATURDAY, JUNE 17.

(MORNING.)

REV. JOSHUA LEAVITT IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the previous day were read and confirmed.

Mr. SCOBLE.—The point to which the attention of the Convention will be directed this morning is,

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ABOLITION QUESTION IN SPAIN—SLAVES ILLEGALLY INTRODUCED—CONDITION OF SLAVES IN CUBA.

I may observe that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in anticipation of this Convention, transmitted to the island of Cuba, many months since, a series of questions for the purpose of eliciting the best information that could be obtained in reference to slavery and the slave-trade, and the state of public feeling in the island of Cuba, with the view of ascertaining the extent of these evils, and the prospect presented of their ultimate extinction. We have received an elaborate series of answers to these questions, which have been analysed and brought together in the manuscript book I hold in my hand. It will be impossible for me this morning to give you an idea of the immense amount of valuable information which has thus been procured; but I will read a short paper on a branch of the question which is exceedingly important as connected with the liberty of a large number of slaves in the Spanish islands.

"The bad faith of successive Spanish governments in relation to the suppression of the slave-trade, to effect which they were bound under the most solemn treaties with this country, having completely exhausted the patience of the British Government, a draft of a Convention has been submitted to the Cabinet at Madrid, the design of which is to secure that object in the most effectual way, and by means against which no just exception can be taken, inasmuch as both are warranted by the stipulations of the treaties as well as by the laws of Spain.

"'DRAFT OF CONVENTION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN ON SLAVE-TRADE.

Preamble.—"'Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, having reason to believe that, notwithstanding the stipulations of the treaty concluded on the 23rd September, 1817, and the further stipulations of the treaty concluded on the 28th June, 1835, between Great Britain and Spain, negroes are, from time to time, imported from Africa into the colonial possessions of Her Catholic Majesty, and are there held in bondage, contrary to the letter and to the spirit of the said treaties, and in violation of the decrees which have been promulgated in Spain for carrying the said treaties into effect,

"'Their said Majesties have named and appointed their plenipotentiaries, to devise and agree upon further measures for preventing the violation of the said treaties in the manner above mentioned,

"'Who, having exchanged their full powers, &c., have agreed upon the following articles:—

Article I.—"'The Mixed Court of Justice, established at the Havana, is hereby authorised to receive information upon oath, to the effect that grounds of suspicion exist, that negroes recently arrived from Africa are detained as slaves in the transatlantic dominions of Spain; and the said Mixed Court, upon receiving such information, is hereby empowered and enjoined to summon before it such negroes, and the persons assuming to be the owners of such negroes, and all other individuals apparently concerned in, or having knowledge of, the transaction in question; and the said Mixed Court is further empowered and enjoined to examine all such persons on oath touching the said transaction; and if, upon examination, it shall not be clearly proved to the satisfaction of the said Court that the negroes alleged to have been recently imported from Africa were born in the transatlantic dominions of Spain, or were imported from Africa into these dominions before the 30th October, 1820,

the said Court shall declare such negroes to be free, and such negroes shall be set free accordingly.

Article II.—" 'If the owner or owners of the negroes, said to be wrongfully held in bondage, shall, upon the first summons of the Court, refuse or demur to appear before the Court, either by themselves or by others in their behalf, the Court shall summon the parties a second time; and if this second summons should not be effectual, the Court shall, after the expiration of a proper interval of time, summon the parties a third time; and if the parties do not obey either of the three summonses, the Court shall, notwithstanding the absence of such owner or owners, or other persons in their behalf, proceed to adjudge the cause, and to decide whether or not the negroes, who are alleged to be wrongfully held in bondage, shall be set free; and the decision of the Court in such cases shall be held good and valid, notwithstanding the absence of the parties, and shall be carried into effect accordingly.

Article III.—" 'Her Catholic Majesty shall within weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of this Convention promulgate a decree, giving authority to the Mixed Court of Justice to enforce the execution of its decisions, in accordance with the provisions contained in the preceding articles.'—*Slave-trade Papers, Class B*, 1840, *pp.* 2, 3.

"The consideration of this Convention having been pressed on the attention of the Spanish Government by the British minister at Madrid, he was assured that they were animated by the same philanthropic ideas as those of the Government and people of Great Britain, and that they were only restrained in giving them effect by 'having to combine them with local interests, which they are bound to support and protect;' and was promised that they would 'collect together all the data that can elucidate the matter,' information having been demanded from the superior authorities of the island of Cuba, in order that they might 'judge of the effects which the adoption of the aforesaid Convention might produce.' Thus stood the case at the close of 1840. In May, 1841, the British minister was again instructed to 'urge the Spanish Government to accede to the plan proposed.' But in July, the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a note to him says:—'It is extremely painful to me to have to state to you, by order of the Regent of the kingdom, that Her Majesty's Government considers its adoption to be neither possible nor politic, because it would amount to an alienation of the jurisdiction, which ought only to reside in the first authority of the island.'"

Thus you will perceive that, on the principle of national dignity, the crown of Spain refuses aid on the part of the crown of England in carrying into effect the treaties which exist between the two countries. But allow me to say that the answer of the Spanish to the British Government refusing the jurisdiction proposed, amounts to nothing, inasmuch as under existing treaties, the very tribunal before which the Government of this country would bring the case proposed, does actually exist in Cuba at the present moment, in the shape of a Mixed Commission Court, appointed by the several governments, to give effect to slave-trade treaties. It is, therefore, to be regarded as an official subterfuge, and nothing else.

"To this decision the Spanish Government was brought by the earnest and threatening remonstrances of the public bodies at Cuba. The Junta de Fomento, composed chiefly of planters, proprietors, and hacendados, after stating that the demand of the British Government was destitute of all just foundation, and that, in acceding to it, the Spanish authorities would divest themselves of one of the most important attributes of sovereignty; and after charging upon the Government and people of this country the basest motives in seeking to enforce

its claims, and with impudence in the manner in which it has been done, they implore Her Catholic Majesty not to make 'the smallest change in the negro question' without consulting them, and assure her that 'in this question of slavery there is but one sentiment, one unanimous wish in the island, a fixed and unalterable idea in the minds of all its inhabitants, which is, that they prefer any extreme to the calamity of losing their property, of endangering their lives, of remaining in subjection to the negro power.' The minority of the Royal Patriotic Society pronounce the Convention proposed to the Spanish Government to be 'offensive to the national dignity,' and that it ought to be resisted on that as well as on 'legal and economical' grounds. The tone of their report, however, is more mild than that of others. The majority of the Royal Patriotic Society boldly state that 'it never was, and is not now a sentiment of humanity which impels Great Britain to make such efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade and the abolition of slavery;' but jealousy of the growing power, and dread of the immense productiveness of the island of Cuba. And they call upon their Government to resist the demands of Great Britain, and to remove every vestige of British authority from the island, including the Court of Mixed Commission, the hulk for the reception of liberated Africans, and even the British Consul himself, who had displeased them by his firmness and activity."

Here I may be permitted to interpose a remark. It was stated by an honourable gentleman on this floor yesterday, that the conduct of the recent British Consul at Cuba was open to the greatest possible exception, inasmuch as he had exasperated the Spanish authorities, and this was advanced as an argument why the British Government should not interfere, either by legislation, or by functionaries residing abroad, with the institution of slavery. I wish to mention the name of this most honoured and respected member of the last Convention—a man whom I should have been happy to see with us on the present occasion—Mr. David Turnbull (cheers), and who by his firmness, activity, and zeal, in carrying out what he believed to be the intentions of the British Government, necessarily brought himself into collision with the Spanish authorities. The object of these authorities was, to procure his removal from the island, by exacting from the British Government his recall. I am happy, however, to state that the late Government would not allow of his recall, unless the Spanish Government could show that he had violated his official duty as the representative of the people of this country; and declared, that so long as consuls were sent to Cuba, they should be men who would endeavour to give effect to the Convention of Great Britain and Spain for the suppression of the slave-trade. The refusal to recall him was a testimony of approbation of his services while at Cuba, both as Consul and as Protector of liberated Africans. He has since left Cuba, and has been made Chief Commissioner of the Mixed Commission Court in the island of Jamaica.

"The other memorials presented to the Spanish Government, whether emanating from public bodies, or from private individuals, are couched in similar style, and, with few exceptions, breathe a spirit of hostility to this country, which would be remarkable, were the cause not known, namely, its fixed determination to use its best efforts, and exert all its influence, to terminate the atrocities of slavery and the slave-trade.

"What course the British Government is now taking to ensure the fulfilment of its treaties with Spain, does not appear; but it is quite clear that matters cannot, and will not, be allowed to remain in their present position.

"In a report on this unfortunate class of Africans, made to the British Government in June, 1841, by Her Majesty's Commissioners resident at the Havana, it appears that 7,040 Africans have been emancipated under the treaty of 1817, of whom 1,207 were sent to Trinidad, under special agreement on the subject. To account for the remaining 5,800 emancipados, they say, 'Considering that in many of the cargoes virulent diseases prevailed on their arrival, the effects of which continued to occasion considerable mortality afterwards, and that the Asiatic Cholera prevailed here (Havana) from 1832 to 1835, with peculiarly evil results to the coloured population, we are prepared to believe, that not more than one half of the Africans liberated, may after so many years elapsed be now surviving. But when we consider that of the survivors many have been by the assignees put in the place of their other slaves who had died, or have been otherwise trepanned into positive slavery, we doubt whether more than 2,000 emancipados, or one-third of the original number, may be looked for as probably to be produced.' In these remarks, the Commissioners overlook the increase which may have occurred in connexion with this class by births, during the period referred to. The Commissioners further observe, that 'several hundreds of these emancipados remain in the hands of the Government, and are employed on the public works. There are, also, some of them employed in the mines of the Cobre Mining Company, an Anglo-American Association.'

"For the liberation of these emancipados from a bondage, even more severe in some of its incidents than that endured by the generality of slaves in the island of Cuba, the British Government has made a formal demand, through their minister residing at Madrid, couched in the following terms: 'I am directed to state, that the British Government demand, as a right, from the Spanish Government the immediate freedom of all the negroes, who have been emancipated in Cuba, by sentence of the Mixed Commission, since the treaty of 1817, but who appear hitherto to have been retained in practical slavery by the authorities of Cuba, in direct violation of the solemn engagements of the Spanish Crown.' And, with a view of securing to them the future enjoyment of their freedom, Her Majesty proposes that they shall be handed over to the Superintendent of liberated Africans at the Havana, to be by him transferred, with their own consent, to the British colonies.

"In reply, the Spanish Government, after stating that the condition of the emancipados would not be improved by a removal to the British colonies, 'because in the island of Cuba they are in the enjoyment of the same benefits, and of the same rights, as all freemen residing there;' that their removal would be attended with serious inconveniences—that it would deprive industry and agriculture of hands, and notably injure the prosperity and wealth of the island to augment that of the colonies to which they might be sent—that it would give the Mixed Commission Court a pernicious influence over the coloured population in Cuba, extremely prejudicial and dangerous to the welfare of its inhabitants—in short, that it would be immoral, dangerous, and injurious to the authority exercised in the island; they say, 'the Government of Her Catholic Majesty regrets to be unable to agree to the project proposed by that of Her Britannic Majesty, for the removal to the British colonies of the negroes emancipated in virtue of the treaty concluded between both nations in 1817.'

"It does not appear, however, that the British Government are willing to allow the matter to close here. In making another demand for the liberation of 450 Bozal negroes recently taken possession of by the Spanish authorities, they state, 'that these negroes are, by the law of Spain, free men; and that consequently, there can exist no right to impose any restraint upon their per-

sonal liberty; and that the condition of 'emancipados,' in which these negroes appear to have been placed, differs in no essential respect from the condition of slaves, which is therefore an illegal duresse imposed upon free persons, at variance with the true meaning of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain.

"Such is the nature of the demands on the one hand, and of evasions or denials of justice on the other. It would appear impossible that this species of diplomatic intercourse can be carried much farther: either Great Britain must give way, and admit that her treaties with Spain are waste paper, or Spain must give way and honourably fulfil them, or take the consequences of a long persistance in wrong-doing."

This report refers first to the Africans illicitly introduced contrary to engagements with this country, and also contrary to the laws of Spain; and secondly, it refers to the emancipados or liberated Africans, who ought to be free under the treaties into which Spain has entered with Great Britain. You will see, I have no doubt, as I do, the vast importance of sustaining the hands of the British Government in asking for the faithful fulfilment of stipulations with this country.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—I rise to move

"That the papers now read be referred to the Committee appointed on Portuguese slavery, with the addition of F. R. COCKING, JAMES RICHARDSON, CHARLES FOX, and J. T. PRICE, Esqs."

Mr. STANDFIELD.—I was favoured with a visit from Mr. TURNBULL, who had then recently returned from Cuba, and as he mentioned circumstances connected with this all important question, that have not been stated in the paper read by Mr. SCOBLE, I conceive it will not be out of order if I give the information to the assembly. Mr. TURNBULL, in consequence of the indisposition of his wife, left Havana for New Providence, and during his residence there, he obtained information that a number of British subjects were illegally held in bondage in Cuba. He hired a schooner, and took with him some witnesses who could identify these individuals. He landed in the island of Cuba, at a place called Gibara, and on going on shore presented his credentials as British Consul, and was received with apparent courtesy. But, immediately afterwards, in violation of all the rights of nations, he was declared a prisoner, the crew were placed in durance vile, and he was ordered to be conducted under guard to the Captain General of the Island. But under the good providence of God, the persons who had charge of him suffered him to visit the plantation he wished, and that with more freedom than he could have done if he had not been under control. By this means he was enabled to identify above 500 British subjects held in illegal bondage. Mr. TURNBULL was subsequently liberated, and sent home a list of these British-born subjects. I trust the Government will take the most decided steps to procure their freedom. I may add, that when Mr. TURNBULL reached Havana, he was forcibly expelled from the island by the Captain General, as a disturber of the public peace. I beg to second the resolution.

Mr. FRANCIS ROSS COCKING (late of Havana).—A residence of four years in the island of Cuba, a knowledge of its language, and an intimate acquaintance with many of its most influential native inhabitants, have been the means of placing me in the possession of facts which I hope to be permitted to make known to this Convention. It has been stated in the House of Lords that the slave-trade has nearly ceased in Cuba. Would to God it were the

case! But my own experience causes me to know that although it is not now carried on to the extent which characterised it in former years, it still continues with considerable activity; and I consider it due to David Turnbull, Esq., late Her Majesty's consul at Havana, to state that if there has been of late a momentary paralysation of slave-trading activity in Cuba, it is to be attributed to the extraordinary exertions of that one man, whose whole mind was absorbed in watching over the infractions of the slave-trade treaties, and in reporting them to the Captain General of the island of Cuba. If the victims of the slave-trade are not now so numerous as they were, their sufferings are greater, because the orders of the Spanish Government to the effect that the slave-trade shall be suppressed, that *vox et præterea nihil*, which in plain and undisguised language means to say, and which in the island of Cuba is understood to mean, "Your infractions of the slave-trade treaties between Spain and Great Britain must not be so scandalously glaring as they have been heretofore. Your deeds of crime must be done in darkness; because, although we tolerate and approve of the continuance of the slave-trade, in order, as we believe, to augment the number of victims that cultivate our soil, that enrich our coffers, that augment our products, that give life and energy to our commerce, and that fill the private pockets of our local authorities; we must endeavour to make it appear that we not only discountenance the traffic in blood, but that we are determined on putting it down. Be ye advised, therefore, that such glaring infractions of the slave-trade treaties with Great Britain as come under onr immediate notice shall tend to cause you, the importers of African negroes, to lose your property, while we, the Government, benefit therefrom by seizing the victims, and selling them into slavery for our own immediate benefit. Beware, therefore, how your deeds are brought to light. Let the slave-trade continue in secrecy. Give yourselves more trouble than heretofore to conceal your crimes. But let the slave-trade continue." These orders and the consequences of these orders are the reasons why the sufferings of the victims are now greater than they were before, because the hurry and haste in the landing, the precipitate march from the places of disembarkation to the places of ulterior destination, and the harassing hardships attendant on all these, cause the unfortunate Africans to sink under the intensity of their sufferings, the victims of slave-trading cupidity and of British credulity. I shall now relate a few facts that have very lately come under my immediate notice with respect to the slave-trade, which will serve to prove the correctness of my statement. A short time ago a vessel arrived off the Port of Trinidad de Cuba with a cargo of three hundred and odd Africans on board. I saw the vessel myself at Trinidad, and I ascertained the facts that I am now going to state from a person who was a sailor on board of the slaver at the time. This vessel arrived off the port of Trinidad; the captain landed alone and at night, and received orders from the owner or owners to proceed to a small island off the south side of Cuba, there to land his cargo, and afterwards to come into the port of Trinidad and enter his vessel at the Custom-house in ballast. From Trinidad, two or more coasting vessels were immediately despatched to the small island Los Jardinillos, when the Africans were taken on board, and carried to some out-of-the-way landing place, where they were successfully put on shore and conducted to their places of ulterior destination. At Matanzas, a short time since, a slaver arrived and landed her cargo of three hundred and fifty Africans within a mile of the city, and under the very eyes of the public. And after the victims were on shore, and far on their way to the interior of the island, the Governor, Garcia Ona, sent a deputation on board to search the vessel and report if she had brought slaves, as had been publicly rumoured; but of course the result of their search was, that she had not brought any. On the 6th day of January, of the present year,

the Portuguese brig *Roldan* arrived at Havana with a small quantity of jerked beef on board. Two or three days after the arrival of this vessel, the *Roldan*, while she was yet lying at the wharf with a large piece of jerked beef hanging at the extreme end of her bowsprit, the insignia of all vessels having jerked beef on board for sale, I discovered, through the means of a person whose name I am not at liberty to mention, that she had come from the coast of Africa, with a cargo of five hundred and seventy-five Bozal negroes; that she had landed them at a place called La Chorrera, at which place her artillery had been put into the hold near to the keel, under a floor constructed expressly for the purpose, and that a few hundred weight of jerked beef had been taken on board, with which cargo, or part of a cargo, she entered the port of Havana with impunity. This vessel, the *Roldan*, has again sailed from Havana on a slave-trading expedition; but she now wears the Spanish flag, and is called *El Ultimo*. On the 8th of February, of the present year also, the Portuguese brigantine *Jacinto*, belonging to a French merchant of Havana, named FORCADE, sailed on a slave-trading expedition: and as regards this vessel, I shall state a farcical fact illustrative of the manner in which the government of Cuba pretends to put down the slave-trade. This vessel, the *Jacinto*, when fitting out at the wharf of CASA BLANCA, at Havana, had been accused of being engaged in the slave-trade; the consequence was, that by order of the Captain-General, she had been removed from the wharf, and anchored close under the guns of a Spanish ship-of-war. This hypocritical formality having been gone through with, after the expiration of a few days, she was liberated for want of proof; and while yet lying almost alongside of the ship-of-war, she took her slave-trading cargo on board, and went to sea unmolested. But the fact which above all others will serve to prove the correctness of my statement is this. A short time ago, some 250 newly-imported Bozal negroes had been seized at a place called Vereda Nueva, and their case had been submitted, by the Captain-General, to the opinion of the Assessor-General VILLAVERDE. As soon as it was known to the importers of these Bozals, (the partners or representatives of the notorious PEDRO BLANCO) that their victims had been seized, they came forward and gave security, to a large amount, to prove, by certificates of baptism, that the negroes were not newly-imported Bozals, as they had been represented to be, but that they were Creole negroes, born and bred on the island. The result was, that the negroes were given up to their pretended masters; in due time, the certificates of baptism were produced, and the security cancelled. And these unhappy victims of a corrupt administration, like all others that have been seized by the Government of the island, are now slaves in Cuba. These few facts, which I have chosen out of many that have come under my observation, will serve to prove that the slave-trade still continues, and will continue, on the shores of the island of Cuba. And I hope to be allowed to endeavour to impress on the minds of all the friends of African freedom, that as long as slavery exists in Cuba and Porto Rico, the African slave-trade will, and must continue on the shores of these islands; and that in a country such as Cuba, where the whole white population, foreigners as well as natives, are either slave-holders in the deed, or slave-holders in principle, no law or laws, whether for the suppression of the slave-trade, or for the partial amelioration of the condition of the slaves, can have any executive principle, inasmuch as all those whose duty it is to give effect to such laws are interested in defeating them. It is true, that there are in Cuba many of the native born inhabitants who are desirous that the slave-trade should be effectually suppressed; but these men have no voice in the governmental proceedings of their own native country, and I may add, that their desire to see the slave-trade suppressed, does not proceed from a sense of humanity, but from motives of policy; because they all believe that the flood of Africans that

continues to inundate their island, serves as an effectual barrier to the accomplishment of their long-cherished and dearest hopes—the independence of Cuba. It is believed that there are 600,000 slaves in Cuba, of whom 4-16ths are said to be native born; 1-16th, the wretched residue of Bozal negroes imported into the island previous to the year 1820; and 11-16ths, Bozal negroes imported subsequent to that year (1820), in contravention of the slave-trade treaties existing between Spain and Great Britain, and consequently contrary to Spanish law. Included in the whole number of slaves, there are between 9,000 and 10,000 Bozal negroes that have been captured by British cruisers from on board of Spanish slavers, the large majority of whom are still held in slavery. And there are several hundreds of colonial British subjects that have been illegally taken away from British West India colonies, and sold into slavery in Cuba. Now, it humbly appears to me, that all these unfortunate people, the colonial British subjects, the Bozal negroes emancipated by the Court of Mixed Commission in virtue of existing treaties, and the Bozal negroes imported into the island of Cuba subsequent to the year 1820, in contravention of these same treaties, are *ipso facto* free, and cannot be considered the legal property of any man. And besides which, it also appears to me that the British Government has a right, and further, that it is even a sacred duty which devolves on our Government, in the interests of humanity or the interests of justice, and in the interests of the national honour, to demand the immediate freedom from bondage, not only of all her colonial subjects, that have been unlawfully removed from British colonies, and taken to Cuba as slaves, and of Bozal negroes that have been emancipated by the Court of Mixed Commission; but that she has a right to demand from Spain the freedom of all those Africans that have been illegally, and in contravention of existing treaties, imported into Cuba subsequent to the year 1820. Because, if this contraband human merchandise had been captured by British cruisers previous to their being landed, they would have been declared to be free by the Court of Mixed Commission, in virtue of existing treaties; if they had been captured by Spanish cruisers, the result would have been the same; and if seized and confiscated on shore, the result must inevitably have been the same also. I am personally acquainted with many of these unfortunate people in Cuba, and I here most solemnly avow that they look up to England for sympathy and protection; and having solemnly pledged myself to them when in Cuba to use every means that were legal and moral to ameliorate their present condition, I now have the honour to appeal to this august Convention, and in the name of suffering humanity, in the name of innocence oppressed, and in the name of the sacred image of our beloved Saviour, defiled by unholy and blood-stained hands, humbly to beseech that a petition be presented to Her Majesty's Government, supplicating that measures be immediately taken with the Spanish Government, to the effect that these unhappy people, the colonial British subjects, the Bozal negroes emancipated by the Court of Mixed Commission, and the Bozal negroes imported into the island of Cuba subsequent to the year 1820, including all their descendants, be placed in the full enjoyment of their freedom.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I believe our friend has been a witness to the punishment of slaves in Cuba. Will he do us the favour of stating the impression made on his mind in connexion with some of their exclamations.

Mr. COCKING.—The circumstances referred to have not been witnessed by me, but by persons of high respectability, from whom I received the information. It frequently occurs, on some plantations, that when the negroes are laid down on their stomachs, and held by four other negroes, that they commence by crying out for mercy; and when they find that that is not likely to be extended

to them, they then cry, "Brother Englishman, why don't you come to our rescue."

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER.—I do not think that there has been brought before us a matter of deeper importance to humanity than the question now before this Convention. I confess that having twice travelled in Spain within the last few years, and having given a large part of my attention to the subject of slavery in Cuba, I feel a great interest in the topic we are now discussing. I recollect that at the last Convention, Dr. MADDEN felt it to be necessary to apologise to those whom he addressed, for statements which went to show those horrors which are inseparable from every form of slavery, and which receive a peculiar intensity when slave-labour is employed in the cultivation of sugar, and also the constant waste of human life, notwithstanding the supposed amelioration of the Spanish slave code. To meet this loss of life, the African slave-trade continues to exist in Cuba. It is, indeed, a strange circumstance, as it appears to many of us at this time, that it had been supposed that laws apparently passed for the protection of the slaves had been impartially executed in a country where slave-holders give a tone to the general sentiments of society, and must be, in a great measure, themselves the executors of the laws. I do conceive that it is a matter of very great importance, which has been attained by the proceedings of meetings like the present, that we have exposed before the world such serious misconceptions; and that in consequence, there prevails at this moment, throughout the civilized world, a degree of feeling upon the subject, amounting to indignation at the enormous wrongs committed on slaves, and which will not allow these crimes to be much longer perpetrated by any nation that makes any boast of civilisation, or any profession of the sacred religion of the Saviour of mankind. The question upon which we are now speaking concerns the rights, the liberties, the intellectual improvement, the religious welfare and the immortal destinies of more than half a million of human beings in the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. These number amongst their inhabitants not a few persons of English and American descent, from whom this horrid system has received an immense amount of support. Shame to persons, of whatever name, who can be involved in these proceedings; and especially shame to those who are thus engaged, notwithstanding their boast of that knowledge which we possess of the rights of all the human race. Feeling deeply interested on this question, I believed it to be my duty, and in that duty I was associated with my friend BENJAMIN B. WIFFIN, to pay a visit, under circumstances of perhaps some little peril, to the Peninsula of Spain. We visited some of the principal towns in that country. Many individuals present have become acquainted, through the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, with the result of that journey; but I will venture briefly to notice some of the towns which we visited. These were particularly Barcelona, Madrid, Valentia, Seville, and Cadiz. Barcelona is much engaged in the slave-trade, and is now in some degree what Liverpool once was in that respect. It contains some of the most beautiful buildings which I have ever seen, erected by wealth acquired from the oppression of the slaves. I am glad to state that there are a few decided friends of the negro whom it has been our lot to meet with in Spain. Let me, however, say that I do not on account of the smallness of their number despair of the progress of our cause in that country. We went there with a very imperfect knowledge of the language, and from our stay being limited on both occasions we had access only to comparatively few individuals. The political circumstances and the peculiar condition of Spain for the last few years, and indeed at the present moment, is singularly unfavourable to a great effort being made on behalf of the negroes; they have so many matters of domestic concern to interest and occupy their

minds that we can hardly suppose that the attention of the nation can be gained to this subject at present. In all the places of which I have spoken we met with individuals, and in several of them small companies, to whom we stated our convictions of the enormous iniquity of slavery and the slave-trade, and we endeavoured to enlist their judgments and their feelings on behalf of the miserable victims. We also endeavoured to prove to them that emancipation would be a wise act—that it is an act which has been crowned with entire success, all circumstances being considered, in our own West India colonies. In connexion with the papers on the table, I will state what is the number of anti-slavery persons on whom we can, to a certain extent, count in Spain. In Barcelona we found Antonio Bergues, the most considerable printer in the place, who was already acquainted with the question of negro slavery, and whose judgment was already fully in accordance with our own with regard to the enormous iniquity of this system. During the time we were at Barcelona, a person to whom we received a letter of recommendation, requested that we would put down the nature of the various information we wanted, and the precise object of our visit to that country. That circumstance led to the writing of a short paper, which was translated by our friend Antonio Bergues on the same day on which it was written, and a thousand copies at his own expense (for he would not receive any remuneration) were furnished the next morning. Another friend to our cause, at that time in Barcelona, was F. Delamere, a Major-General in the Spanish service, but an Englishman by birth. At Madrid we met with a courteous reception from several illustrious individuals, and among these from one who was recently associated in the office of Regency of that country, Don Augustine Arguelles. He some years ago advocated the abolition of the slave-trade by Spain, in the Spanish Cortes. We saw M. Marliani, to whom Lord Clarendon had kindly given us a letter of introduction, and of whom that nobleman justly spoke in the highest terms. We found him an enlightened man, one fully prepared to entertain our views, and I hope that he will advocate them in the Spanish Cortes. He is a member of the Upper Chamber of that body. We found also Ramon de la Sagra. We received from him much important information with regard to the character of slavery in Cuba, and which entirely confirms the statement made by Dr. Madden, and the information laid before the past and present Convention. In the same place we met with a member of an honourable family of the name of Usozy Rio, and also his brother, who was a visitor at the last Convention, and whose heart is with us on this occasion. At a meeting which took place at Seville, during the time we were there, at the office of the Editor of the *Sevillano*, a newspaper published at Seville, a long and warm discussion arose on the subject of slavery. A large proportion of those present were pro-slavery persons, and they occupied so great a portion of the time allotted to the discussion, that it was impossible to do justice to the subject in reply. Under these circumstances it was proposed that an answer should be sent to certain questions, and to difficulties and objections which had been raised. Answers were written from Lisbon; and I have the satisfaction of stating that, as in the former case, so now, these observations were translated unsolicited on our part, and have, to a certain extent, been circulated in Spain. There is another person whom I must not omit to notice, and that is, the Bishop elect of Cordova, then residing at Seville. He was nearly eighty years of age; and although he bowed under the infirmities incident to that advanced period of life, he manifested a deep interest in this question, with which he was intimately acquainted, in consequence of having been on a commission, appointed by the Government of Spain, for the purpose of considering some communications from the English Government to that of Spain, on the practicability of emancipation

in Cuba. On that Commission there were persons not of the same opinion with himself, one of whom was a large slave-holder, in consequence of which it was attended with little benefit, except the information that it was the means of bringing before the individual to whom I have referred. In reference to the business of the last Convention, I may state that the address then delivered by Dr. MADDEN was circulated to a considerable extent by us during our late visit to that country. It was our wish that it should be given to every member of the Spanish Cortes, but I am doubtful whether that has been done. I hold in my hand a letter received from a person who is a native of the island of Cuba, in which I find a further confirmation of all those statements which have been made by DAVID TURNBULL, (whom I sincerely respect for his labours in this cause,) by our friend Dr. MADDEN, as well as by distinguished foreigners, Baron HUMBOLDT and others, in regard to the real character of slavery in Cuba. I will touch on two or three points respecting slavery in Cuba, which I think very important. It is stated, that in the country districts generally, two-thirds of the population are men, and one-third women. It is unnecessary that I should explain what must be the result of such circumstances, or from what they arise. The fact proves the extent to which the slave-trade has recently been carried on, otherwise the disproportion between males and females would not be so large, because we know that in all countries the numbers born are almost equal. The writer says that the number of marriages is unknown, because, in the census, it is not usual to state the number of marriages among slaves. With regard to food, it is exactly that stated in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of the 10th of February, 1841: he, however, thinks that the overseer does not often rob the slaves of the food intended for them. He mentions the amount of clothing for males and females; and with respect to the latter, it certainly does not appear by any means sufficient even for the purposes of decency. Labour begins at five in the morning, and usually closes between five and six in the evening; but during the time of crop it continues till a very late hour, and sometimes the whole of the night. But even when this does not occur, it is customary to labour from sixteen to eighteen hours. This, in any climate, but especially under a tropical sun, is murder! In the country districts the slaves receive no instruction: we need scarcely to have been informed of that circumstance. Religion is almost disregarded; there is scarcely any attention paid to it: however, all are baptized, and there are some who instruct their slaves in the principles of religion. We received, during our stay at Madrid, from a person long resident in Cuba, an account of the immoral character of the masters, which he says is improving; but he attributes many of the evils that exist in Cuba to the conduct of the government of Spain, who do what in them lies to prevent the inhabitants propagating any sentiments they may really feel for the abolition of the slave-trade. I believe that there are persons, though their number is small, who, from pecuniary, and a few from other motives, are really desirous of the abolition of that traffic. He says that the cause of the emancipation of the slaves has very few partizans, and that even these would not dare to manifest their sentiments. He states that there are several very rich owners of sugar and coffee plantations, who desire the abolition of the slave-trade. I will briefly explain how this arises. On the greater part of the plantations there is an immense waste of human life, which makes it necessary, in order to maintain cultivation, that there should be a constant importation of negroes. There are, however, a few individuals, more humane than the rest, whose plantations are better managed, and on these there is a small increase upon the whole number of slaves. They do not stand in absolute need of this means of supplying the deficiency of labour, and as the price of produce and the value of

slaves would materially increase if the amount of slave labour were diminished in other directions, these individuals are willing that the slave-trade should be put down, and would be glad if it were accomplished, precisely on the same ground that Virginia, long since, was willing to abandon the slave-trade. I will notice one or two other points in the letter. He says that legislation is humane as regards the slave, but it is scarcely ever executed. The magistrates and the syndics are almost always proprietors of slaves. He believes that the number of slaves annually introduced into Cuba fluctuates between 25,000 and 30,000. These are the statements of a native of Cuba, long resident, and highly esteemed in that island. I hold in my hand a book, written by the Countess MERLIN, the contents of which originally appeared in the *Revue de deux Mondes*, a book written with considerable ability, and which is intended as a defence of the continuance of slavery. I will, however, venture to say, that no person, having any fair pretensions to understanding, who will take the pains of reading this book, can fail to find that there exists in it a hundred reasons for the abolition of slavery, for one that can be found against it. It contains the most important admissions with regard to slavery. She says, "May the holy man of Chiapa (LAS CASAS) pardon me. The slavery that he introduced was a deplorable seed for the Havana; it is become a gigantic tree, and produces at present the bitter fruits of its origin; but it cannot be felled without incurring the risk of burying us beneath its weight. It is an inexhaustible source of sufferings, of grave responsibilities and fears, and is, besides, by the excessive expense that it occasions, a principle of permanent ruin. The labour of the freeman would not only be a purer element of riches, but also more solid and more lucrative." It is maintained in this book, that since the new prohibition of the trade, the Governors have received from the slave-owners more than 1,000,000 dollars. This is easily explained; during that time 100,000 slaves have been imported, for all of whom a very large sum has been received by those individuals. It is stated that the number of slaves in the island, in 1817, was 199,145, but that they now amount to 700,000. I believe that this is somewhat beyond the actual number. I will only refer to one other circumstance, namely, the condition of the Bozal negroes. It appears that the number rescued from slave ships amounts to 8,000, and this lady, speaking of their condition, says, that it is worse than that of the slave, and that it is common for slaves to cast reproach upon them, by saying, "Thou art nothing but an emancipado,"—that is, something below a slave. I have here a book, written by JOSE ANTONIO SACO, printed at Madrid in 1837, which contains a vindication of the abolition of the slave-trade, and arguments which appear decisive against slavery. This is a pleasing circumstance. I do not, however, know of an instance in which a Spaniard, in modern times, has stated to his countrymen, in a printed book, the crime of slavery. I have also a small work, given me by FRANCIS R. COCKING, which is partly fiction and partly fact, but which is apparently intended to point out the condition of slavery. It is a work of much the same kind as one written by G. DE BEAUMONT, called "*Marie, ou l'Esclavage ;*" but this is a prohibited book in Cuba, as is every one in which the rights of the slave are advocated. I have likewise a work by TORRENTE, a member of the Spanish Cortes, and I will say, that among all the false apologies for slavery that were ever published in the world, I believe there is not one which transcends this little book. It represents the slaves as enjoying a state which was never experienced in this world, except by our first parents in Paradise. It depicts them as being exempt from all wants, almost freed from all temptation, and supplied with every comfort which life can furnish. On the other hand, it states that English emancipation has been, in all respects, a complete failure ; that the negroes will not work ;

that they are demoralized; that the English Government repent of what they have done, and it warns the Cuban planters and the Spanish Government by no means to lend an ear to the demand for emancipation. I hope for the honour of Spain that some reply will be given, or rather, that a defence of the principles of humanity will be put forward in that country, ere long. I have stated that the newspapers of Spain, with scarcely an exception, do not admit of a word in advocacy of the rights of the slave. I ought to have made a special exception of the *Guia del Commercio*, which has not long been published. In that paper I have lately found some sentiments creditable to those who wrote them; but generally speaking, such sentiments would not be tolerated in Spain, and as a considerable number of newspapers are forwarded from Spain to Cuba, they would find no readers there. To sum up the whole matter, we find in Cuba about 600,000 slaves, nearly all of whom, it is admitted by M. Torrente, are Bozals, and therefore entitled to their freedom in virtue of the treaty with Great Britain, in virtue of the law of Spain, and above all, in virtue of those laws which are superior to all others—the laws of justice, humanity, and religion, and yet they are held in most cruel bondage. A large number of Bozals, who have long been entitled to their freedom, have unhappily perished, and to whom, therefore, we cannot now do justice; and I fear, that there is now a large number merged in the slave population, and consequently they can only be rescued by an Act of general emancipation. There are a considerable number of persons who were illegally brought from British colonies during the time that slavery was tolerated there, and who are now, though entitled to the rights of British subjects, held as Cuban slaves. I confess that a cheering sign of the times in connexion with slavery in Cuba is that deep distress which, so far as my knowledge extends, prevails in that island. It is stated in the report of the Directors of the Cobre Copper Company, in which many Englishmen, to their disgrace, are proprietors, and who hold 400 wretched beings in bondage, that there is no part of the world in which that commercial distress, which of late has been so general, has been more deeply felt than in the island of Cuba. I read this with great satisfaction, because I know that it is one of the means by which slavery is likely to be abolished. So great is the want of money—the true explanation of the late decrease of the slave-trade—that that company—highly respectable as regards pecuniary means—cannot find money in Cuba to pay their workmen. I heard also, with great satisfaction, in connexion with this point, the statement made by our respected chairman, with regard to the state of the sugar market in the United States. It is well known, that a large part of the whole trade of Cuba is carried on with America, and I have learned that recently the sugar proprietors of Louisiana have induced the Government to impose a considerable protecting duty in order to favour them, but that notwithstanding this, they do not receive a larger amount for their sugar than they did before the change of duties took place. Thus the market of the United States—one great mart for slave sugar—is shut out, or at least it is not open on remunerative terms to the importer. The whole continent of Europe, and indeed, the markets of the world, are glutted with slave sugar. Avarice has defeated its own purposes. They have gone on heaping labourers upon labourers, by means of the slave-trade, till they have raised such an amount of sugar that they cannot now find customers for it. This, I hope, will help to promote the downfall of slavery in Cuba. I cannot conclude without paying a tribute of justice to the intrepid, the judicious conduct of David Turnbull, as Consul at the island of Cuba. There is no person to whom the negro has been more indebted of late years than to him. He was, as he ought to have been, a diligent observer of all the wrongs practised on

the slaves, when he was a traveller in the regions in which it existed. He dared to represent the facts to the British public, and that public listened to them. I wish that every individual, who takes an interest in the subject, would read his travels to the West. Not content, however, with this, he did, to the best of his ability and judgment, endeavour to prevent the continuance of mal-practices. He sought to stem that tide of perpetual injustice, along which so many wretched beings have been carried to their end. He represented to the Government their solemn duty to demand the liberation of those persons who are held in bondage in contravention of existing treaties with this country, and who amount to nearly half a million. If this demand be made, I believe it will be complied with. He recently risked his life in going to the island of Cuba, for the purpose of ascertaining what were the number and condition of British subjects held as slaves in that island, whom he had ascertained to have been introduced many years since from the Bahamas.

Mr. JOSEPH BROTHERTON, M.P., I have been requested to propose as an addition to the former resolution,

"That the said Committee be authorised to bring up with their report, the draft of an urgent representation to the British Government on the present condition of those subjects of this country now illegally held in bondage in the Spanish West India and other foreign colonies, as well as of all in those colonies who have been unlawfully kept in slavery since the year 1820, together with their descendants."

I consider there can be no objection to such a resolution as that. I had no intention of addressing this important Convention, but having been appointed a delegate by the Anti-Slavery Society of Manchester, I felt that I should not do my duty unless I responded to the call to offer a few words to this assembly. My avocations have not led me to take any public part with regard to the abolition of slavery; I may however state, that from my earliest infancy, I have been imbued with sentiments opposed to slavery. Many years ago, from the lessons impressed upon me by my mother, I was induced to abstain from sugar, the produce of slave labour; and the Convention may rest assured that in my place in the House of Commons, I shall endeavour, by every practicable and rational means, to aid in putting an end to the abominable system. When we consider the horrors of slavery, and the oppressions which the enthralled human beings have to endure in various ways, we must be convinced that the cause of justice, humanity, and religion, calls upon us to endeavour to terminate the system. Although much has been done, considering the difficulties which anti-slavery friends have had to encounter, yet so much has not been effected, as one could have desired. I have been informed, that even at this time, there are no fewer than 6,000,000 of slaves in the United States, Brazils, and Cuba. Various plans have been adopted for the annihilation of slavery; and I have in the House of Commons aided, to the utmost of my power, every measure considered judicious by the friends of abolition. Although I may not have approved of every plan as likely to be the most beneficial, yet I have deferred to the judgment of those who have taken a more active part than myself; and I have been willing to aid them in accomplishing the end in view. When it was proposed to emancipate our own slaves in the West Indies, although I felt that it was abhorrent to every sense of justice, that we should remunerate men who were dealers in flesh and blood; although I could not admit that it was a right principle to compensate men for that which they had stolen, or had received knowing it to be stolen; yet, for the sake of peace,—for the sake of settling the question, and being informed by those on whom I thought I could place implicit confidence, that free labour would be always better and cheaper than

slave labour, I was induced to vote for the grant of 20,000,000*l.* I was also told that we might adopt measures that would reimburse the country for the loss sustained in consequence of the differential duties, with regard to sugar and other colonial produce, and I have supported every proposition which has had for its object the abolishing this traffic; but I believe that, after all, the end has not been so efficiently accomplished as I have desired, and I am led to the conclusion, that this great moral evil can only be removed by the influence of public opinion. England has ennobled herself by the example she has set in coming forward on this great question. I consider that by the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society much good may be accomplished; but I think that we ought to act on principles of justice. When attempting to effect a moral reformation, it is important that you should convince the party that you are his friend; are desirous of promoting his interests; that you are influenced by principle, and not by a selfish motive, and that you are willing to make sacrifices to accomplish such a noble end. I think that if this nation sets an example of justice, by opening its ports, it will be one of the most effectual means of advancing the object we have at heart. I have sometimes thought that sufficient attention has not been paid to the encouragement of free labour in the East Indies. There are 100,000,000 of persons there who might become good customers for the manufactures of this country. They can produce in India, cotton, sugar, indigo, and various other articles, and by taking their free-labour produce, we should not only advance their interests, but promote our own prosperity. I conceive that we should gain by moral force a great deal more than ever was effected by any restrictive system, for such systems are founded essentially on principles of injustice.

Mr. STACEY.—Our friend may not be aware that this subject was discussed yesterday, and that after a long discussion the previous question was carried.

Mr. BROTHERTON.—In introducing the subject at which I have hinted, my object was simply to show, that though I would act cordially in the promotion of any measure considered desirable by the friends of the anti-slavery cause, yet I thought it would be best accomplished by removing restrictive measures; I was not aware of what took place yesterday. I know that slavery never can prosper. I remember the time when it was imagined that if the slave-trade was abolished, Liverpool would be ruined; but by the providence of God, that town has flourished in a much more eminent degree since the suppression of that odious traffic. When Cooke, the actor, visited Liverpool, and was treated in a manner which he did not consider respectful, he had the spirit to tell the people, that every brick in their town was cemented with the blood of the slave. I consider that the efforts of this Convention are likely to produce a great effect in every part of the world, and it would afford me great delight to see the principles of freedom universally diffused. I would wish to show the Americans that their interest lies in promoting the freedom of the slave. If men would only be convinced that to do justly was their truest interest, we should find that they would act upon different principles from what they do at the present time. If free labour has a fair chance given to it, I am quite sure that men will need no other argument to induce them to adopt it.

Mr. WILLIAM EWART, M.P.—I can only assure you, that if in the House of Commons I can be of any service in promoting the legitimate object for which the resolution is framed, it will give me most sincere pleasure. Whether any result precisely correspondent with the terms of the resolution be attained or not, we shall have effected this great end—that of exposing the system under which these persons have been illegally detained in bondage, and we shall hold up the conduct of those who have detained them, and that of the Government which has sanctioned their detention, to the scorn and contempt of

the civilised world. I rejoice to have been invited as a visitor to this great Convention. I know not whether the annals of mankind present an instance of such a meeting of nations in the common cause of humanity. If not, you possess the honour of having set this glorious precedent to all posterity. The feeling of enthusiasm, by which you have been animated, must have been greatly increased by seeing so many friends from all parts of the world, but more especially from the United States of America. That country cannot long be destined to present so dark a stain in its moral and social beauty, as its system of slavery has exhibited to mankind. I am convinced that the inspiring genius of freedom, in that great republic, will burst the chains with which this evil system has afflicted a part of the community. The onward progress of this question in America, and which we have watched day by day with intense interest, is a pledge of its certain and final success. Shall we not combine our energies in this great cause when we see that others have combined, and that with success, in favour of slavery? My honourable friend, Mr. Brotherton, has alluded to the social system favourable to slavery which long prevailed in Liverpool. I am myself a native of Liverpool; I long represented that town, and I had the misfortune to incur the hostility of the party interested in upholding slavery. It has been truly said by my honourable friend, that the detestable vestiges of a barbarous feeling, and a barbarous age, have long since vanished from that great town, and that it now stands far more commercially successful,—far more honourable and religious than it ever could be while worshipping the vain idol of the detested and accursed system of slavery. You may ask me on what principle I have advocated the extinction of slavery in the British senate. I am a free trader. I have always held this doctrine,—that although I would, by the combination of a nation, put down, even coercively, the system of slavery and the slave-trade, yet our great pervading and animating principle must be, an extension of the commerce of the world. Commerce I believe to be the great emancipator. Although I would seize the vessel of the slave-trader, and make his trade piracy, yet I look beyond these coercive means, to the extension of commerce,—to its enlightening and its enfranchising influence, as a means of removing this immoral deformity from the moral history of the world. Depend upon it, that the time is not far distant when the example set by England, characterised by principles so sacred, emanating from a source so pure, and inspired by a spirit so holy, will command the imitation, as it will always deserve the admiration, of mankind.

Captain STUART.—I trust that while I have a soul that can appreciate justice, liberty, and humanity I shall never be found uniting in any free trade which is supported by robbery and murder.

Mr. RICHARDSON.—Probably some of our friends will be surprised that I should rise for the purpose of moving an amendment to the resolution which the two honourable members have presented to us. My object, however, is not to lessen the effect of that resolution, but to strengthen it. It does not go sufficiently far—does not fully embody the great principles which we have under consideration; nor does it accurately point out the practical method which ought to be adopted by this Convention. From the statements which have been made, it appears that there are 400,000 individuals in Cuba who are illegally detained in bondage, part of whom are British subjects, and are entitled to the protection of the British crown; and a still larger number who are entitled to the same protection by virtue of treaties now existing between Great Britain and Spain, and for which we have paid 400,000*l*. I entreat honourable members of the Senate not to forget the fact, that when Englishmen have paid their money, they expect to have the article they have pur-

chased. What are the steps which are necessary to be adopted for the purpose of obtaining the article that we have bought? They are perhaps difficult, but who created the difficulty? These 400,000 slaves are mingled with a large body of others, who, according to Spanish law, are not entitled to freedom. Who created the difficulty?—The Spanish Government. Who must remove it?—The Spanish Government. When I heard the statement of our friend, this question naturally occurred to me as a lawyer—Where is the evidence by which these men are to be identified? My friend made an appeal to you—and he did it rightly—that these men must be made free. They are free in point of *law*, and they must be made free in point of *fact*. The parties that are entitled to their freedom cannot be identified, consequently we must seek out some other mode of obtaining justice. We must not be defrauded of our 400,000*l*. We would not take back the money if it were 400,000,000*l*., but demand the articles purchased. As they cannot give them to us in any other way than by a general act of emancipation, giving freedom to all the slaves in Cuba; and, as the Spanish Government have themselves created the difficulty, the dignity and honour of the British nation demand that such an act should be passed. Am I wrong in putting that position? (Cries of "No.") I admit that one nation has no right to interfere authoritatively with another, even for the purpose of giving liberty to the slave; but inasmuch as the Spanish Government, by their negligence, by their mismanagement, by the corruption of their governors and officers, have occasioned the difficulty, the only alternative that we have left is, to demand a general act of emancipation. The following is my amendment; and I respectfully request that the mover and seconder will adopt it in lieu of the one they have submitted to the Convention :—

"That contemplating the fact that there are upwards of 400,000 slaves, some of them British subjects, now held in bondage in Cuba illegally, and in contravention of treaties existing between Great Britain and Spain, who are entitled to the protection of the British Government; also the additional fact that these 400,000 individuals are so mixed up by marriages, and otherwise, with the slaves who are held in bondage, according to Spanish law, as not to admit of entire separation; and also the fact that 400,000*l*. of British money has been paid as the price, on consideration of these treaties; this Convention ought not to separate without making a strong representation to her Majesty's Government, that the dignity and honour of this nation cannot be sustained without the entire emancipation of all the slaves in Cuba—being the only remedy which will secure the faithful, honest, and full performance of the existing treaties."

Mr. J. FORSTER.—Desirable as it might appear to pass this resolution, I wish to submit whether it does not involve a new and important feature in the whole question. I am not competent to speak fully to the subject; but I understand that the British Government have recognised the right of a certain proportion of the slaves to their liberty. I apprehend that the design of the motion before the Convention is, by a manifestation of the feelings of the country in carrying out their regulations, to strengthen the hands of the British Government. It belongs to the Government to see that the treaty of 1820 is executed; but I am fearful whether, if we ask for a *general* measure, we shall not, by asking too much, get nothing. If the Government of Great Britain apply to the Government of Madrid to follow up that to which they have already committed themselves, we are much more likely to obtain it than if we go to a new point and ask for a general act of emancipation.

Dr. BOWRING.—It is a startling fact to say that 400,000 men are held in illegal bondage. I would suggest to Mr. RICHARDSON to withdraw his amendment, until an investigation has been made by the Committee which it is proposed to appoint.

Mr. RICHARDSON.—I think that will perhaps be the better course to pursue.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

M. LEON FAUCHER, a visitor from France, then addressed the Convention in his native language.

Dr. BOWRING, on rising to interpret the address, said, I am glad to be the organ of communicating the wise, generous, philanthropic, and popular sentiments which have just fallen from the lips of M. Leon Faucher. I have known him for many years; he has been long struggling, prominently struggling, in the cause of commercial liberty. All those who have watched, as I have, with great interest, the tendency towards friendly and brotherly feelings between France and this nation, have been constantly desirous, not only that a benevolent spirit should be encouraged, but that both countries should recognize a common interest in a reciprocal philanthropy, and that they should look at each other in the best temper of fraternity, receiving and communicating mutual benefits and blessings. My friend has been an unwearied labourer in this honoured work; I therefore heard him with great pleasure lift up his voice in furtherance of the cause we represent. In his speech he bears high testimony to the influence of the example of England; that example which, when largely and generously put forth, will agitate the mind of the intelligent world. He says that the exertions made by the Anti-Slavery Society have met with a response in France; that they have created such a sympathy and feeling, that henceforth we may anticipate that the anti-slavery cause will make the same progress there as it has done here. He bears testimony to the honest intentions of the French Government; he is not a partizan of that Government; he has been ranged in the ranks of the opposition; but he believes that the French Government has a sincere desire to co-operate with you. He says that there are not only political difficulties in France, but financial ones; France, however, if called to make sacrifices, is bound to make them for the furtherance of this cause. He knows that a great number of the members of the French Chambers sympathize with the objects of this Convention; and that even though the Government were less friendly than it is to the cause we have at heart, he is certain that it would be forced by public opinion to the adoption of abolition measures. The greater part of the French press is doing itself honour by arming itself on your side: he has been known for many years as editor of the *Courrier Français*. He says that your communications with France—the Anti-Slavery Society having sent delegates among them who have communicated your wishes, your plans, your hopes, and your disappointments—have all tended to create there a friendly feeling towards you; and there is undoubtedly in France a sincere conviction that England was far more honest in her movements than they were originally disposed to give her credit for. I can say, from my own observation, that the noble sacrifice of twenty millions which we made, has produced throughout Europe the conviction that there was no insincerity in our proceedings; men do not make enormous sacrifices—sacrifices as great as that—for objects which they have not deeply and strongly at heart. He rejoices, as we must all do, that the clouds and darkness which have obscured the political relations of the two countries are beginning to disperse; and he expresses a hope, in which we can cordially concur, that the clouds may pass away, and that the darkness may yield to the light of general and perpetual peace. He says that the emancipation of the negro will be one of the consequences of that brightness, and the dispersion of these difficulties. He states that he has done something practically for the emancipation of the slave, and he hopes that this country will distinguish herself by doing that generally, throughout the whole field of slavery, which she has shown a

disposition to do in the parts more especially under her control. He says that there is an amicable and a pacific feeling existing in both nations, which will force everything before it; and though the policy of Government may for a short time have produced some alienation, yet it is not in the power of governments to break up national interests, or to involve nations in quarrels, as they were formerly able to do. He says that the increased opportunities which we have of knowing one another will teach us to love and honour each other more than we have hitherto done; that two such nations as France and England, having one great object at heart, the whole world cannot resist its accomplishment.

DUTCH SLAVERY—PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN HOLLAND.

Mr. SCOBLE.—Not anticipating that I should be called upon at this time to present the report on the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause in Holland, I did not come prepared with that document. But as the subject is impressed on my mind, I trust that I shall be permitted to give a short verbal report, for the purpose of affording Mr. ALEXANDER an opportunity of making some statements upon it. The question of slavery in the Dutch colonies is an interesting one, especially when viewed in connexion with the movements made within the last few years for its overthrow. Those colonies contain about 100,000 slaves, whose general condition is similar to that of bondsmen in other colonies and states, both in America and Asia. My object, however, is not to dwell either on the extent or the incidents of slavery in the Dutch colonies, so much as to call the attention of the Convention to the progress of our cause in that interesting part of Europe. A few years ago everything in Holland, in connexion with the abolition of slavery, was as still as death; but, in consequence of the visits of English abolitionists to that country, a lively feeling has been created, and committees appointed, and that not only in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, but in the principal towns and cities of that country, among which I may mention Utrecht and Leyden. At the present time, those committees are using their best endeavours to carry into effect the objects which this Convention has in view. A feeling appears to have sprung up in one of the principal colonies,—Surinam, favourable to the abolition of slavery. Nearly two years ago, a gentleman occupying a distinguished position there, presented a report to the home Government, in which he stated his conviction that emancipation was the only measure that could secure the colony from entire ruin, and advance its prosperity. The recent Governor of Surinam has returned home to fill a most important office under the Dutch Government; and it is his belief, also, that something must be done to promote the abolition of slavery in their colonies. The Government have appointed a committee for the purpose of collecting evidence and bringing in a report, doubtless with the view of proposing some scheme by which that incubus on Dutch prosperity may be for ever removed. I rejoice in being enabled to state that friends in Holland have sent a deputation to this Convention, and that those gentlemen are present with us. It is a most delightful fact, that France, Holland, and the United States have each sent their representatives in order to help forward the common cause of humanity.

Mr. DANIEL TWISS (Delegate from Holland.)—The representations of Mr. SCOBLE are perfectly in accordance with what I know to be the state of facts in Holland. We, as a committee, can do very little there; we must look almost entirely to this Convention, and to the Anti-Slavery Society, for assistance. The Dutch Government have pledged themselves to do what they can for the abolition of slavery in the colonies; but, nevertheless, they do not wish to interfere in the matter. We must, therefore, throw ourselves upon you to further our views to the utmost of your power.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER.—It is not needful to dwell upon the question of slavery in Holland; the principal facts of the case are before us, and you have been apprised of some of the cheering circumstances connected with this subject in that country. I regard Holland as a little England. I have met with so much which I consider as English sentiment and American feeling on the subject of abolition, that I have great confidence with respect to the future progress of the anti-slavery cause in Holland. Holland possesses a noble territory in Surinam, close to British Guiana, in which, some years since, there were about 60,000 slaves, but which are now, by the cruel process of slavery, reduced to something less than 40,000. Notwithstanding this circumstance, the amount of sugar produced by this colony is on the increase rather than the decrease. In conformity with what took place in Jamaica, Demerara, and other colonies of Great Britain, the slaves are required to perform a greater amount of service than before, so that a larger quantity of sugar is extracted from the labour of a smaller number of slaves. This is a dreadful fact, which I am sure the abolitionists in Holland will constantly keep before the public mind. Recently a considerable amount of light has been poured upon the question of slavery in the Dutch colonies, but there was very little information upon it till within the last few years. It has been shown that it is almost impracticable to carry out Christian missions successfully in slave countries; and as this is a question in which many persons in Holland feel a deep interest, it has decided the opinion of some, who two or three years since were unfriendly to immediate emancipation, and has led them to adopt an opposite sentiment. I will give a single instance in which this change of view has taken place. It was my happiness to meet, two or three years since, with an interesting young man, a possessor of slaves, but professing Christian sentiments. He told me that at an early period of life he had entertained the opinion that slavery was a sin, and therefore that it ought at once to be abandoned. When I had last the pleasure of travelling in Holland, I had an interview with the same individual, who, I believe, is now the secretary of the committee at the Hague. He told me that he was convinced it was desirable and right to emancipate the slaves, in order to afford free scope for Christian instruction. He mentioned, with great interest to himself, and it was no less pleasing to me, that a conference had taken place between himself and a slave-holder. He stated to the latter that in his opinion slave children ought to receive literary instruction. The latter immediately urged, that if instruction were imparted to the young, they would be unfitted for being slaves when grown up. The emphatic answer of the young man to this statement was, "If that be the case, slavery is of the devil." In addition to what JOHN SCOBLE has said, I may state that, from information I have lately received from Holland, I have ground to believe that not only in a few of the principal towns in that country, but in many parts of it, there is more or less of anti-slavery sentiment awakened. The interest felt has been shown in a variety of publications issued in defence of the anti-slavery cause. A young man wrote a little dissertation to prove the inconsistency of slavery, and to show that it was opposed to the true interests of the colony of Surinam. In that pamphlet, which is printed in the Dutch language, and contains about 120 pages, I find interesting statements borrowed from parliamentary documents, and from JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY'S "Winter in the West Indies." A venerated person now deceased has written a work to show the importance of emancipating the slaves in Surinam, in order to secure their religious and intellectual improvement. Very recently the friends of the anti-slavery cause at Groningen have translated the work of JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY into the Dutch language, and I am informed that it has had an extensive sale, and is read with great avidity. The subject of emancipation has also been discussed in the Dutch newspapers, and I have

seen article after article, the intention of which was to defend slavery, but the effect of which must be to call public attention to the question. These would never have been written or inserted, had it not been for the anti-slavery feeling excited in that country. Notwithstanding what a delegate has said—and we hail with great delight two delegates from that country—I know that the committee at Rotterdam, and I believe the committee at the Hague, have rendered signal service to the cause of negro freedom. The committee at the Hague have published an address on Anti-slavery principles; and sentiments which I have seen contained in letters written in return show that some persons have nobly responded to the appeal. I know of no country to which we can look at the present moment with more hope than to Holland, because there is on the part of many persons not only enlightened sentiment, and a large amount of intellectual cultivation, but a sincere regard for the principles, the doctrines, and the precepts of Christianity. I believe that such persons cannot follow them out, and remain as they are at present, the friends of the slave, without their labours being crowned with abundant success, and that, before a long time shall pass away. I have stated that the whole number of slaves in Surinam is somewhat less than 40,000; in Curacao there are from 5,000 to 7,000; the same number at St. Eustatius, all in the West Indies; and about 30,000 in Java. In the course of my inquiries, I was delighted to find that there had been an Anti-slavery Society in Java many years since. I would recommend our friends from Holland to take an early opportunity of forming a Society there again. I cannot doubt that the example of England in abolishing slavery, not only in its Western, but its Eastern possessions, will have an effect upon Holland.

Rev. T. SCALES.—May I be allowed to give utterance to the feelings which this discussion has awakened in my own mind? Allusion has been made to the friends of our cause in Holland. Amongst them, I am persuaded, we may confidently reckon the Rev. Ebenezer Miller, of Rotterdam. I was associated with that gentleman for many years, while he presided over one of our literary institutions in Yorkshire, and during that period he took a lively interest in the anti-slavery cause. He is the ardent friend of liberty; and his best energies will, I am sure, be devoted to the advancement of this great object. Knowing the interest he feels in this question, I could not resist the inducement which the occasion offers to refer to Mr. Miller as one who will zealously co-operate with our friends in Holland, in the measures they may pursue for the termination of slavery in their colonies.

Mr. R. PEEK.—I beg to move,

"That the papers presented in relation to Holland be referred to a Committee, consisting of G. W. Alexander, John Allen, Daniel Twiss, and James Laming, Esquires, with Rev. J. K. Holland."

Mr. SAMS seconded the resolution, which was then put, and agreed to.

PAPERS ON AMERICAN SLAVERY REFERRED TO A COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. STURGE.—The resolution I hold in my hand is to this effect.

"That the papers already presented to this Convention, by the delegates from the United States, be referred to a committee, with a view to report thereon; and that the following delegates, with power to add to their number, be the committee:—Messrs. G. Stacey, S. Southall, J. Dunlop, J. Blanchard, J. Leavitt, J. Bennett, J. H. Hinton, L. Tappan, H. Kellogg, A. Buffum, J. C. Fuller, and J. Carlile."

I believe that every person who has had anything to do with the management of the business of the Convention has been extremely anxious to give our American friends as much time as possible, and many would have been willing

to sit till midnight to allow every one of them to speak. But there are difficulties on all hands. A large number of the English delegates have important duties to attend to at home, and cannot remain with us beyond a certain time, and it would be a disappointment to those from the United States to speak to a small company. On the other hand, there are momentous matters to come forward, in relation to slavery in other parts of the world; and it is of more importance to the anti-slavery cause in America that the documents should be presented, and go to the world, than that time should be occupied here in discussions upon them. If our transatlantic friends will consent to this resolution, and allow their papers to be referred to a committee, I think it would promote their object better than by giving details.

Mr. SAMUEL SOUTHALL.—I beg to second the motion.

A desultory discussion then arose as to the nature of the papers to be submitted to the committee. The point, however, was satisfactorily arranged, and the motion put, and carried.

The Convention then adjourned.

FIFTH DAY'S SITTINGS, SATURDAY, JUNE 17.

(EVENING.)

SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS IN DENMARK.—EFFECT OF SLAVERY ON AMERICAN AND OTHER MISSIONS.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER.—I feel some reluctance in again occupying your attention to-day; and if I were aware that there were any other person present, prepared to present any information relative to slavery in the colonies of Denmark, I should very gladly give way to him. The general facts respecting slavery in those colonies were stated at the last Convention. It was then said, that during the preceding seventeen years there had been a decrease in the slave population, amounting to not less than one-third of the whole number. At that time the slave population was nearly stationary, which of course was represented as being far from a satisfactory state of things, because we know that under all ordinary circumstances, where a population are properly treated and supplied with the necessaries of life, it will not remain stationary, but there will be a large increase. It was also stated that a few persons appeared to have taken a decided interest in this question in the capital of Denmark, and that even a small committee had been then formed. It is a matter of deep regret to me, but I think it best to state the naked truth, that we have been disappointed with regard to that committee, and that no material result has arisen from their exertions. Indeed I fear that no exertions have been made. Some pains, however, have been taken to maintain an interest in the anti-slavery cause in Denmark. A correspondence has, to a certain extent, been carried on with that country, and I believe that there are a few persons, principally among our own countrymen, whose sympathies are excited on this question. It is nevertheless very pleasing to be able to state, on the other hand, that friends from England, and from the United States, have visited the Danish colonies, and that they have had an opportunity of expostulating, privately, with some individuals there on the guilt of countenancing

slavery. I refer to the visit paid by our highly valued friend, JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, accompanied by one or two friends from America. But I doubt whether on any occasion they had the opportunity publicly to denounce the crime of slavery. It is pleasing to add that the same warm friend of the slave has subsequently had an interview with the King and Queen of Denmark, and has pleaded the cause before those royal personages. I cannot doubt but that his representations will have some benefical effect; at the same time, all that has hitherto been done, has been to adopt some measures for the purpose of promoting education in those colonies. But what is the kind of education which the Government have recommended, and which the slave-owners are allowed to give to the young slaves? It was fixed that it was to cease at eight years of age, and that the children having completed their education, were to leave school! And for what purpose? To be turned into the fields to perform such service as their little hands and small strength might enable them to contribute, to swell the gains of their masters! It is not improper to state, whoever may be the guilty parties, that a large number of the slave-owners of St. Croix are Englishmen, or Irishmen, arising from the circumstance that that island at one time belonged to Great Britain. This, to some of us, is an aggravation of the case. I now come to speak to a very painful and very important subject connected with the existence of slavery in the Danish West India islands. I doubt whether there is any person in this assembly, more disposed than myself, to do justice to the self-denying exertions of men who have laboured as missionaries in those islands, and to those who have first planted the standard of the cross in slave countries. I know full well that that honour does belong to the Moravian brethren. I know that a very long time since two young men connected with that society went out with the intention of preaching the gospel to the poor slaves, whatever might be the peril to themselves. I do, therefore, deeply lament that a society which has been thus honoured in its commencement, and which I still hope is exerting an important influence, so far as its influence can extend under circumstances so peculiarly difficult, I do deeply regret that this society are slave-holders. They possess a considerable number of slaves in the island of St. Thomas. The same fact will, to a certain extent, apply to the Moravian missionaries in the colony of Surinam. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society having been apprised of these circumstances, felt it to be their duty to remonstrate with this body, and for this purpose prepared a resolution expressive of their opinion, to be transmitted to those who have the management of the mission in Germany, through the medium of the highly respected person at the head of the establishment in London. The committee stated their conviction that such an act was inconsistent with the requirements of Christianity; and, so far as I recollect the substance of the resolution, that the Moravian Missionary Society, by setting a good example in this respect, by washing their hands of any connexion with this system of enormous iniquity, would do much to promote the emancipation of the slaves in the Danish colonies. The committee have been told by those to whom they made the representation, that the society has laboured for many years, with highly important consequences, in this island; that they are regarded with much favour, both by the planters and the government; that if they were to adopt the line of conduct recommended by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—a recommendation in which I think we shall have the sympathies of the Christian public in England on our side—the effect would be this, they would no longer be in favour with the planters, or with the government of Denmark, but be dismissed from that important post which they now occupy. And, further, I may state that it is the opinion of individuals with whom we conversed, that although slavery might be a great evil, it was

not, under all circumstances, a crime; and perhaps, under the peculiar circumstances of slaves belonging to the Moravian brethren, who were said to be well treated, it could not be considered as a crime in itself. The reply we have to make is this, that slavery is essentially a system of injustice; that it is in its very nature, origin, and consequences, wholly inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of Christianity. But on this point it is quite unnecessary that I should dwell here. I ought, however, to advert to the fact, that this mission is sustained extensively, and almost entirely, by religious persons in this country; and feeling as I do on this subject, I conceive that all those persons are bound, if they would preserve the character of Christianity and Christian missions unsullied, to say that they cannot continue that support so long as the society presents this fatal example to slave-holders. I think that this duty is rendered the more incumbent by the difficulties with which we have to contend. I have stated how little is the progress that we have made in the abolition of slavery in Denmark during the last three years; but here is a point where we can reach the evil of slavery. I hope the argument will apply to other lands, and I do not despair that individuals will be found in Germany to respond to the same sentiments. In accordance with these views, I have a resolution to propose to the following effect:

"That WILSON CREWDSON, Rev. EDWARD ADEY, and R. JOWITT, be a committee to prepare and submit to the adoption of this Convention, a resolution stating the means which, in its judgment, may be best calculated to promote the abolition of slavery in the colonies of Denmark."

I think it justice to this body to state, that although they did receive compensation for the slaves which they held when the abolition of slavery took place in the West India islands, yet they have subsequently passed a resolution, in which they declare that, in the event of emancipation taking place in any other country in which they hold slaves, they will not receive compensation for them. It is also proper to say, that we are informed that a very considerable difficulty exists to the emancipation of their slaves in the Danish colonies, in consequence of those legal obstacles by which emancipation is frequently surrounded in slave countries. I believe, however, that there would be no difficulty in removing their slaves to the British West India islands; our islands are close to those of Denmark, and there are persons who have offered to guarantee the expense of their removal.

The Rev. A. A. PHELPS seconded the resolution.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—As Mr. ALEXANDER has alluded to missionary societies and their influence upon slavery, I beg to say that that is a very important subject in the United States. It brings to my recollection the fact, that I have been requested in some way to represent the Anti-Slavery Missionary Society in America. I have the honour of being the president of the Union Missionary Society, which embodies in its numbers, persons of all denominations. We have been compelled to form a body of this character, from the fact that there was no missionary society in the United States, which, as a whole, took the right ground on the subject of slavery. We, therefore, formed a society two years ago with that object in view. We were prominently connected with the proceedings and measures of sending out the vessel to Africa which took back the men of colour from the *Amistad.* We sent with them two missionaries, Messrs. WILSON and RAYMOND, who returned only a few days before I left the United States. They brought with them very cheering accounts, which greatly strengthened our hearts and our hands, inasmuch as it will enable us to carry out the great principle that a missionary society ought to be an anti-slavery society. I was much struck by the fact, while the list of

delegates to this Convention was being read, that almost all the missionary societies in London have appointed representatives. How does that stand in contrast with the fact that not a single missionary society from the United States has a delegate here, except the Union Missionary Society? The American Board, of which so much is heard, and the Presbyterian Board, are not represented on this floor. Agents and travellers in our country appeal to our churches for aid, and hold their public meetings, but not a word is said in relation to slavery,—no testimony is borne. Every pious man and woman is called upon for his or her mite; but not a syllable is uttered about the bleeding slave. The Bible Society have been called upon again and again to take ground against slavery; but they decline, and tell us, in plain terms, that it is not their business. I am, therefore, very pleased to find that this subject has been brought up. The great principle of the American Union Missionary Society is, that we cannot recognise a slave-holder as a Christian donor in the enterprise of sending missionaries to the heathen.

Mr. HOWELLS.—Will Mr. PENNINGTON state what are the facts with regard to the agents of the Bible Society withholding Bibles from the slaves in New Orleans?

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—It is a general fact that they decline interfering with domestic institutions. The planters say, "We do not want to have Bibles;" and the board of the Bible Society say, "We cannot interfere with the slave-holders' regulations." The consequence is, the slave does not get the Bible.

Rev. T. SWAN.—I am indebted to Mr. ALEXANDER for his proper remarks respecting the Moravians. I have had the pleasure of preaching on behalf of the Moravian Missionary Society, and my church and congregation have contributed towards its funds. I feel that the subject under discussion is a delicate one, and should be sorry to injure that excellent body of Christians; but think it right that the searching light of the Convention should be poured in upon every system of iniquity. It would be a serious matter to stop the supplies afforded to that body; but the times of darkness and of ignorance at which the Almighty winked have passed away, and there must now be purity in our missions—the anti-slavery spirit must be infused into them. Every sect of Christians ought to feel grateful for the exposure of any evil attaching to them. The denomination to which I belong has been fully exposed; and though it be humbling, yet we are satisfied the exposure should be made—the thing is right: and I hope that worthy members of the Society of Friends will not be offended when those evils that attach to their society are brought to light.

Mr. J. STURGE.—I consider this a most important subject. Having felt obliged to all who told the truth with regard to my own religious society in America, I think I shall not transgress the bounds of Christian charity by mentioning in public, that many years ago I withdrew my subscription from the Moravian schools in consequence of the connexion of the society with slavery. I shall be glad to hear that the publication of the facts now stated, has led to the removal of this great stain upon their missionary labours. I think the measure suggested by our friend is a just one, unless the Moravians liberate their slaves.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I am particularly glad that this subject has been brought before your attention. It is a most undoubted truth that has been stated several times in this room, namely, that the church, whether in England or in America, but more especially in the latter, is and has been, the bulwark of slavery. The observations that have been made, as to the missionaries belonging to the Moravians holding slaves, brings to my recollection the conduct of many of the churches of America, and many of the religious associations,

and public benevolent institutions there. No man will tell me that I do not love the churches of America; I am connected with one, and I highly esteem the great body of Christians in that country. It is because I love that church that I will expose its faults. It is a notorious fact that all the great benevolent institutions in America are, to say the least, neutral on the subject of slavery. The American Board of Missions has lifted up its voice nobly against sabbath-breaking, against intemperance, and various other similar evils; but not a single whisper was heard against slavery, so long as some of the old missionaries were slave-holders. Mr. Wilson, in Africa, was a slave-holder, and asked advice as to what he had best do. Some of the missionaries among the Indians were slave-holders, and various petitions were sent in, at the last meeting but one of the board, begging them to take the same ground with regard to this moral evil as they had taken on the topics to which I have alluded. The petitions were referred to a committee—the committee reported favourably; but the report was opposed even by some who professed to be abolitionists, and was only received in consequence of the support of Southern ministers. It was received, however, in order that they might still take no action on the subject of slavery. They had previously passed a resolution with regard to sabbath-breaking, and they again brought forward a motion that that subject should be re-considered. It was re-considered and laid on the table, in order that they might not be compelled, from sheer consistency, to take the same ground with regard to anti-slavery measures as they had taken with regard to sabbath-breaking. So much for the singular conduct of the American Board of Foreign Missions. Where do slave-holders, where do the public, generally look for morality but to the church? And good right have they to do so. All the religious institutions and churches of America have in the slave population a field of operation as extensive, as necessitous, as any that can be found in our world. Speak of the Christian Morals Society!—what is doing in the South? If you would see the operation of sabbath schools, go not to the South. Does the Bible Society spread the sacred volume there? At the depository of the Tract Society, you will find tracts against intemperance and almost every evil that can enter into the mind of the casuist, but you will never find a tract against slavery. It is for these reasons that I wish this subject to be noticed.

Rev. A. A. PHELPS.—Having been personally concerned in carrying the petitions to the American board at its last meeting, and having been familiar with the facts respecting the connexions with slavery of some of the missionaries of the board among the Indians, in the South-Western states, some years ago, but which have since been dissolved; I hope that I shall be able, at a future time, to state, at length, what the action of the board has been. I will only say now, Mr. Johnston's statement is not correct as a whole. The action to which he has referred, is that of two years since, not the last. It is not true that the board has done nothing. At the same time, I will say, that I think the action of the board is not all it ought to have been. I hope to show that there has been some progress in bringing the board to a right position on the subject. The progress is so great that, by their directions, the missionaries formerly located among the Indians and still remaining there, are no longer in the habit of hiring slaves of their masters, or buying them, and when their wages amount to the price originally paid, giving them their freedom. At their last meeting, also, the board went farther than they had ever done before.

Mr. J. T. PRICE.—I think there should be a little consideration for the Moravians, and that it should not be supposed that we are all committed to what has been said here. I think that if any thing be put forth to the Moravians, it should be an affectionate appeal to them to disentangle them-

selves from slavery, and not an attempt to exert our influence to deprive them of pecuniary aid. If they are in error, but have not so considered themselves, let us do all we can to bring them to a conviction of the truth, and to its faithful maintenance on all occasions.

Mr. SCOBLE.—It is a known fact to those connected with anti-slavery movements in this country, that the Moravian missionaries have held slaves. It is not a new thing for the public to be apprised of this fact; but I think it is due to those who conduct the Moravian Missionary Society, to say that we have not yet received their final answer to a communication which we made to them on this subject. I may, however, state that a letter transmitted to the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society was not only couched in a Christian spirit, but, as it appeared, in a spirit accordant with the feelings of this Convention. Of course, the London organ of the Moravian Missionary Society could not pledge himself, by an official communication, as to the course that the brethren would take in Germany. He has forwarded to them our communication, and I most earnestly trust that the reply will be of a satisfactory nature.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am about to put the resolution, but I trust I may be allowed to offer a few remarks touching this desultory discussion. I perfectly agree with the observations of one of our friends, who said that all religious bodies ought to rejoice in having their errors exposed, that being the most likely way to lead to their correction. I cannot, however, but think that with respect to the Society of Friends, some persons labour under great misapprehension. There have been certain charges against that body, respecting which a denial is made on its behalf. I apprehend the question is only as to the degree of activity that should be used by its members in anti-slavery proceedings, and the method in which these proceedings should be directed. No member of that body would be allowed to continue in membership if he held his fellow-man as a slave; and if other religious bodies had acted upon the same principle, slavery would have ceased in North America. Far be it from me to say that we are not wanting in adequate activity, that we are not wanting in more love to our fellow-creatures; but I am prepared to say, that if other religious bodies had adopted and carried out the plans pursued by the Society of Friends, slavery would have been annihilated.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

CAPACITY OF THE COLOURED RACES.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I have now to bring up the report on the statements of the Rev. Mr. Pennington, relative to the free people of colour in the United States:—

"The deeply interesting statement relative to the large numbers of free people of colour in the United States, who are labouring under many privations of a mental, moral, and political kind, in consequence of the strong prejudice existing in the mind of their white fellow-citizens, has been considered by the committee appointed at a former sitting of this Convention, and that committee have come to the following conclusions:—

"1. That the people of colour, being children of the same heavenly Father, born to equal rights, and endowed with the same faculties, are equally capable with the whites of mental and moral culture.

"2. That, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they at present labour, they have made considerable advancement in civilization, in knowledge, and in genuine piety.

"3. That if the barriers which now obstruct their progress were removed,

they would rise to an equality with any other portion of the great human family, in arts, in science, in literature, and in every thing which tends to elevate, ennoble, and render man happy and useful.

"4. It is, therefore, the opinion of this committee, that judicious and persevering efforts should be made by all the friends of liberty to remove those unjust, cruel, and sinful laws and customs, which operate as great and formidable obstacles to the improvement of these oppressed and down-trodden people.

"From these considerations, this committee would respectfully recommend that there should go forth from this Convention an address to all the religious bodies of the United States, earnestly and affectionately entreating them to lay aside those unlovely and unchristian prejudices which have been so long entertained; to concede to their coloured brethren their equal social and religious rights, and to dwell together with them in harmony and love."

Mr. FULLER.—I beg to move the adoption of that report.

Rev. T. SWAN.—In seconding this resolution, allow me to say that I differ from a remark made to-day, that commerce is the great emancipator of the world. I admit that commerce occupies an important place; but I conceive that to Christianity must be traced the destruction of slavery; and, without under-valuing or disparaging the self-denying, arduous labours of those devoted philanthropists who have won to themselves immortal laurels in this great cause, it cannot be denied, that, for missionary instrumentality was reserved the honour of consummating the glorious act of emancipation; and, doubtless, Christianity, in the legitimate operation of its heavenly principles on the minds of men, will destroy slavery all over the world.

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—I have only a single word to offer, and that is, to suggest the omission of one word from the report. I mean the word "degraded." As far as my observation has extended, to call a man degraded is the way to make him degraded. Another reason for omitting it is, that the free people of colour in the United States are not a degraded people. They are depressed, they are oppressed; but they are an honourable people. During the last ten years, since the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed, there is not a class of people on the face of the earth who have improved their condition so much as the free people of colour in the United States. I could take you from city to city, and prove to you by your senses that there is far more intelligence, morality, piety, and comfort among the free people of colour, than there is among the whites who pursue the same employments.

Rev. J. W. WAYNE.—I have for many years held in peculiar esteem the free black population of America, and in drawing up the report I did not mean to express any thing like that suggested. With the consent of those who were associated with me on the committee, I will gladly withdraw the word.

The word was then struck out.

Mr. H. C. HOWELLS.—I am pleased that the word "degraded" was incorporated in this report, because it has elicited a most faithful testimony in favour of the coloured people. Nothing is more common than to hear them spoken of in America in the most contemptuous manner. In reply to my opponents, I have always taken this position, that there are in Pittsburgh 2,500 people of colour who stand as high in point of intellect, and of moral conduct, as the same number of the white population. With all their disadvantages pressing them down to the dust, there is a buoyancy raising them above every thing. There are among them men whom I love as my dearest kindred,—men who are imbued with the spirit of the gospel in no ordinary degree, and whose fidelity would make them ornaments to any station of life.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—There are 3,000 coloured people in Cincinnati,

the entire population is 50,000; and there was a time when there were more tee-totallers among the coloured people than among the entire remainder of the population. I never saw a coloured man intoxicated in the city of Cincinnati.

Professor WALKER.—I feel that I cannot, in justice to myself, or to the institution with which I am connected, Oberlin, or to the coloured people in that institution, allow this occasion to pass by without bearing my testimony, in addition to that which you have already heard, to the good conduct of the free people of colour in the United States. We have an institution that is literally open to the coloured man, free and bond, provided he will come and stay with us. We do not merely profess to open the institution to them, but I trust we actually do it. We have in our village only forty coloured men, but we wish that we had four hundred. We have some who are members of the college; some that are members of the proprietary college; and some who are in our primary schools of instruction for the coloured people; and I am happy to say that we have no better scholars than the coloured students, none upon whom we can with more confidence rely. On the first of August last, we had a celebration of the day. In accordance with the desire of the dean—the faculty, the students, and all the people of the village, amounting to 1,500, assembled in the chapel to engage in religious exercises, and to hear addresses from coloured students exclusively. The day passed off most admirably. The speakers showed themselves to be men of talent—nature's orators, and I was astonished—confounded. Before the commencement of the exercises, the president rose and remarked, in reference to the coloured people, that ever since his connexion with the institution, he could bear testimony that there was no class of students whom he had found so uniformly correct in their deportment. So far from giving us more trouble than the whites, they give us a great deal less, and that is saying much on their behalf. They are highly respectful in their behaviour. We have been told a thousand times, that if you treat coloured men well, they will be so impudent and saucy, that you can do nothing with them; but we have not found this to be the case. The only fault of which I have to complain is, that they do not stand up as they ought to defend their rights. The fact is, that our prejudice against them is so strong, that we do not do them justice, notwithstanding our wishes to do it; and they will bear anything, rather than show the least disposition to find fault or be dissatisfied. I heard the statement made as to the progress of the anti-slavery cause in literary institutions, and I heard it with great pleasure, but still there must be some deductions While some do admit coloured men, yet such is the arrangement, that they cannot stay in them. It is not so with us. I have never seen any difference made either there, or at the boarding-houses, where they sit at the same table. To show the discipline with respect to coloured men, I will state a fact. Before I left, I had the pleasure of being one of a committee to investigate a charge against one of the students of having called a coloured man "a black nigger." He was the son of a respectable gentleman, he was a very consequential young man, and from time to time had been guilty of disgraceful conduct towards the coloured people. For this offence we expelled him, and that without any hesitation whatever. There is another way of keeping the coloured and the white students together. Discipline must be rigid; and it must be seen at all times that they are regarded as equal in all respects. We have established, within a few weeks, a primary school for coloured people exclusively. And why? For this reason. We found there twenty fugitive slaves—adults from twenty to forty years of age—who could not read, and who had not the slightest knowledge of anything appertaining to letters. At first, we put them with the children learning to read, but we found it inexpedient and inconvenient for both parties, because instruction for children three or four years of age

was not adapted to adults, and it was therefore suggested to establish an independent school. A school-house was purchased in a central locality, and I trust that in all future time it will be the place where the fugitive slave will take his first lessons.

Rev. H. WILSON.—I am happy to bear my testimony in favour of the free coloured population of the United States. I have become somewhat familiar with them from the fact that my labours in Canada, and the duties pertaining to my situation, have led me to make excursions to the United States, and to mingle with my coloured brethren. I have had the pleasure of conversing with them in Cincinnati, in Pittsburgh, in New York, in Boston, and various other places; and indeed, I laboured among them as a teacher when at Lane Seminary, before I went to Canada. I have been in their schools during the week and on the sabbath-day, and so far as I have had an opportunity of observing them, I feel clear in stating, that circumstances being equal, they are not comparatively inferior to the white people. It is true that I have known things set down to their disadvantage, but it is very difficult for us to appreciate their condition, their disabilities, and the evils under which they labour. There is so much said against them, there is so much of prejudice lowering upon them, that it is calculated to cast a damp on their spirits and to discourage them. The fact, that so many are standing with their heads erect in spite of that prejudice, and are maintaining the high ground they occupy, is very much in their favour. I know a coloured man, in the state of New York, who has been employed by the New York Anti-Slavery Society as a public lecturer; and from information I have received, it appears that he was one of the most popular lecturers they had in the field. He is jet black—of unmixed African blood. I mention this, because it is sometimes said, that, by virtue of a little European blood flowing in their veins, they are the brighter, the more talented. But this man is so distinguished, so renowned for his virtues, his intelligence, and his talents, that he has been installed as the pastor of a white congregation—a Presbyterian church in New York, for nearly three years. I adduce this as a rare instance; I know of no other in which a coloured man has become pastor of a white congregation since the days of Samuel Haynes. I have known others whose names would do honour to the platform of a World's Convention. It may not be assuming too much to say, that our American delegation to this Convention, is not more highly honoured by any of its members than by the coloured gentleman (Mr. Pennington) from the state of Connecticut. He is a living witness of the truth of what I say. The coloured population of the United States are so vilified, there is such a cloud of prejudice resting upon them, that it is matter of astonishment that there is so much intelligence, worth, and respectability amongst them as there actually is. I am not, however, disposed to over-estimate the character and the morals of the coloured population of the United States. In order to give a fair representation of them, we must naturally consider the dark as well as the bright side of the picture. It is true they have their full representation of immorality and of degradation. But when I say this, I say no more against them than I do against the white inhabitants: for they have their full representation also; and perhaps the clearest testimony of it is, that spirit which would treat with scorn the man of colour on account of his complexion. I apprehend that there is no moral degradation to be found in the wide universe, that is more odious in the estimation of Heaven, and more intolerable, than that of heaping scorn and abuse upon those of darker hue than ourselves. I repeat, that they are not a whit inferior to us; and that as regards their usefulness, there are none more so in proportion to their numbers.

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—My worthy friend has referred to an individual taken from us—I mean the individual called to officiate in a white

church—Samuel Ward, in Wyane county, New York. Ten years ago, when I was about to remove from Long Island to New Haven, it was my pleasure to place him in a situation as school-teacher. He was then, in the city of New York, crier to the *Emancipator*, and I have to complain that our white friends have taken him away from us; but we will spare him for the present, as we hope to be all united before long. I can bear full testimony to his worthy character and noble talents. With regard to this report, I hope it will be adopted. It will do us good, because, first, it will encourage the coloured people to go on; secondly, because it will encourage the friends of abolition, and it will rebuke our opposers. The facts which have been presented before the Convention, have been calculated to show, that the intellect of the coloured man in the United States has been and is, put to the test. I recollect an unkind remark of the president of a college in the United States, some years ago. His object was to show that the intellect of the coloured man, as proved by the facts of the case, was not equal to that of the white man. He remarked, if you take a quarter of a pound of powder, and confine it under the city hall in New York city, I do not care how close you confine it, if you put fire to it, it will make its way out, and if it cannot do it by any other means, it will raise the hall. His inference was this: if coloured people are of equal intellect, no matter what you heap upon them, they will rise. How unkind! I never made a vow but once in my life, and that was the time. I vowed that, if President Smith would take his presidential chair, place it on my head, and sit in it, I would see if I could not rise notwithstanding. I meant to rise from that time, and I have been making an effort to do it. I believe the facts show that the coloured people are rising. I laid facts before you, proving that they are doing so in Washington. Our intellect is being brought to the test, and we mean to rise. But this is not all; we have attempted to show you that our piety is also brought to the test. Every professing Christian who has a coloured skin has his piety brought to the test; it is the case with me at every step when I am at home. If I meet my white brother minister in the street he blushes to own me; meet him in our deliberative bodies, he gives me the go-by; meet him at the communion table, and he looks at me sideways. Thus my piety is brought to the test. Under all these circumstances, we find that the grace of God is the only thing that can sustain us. If you see a coloured man in the United States educated in any degree, he has obtained that measure of education, step by step, through opposition, under frowns, through trials, through poverty, through scorn. Of course I except those dear friends that do aid us as abolitionists. In regard to what has been said with reference to religious bodies, I believe there was a question put out by the London committee to this effect: Which of the various denominations have done most to encourage slavery, and which have borne the strongest testimony against it? I am inclined to think that the statements which have been made here have borne rather too hard on the Friends. There is a difficulty on both sides. Every one acquainted with the policy of the Friends will know that there is a difficulty on their side. But there is also a difficulty on the side of the coloured people with regard to the religion of the Friends. I may make this statement in good faith, because in my younger days I did try to be a Quaker. I lived in Pennsylvania, and met with some excellent Friends, with whom I resided many years, and attended their meeting, and was very much pleased with every thing. But I found there was a difficulty. My nature was sensitive, and I wanted to hear singing. Sometimes I went and wanted to hear preaching, but I was disappointed, and the consequence was, I made up my mind that I could not be a Quaker. But I make this statement in good faith, and as a standard statement. I believe this will apply to the coloured people as a whole; perhaps nine-tenths would meet with the same difficulty. So far as the general objects

of humanity are concerned, we fully appreciate the labours and kindness of Friends; but when we come to form our religious connexions, the religion of the Friends, their mode of worship, does not exactly suit us. This explanation will show that there is a difficulty on the part of the coloured people; the fact, that but few coloured people have formed a religious connexion with the Friends ought not to be made to bear against the latter.

Mr. FULLER.—I generally object to hear what may be called written speeches, but I possess rather an extraordinary document, drawn up by a coloured woman, and as it bears upon the question, I beg to read it. I have seen this woman in Canada, where she is a teacher in a Sunday school.

"In memory of Mrs. Louisa Myers, who departed this life, at St. Catherine's, on the 24th March, 1840, aged 24 years 11 months.

"It was on a cold and dreary night in March, when all around was still—for it was the time for sleep—but suddenly a voice, borne along upon the wings of the wind, was heard to say to one of Earth's beloved ones,—'Child, 'tis done; thy Father calls for thee.' A wife,—a daughter,—the mother of a helpless bud, of a few months' blooming, was sent for—it was LOUISA; for she had long lingered by the side of Jordan's stream. Still, perhaps, her free spirit hovers round, to beckon one word to those fathers and mothers in Israel who have ofttimes poured forth their tears upon the holy altar, for that pure spark of love which now glows within her breast. But that spirit is viewed no more by mortal eyes, to cheer the heart of a beloved mother; nor can she by her smiles soothe the breast of a mourning husband. The babe, which was her constant care, weeps, but no fond mother's hand is near, to wipe the tear that trickles down its little cheek. She once filled her seat in this little Bethel, as a mourner; but she has left her name, as an heir redeemed by Jesus' love. Long had she sought the Lord, sorrowing; at length, faith laid hold of Heaven's richest treasure, and Jesus unveiled his loveliness in such fulness, that she was made a happy witness of the balm in Gilead, and that there is a physician there. She could tell of the earthly casket which sin had, in a measure, despoiled; and how the ever-flowing tide had cleansed, and purified, and made it a fit temple for the Holy Spirit. Ah! thought Louisa, how great the change; and greater still was that change when the curtain of time fell, and that of eternity rises, and Louisa, disrobed of her earthly mantle, enters. With trembling steps she approaches the brilliant throne, and then receives the glittering harp. She strikes! Hark! Each note vibrates more full and flowing. Age after age will soon pass by, and another curtain rises; the blaze of glory increases, until she, no longer trembling, but strikes with bold hand the instrument. Pure as the melting light which shrouds the Maker, she basks beneath his smiles; possessed of knowledge,—deep, boundless,—she penetrates the heart of Deity. She looks back over the circles of eternity, and sees, in the distance, the few fleet moments of time spent in the service of her Saviour while on earth. She pauses, and then asks, 'How came I here, a sister spirit?' Within the lofty battlements, she points to the crimson tide; the bleeding Lamb; tells how once he groaned and died for sinners, even for her; and what adds to Louisa's cup of joy, is, that no beclouded sun will ever rise to hide her Jesus from her eyes. Her song will still go on, and the same thrilling note which will occupy her harp and tongue for ages yet to come, will still be borne along on the heavenly breezes; and as she wends her way still farther into infinity, the bereaved husband, lingering on the immortal shores, stretches his feeble vision, but beholds her not. She is lost, lost in the boundless ocean of her Father's love."

Mr. HOWELLS.—A number of slaves from different parts of the United States have passed through my hands, and the uniform testimony they bear is this, that wherever they see a Quaker they see a friend who will help them in all their difficulties. It is a well-known fact, that two or three instances have occurred where men of the most degraded character have assumed the costume of Friends in order to kidnap slaves.

Dr. LUSHINGTON.—I am willing briefly to bear my testimony, as far as I have had an opportunity of forming an opinion by experience, that the coloured races as well as the pure black, possess, by the blessing of Providence, the same talents and the same capability of cultivating them as have been given to those of a different complexion. I have had some experience with respect to the schools in the West Indies; for it has fallen to my lot to be a trustee for a large institution, having no less, at one time, than 100 masters employed in various parts of those islands and in the Mauritius, whose principal or almost exclusive business it was to attend to the education of the coloured and black population. I have, from time to time, during the space of now nine years, whenever a master has returned from either of those parts, unaffectedly and conscientiously put to him the question, "Have you in the course of your experience found any real distinction or difference in point of talent, or ability, or capacity, between the white man, the black man, and the brown?"—and I never met with a single exception to the following answer, "Put them in the same state and condition, as to the means of learning, and the one will be fully equal to the other." Now, these are most cheering circumstances, and the recollection of these facts ought to be borne in mind, for many reasons. First, as a strong ground of encouragement to persist in obtaining the emancipation of the whole of that race which God has placed upon a level with ourselves; secondly, in order to show that the false pretence under which the guilt of holding people in slavery was formerly palliated, was destitute of foundation; viz., that we were keeping in bondage those inferior in talent and in understanding, and, therefore, doomed by Providence to the hard fate to which white men compelled them to submit. I am old enough to remember the day when, in the House of Commons, the assertion was made that you were not keeping your fellow-men in bondage, but keeping in necessary subjection those that were formed for inferior employments, for the purpose of becoming "hewers of wood and drawers of water." In many instances have I seen and known, even under circumstances in which it would have been supposed impossible, that the black race have achieved for themselves independence, and some degree of knowledge. One case occurred in Sierra Leone. Two individuals were taken from a slave ship, captured off the coast of Africa. They were savages in the true sense of the word; for they had neither been taught their duty to God nor to man, and yet in the space of a very few years, they not only acquired knowledge sufficient to enable them to pass as creditable citizens in Sierra Leone, but they obtained wealth and independence, and sent their children, at a very considerable expense, to be educated in this country. Many instances might be pointed out of similar improvement in this race. A remarkable circumstance took place three or four years ago, under the aid and guidance of the Wesleyans. About one hundred and fifty persons, originally African slaves, learned to read and write, and the then Governor of Sierra Leone stated that they had all acquired some independence. Smitten with a desire to see their own country, they applied to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, then Secretary for the Colonies, for a vessel to convey them to their point of destination. The facts are singular; but they are true, and they passed under my knowledge. Lord JOHN RUSSELL desired me to inquire as to the characters and attainments of these persons, and to find out, if I could, what was the

degree of danger or security in which they might be placed, if they went to the spot they had chosen. I had much difficulty in finding any individual acquainted with the place they selected. It was one in which the slave-trade was carried on to the greatest possible extent, and from all the information I could procure, it was considered dangerous to attempt the experiment; but they knew more about the locality than any one of whom I could procure information, and they had the courage,—men who had been slaves,—to hire a vessel to transport them back to Badagry, where they have for three or four years continued in safety and peace, conciliating the affections of all around. At this present moment, the Wesleyans have doubled the missionaries they originally sent. Now, see what an example this may prove. From small seeds, by the blessing of Providence, a great harvest may arise. If these persons are permitted, in that slave country, to carry on their agricultural and commercial pursuits in peace and safety, be assured that it will produce the most beneficial effects upon the natives by whom they are surrounded, and that in time to come those very missionaries who have accompanied them will spread their influence throughout that country; and if once that takes place and the people there become truly Christian, it will be impossible, with the knowledge they will possess, to continue slavery. From the last information I received, it was expected, by one of those who had charge of the mission, that by this time there would be a mission established at a place where a white man dared not before set his foot. This is a great and interesting question with regard to the people of colour, because it shows to what the dreadful system of slavery had led. Within thirty years of the time at which I am now speaking, there actually existed in Jamaica a law which prohibited a man giving to his own natural child, if he were a person of colour, and that colour discernible to a practised West Indian eye, beyond a certain sum of money for his maintenance. Thus was the law of man made to step in between those feelings which God has given to a parent for the protection of his child and their exercise. I believe I was the first who brought this circumstance before the House of Commons. I remember that when I made my statement with respect to the condition of the people of colour throughout the West Indies, George Canning listened with astonishment. A member for the county of Surrey happened to be a gentleman from the West Indies, and he rose and said that he would contradict what I had stated. When he sat down, Mr. Canning turned round to him and observed, "You have contradicted nothing,—you have admitted the facts, and attempted to justify that which no other human being dare justify." From that hour Mr. Canning was always our friend, and was anxious to give his aid and assistance in the protection of that race. But see what they are now. Sooner or later they will be the inhabitants of all the West Indian colonies; and is it not an object of the greatest importance,—not only with respect to England, but to the United States, and to every spot on the face of the globe where there is a living man, black or white,—that when emancipation is proceeding, as it must, and will proceed, you should raise the standard of all to one and the same level,—that standard which God has given all the power to attain? They may be sunk in their apparent comparative condition with others—they may be degraded, because the more you attempt to sink them, the more they become the victims of vice and crime; but if such be their calamitous situations, the consequences must and will fall upon society at large. Never let injustice exist any where. Never was there an instance yet throughout this world in which an attempt was made to cross natural rights, the inevitable consequences of which were not—that in the end, the tyrant was most severely punished. I wish heartily that this discussion, when it goes forth to the world, should have a double effect. I wish that in every place where slavery still

continues it may make the oppressor tremble; and that in every place where it has been removed, all who cherish an absurd feeling of superiority, arising from the colour of their skin, may become ashamed of themselves; and that the old adage of 2,000 years' date may be felt to be a true one, "Virtue constitutes the soul of man."

Mr. BLAIR.—There is a clergyman of the church of England present, as a visitor, who has passed many years in South Africa, whose prospects in life have been materially injured by his constant exertions for the relief of the oppressed natives, and whom I think the Convention would be happy to hear.

Rev. Dr. WRIGHT.—I went out to Africa originally as a missionary, under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. One of the first objects to which my attention was directed was the education of the negro. At that time he was every thing but degraded,—he was oppressed,—he was kept down, crushed, and cruelly treated; above all, every obstacle was thrown in the way of his moral improvement. One of the principal things that struck me on visiting the native schools, or establishing them where they had not before existed, was the equality in point of mind between the African, whether Hottentot or Bushman, and ourselves. I had the pleasure of witnessing while there, a great improvement in the condition of the negro. I saw many of the restrictions under which they had been placed gradually removed. I saw the chains struck off the liberated African, and I beheld that same individual rising in intellect and morals, and practising all the social virtues of the father, the husband, and the citizen, and that to such a degree that he might be safely held up as an example in a civilized country. I saw a passion for literature gradually increasing. They subscribed for the journals, and were anxious for information upon general, political, and religious subjects. They founded churches, supported ministers, and were desirous of classical attainments. It is now so many years since I had the pleasure of living among them, that I regret I cannot bring down their history to the present day; but, having continued to watch their progress with no slight degree of interest since my return to Europe, I am perfectly satisfied, from what I have both seen and heard, that the black man only wants the same opportunities which the white man enjoys, in order to raise himself to the highest degree to which intellect can conduct him.

Mr. L. TAPPAN.—I wish to mention a single case that occurred in the city of New York, in order to corroborate the remarks made this afternoon. There is a coloured woman living in that city, with whom I am well acquainted, who established the first Sunday school in it. She was a member of the church of the late Dr. Mason, a gentleman well known in both hemispheres. She established that Sunday school, by her personal efforts, for the education of children, both white and coloured; and it was the foundation of all the Sunday schools that exist in and adorn that city. I will say furthermore, that the influence which the conduct of that woman had upon that eminent minister was such, that when upon a certain occasion he was solicited by his elders to refuse permission to the coloured people to take the communion till after the whites had received the elements, he rebuked them so far as to invite some aged coloured people to come near him, and with his own hands he handed them the bread and the cup, before a single white person partook of them. Kitty Ferguson has taken out of the almshouse 40 children, and educated them at her own expense—a large number of them being white children. She has educated and placed in respectable stations in life both white and coloured orphan children, and children put into the almshouse without either of their parents being known. This woman is now living, a highly respectable and worthy

member of the church of Christ,—an honour to human nature, and to the city of New York; a woman who affords great encouragement to the abolitionists of America, by demonstrating the capacity of the coloured people, and the moral excellency to which they may attain. I am reminded of the case of another coloured woman, in the same city,—a woman well known to myself and to many of my associates here as delegates. She has paid from her own earnings no less a sum than 3,000 dollars to reclaim persons from slavery in the United States. I will mention one instance. There was a young woman in South Carolina personally known to her, and whom she wished to redeem from slavery. She went to the city of Baltimore, selected from a stand the newest coach, proceeded to South Carolina, purchased this young woman, and returned to Pennsylvania. From the appearance of the equipage, it was supposed that she belonged to some family who had sent her there to convey this woman, and serve as her protection for a distance of 700 or 800 miles. She paid the driver a sum equal to a sovereign a day, for the services he performed on that journey. Her name is Hester Lane. A distinguished jurist in the United States, who had conversed with her, told me that he hardly knew a woman of more intelligence. Dr. James M'Cune Smith, a coloured man, in New York, took his degree in medicine at the university of Glasgow, and obtained one of the first, if not the first, prize, among 500 students, when he left that seminary. He is a man of superior education, of rare eloquence, and is highly esteemed and respected in the city. I must bear my testimony, in the most decided manner, not only to the excellency of the free people of colour, whom I have had an opportunity of knowing in New York and the United States, but to their general good conduct, their religious character, and the equality of their capacity, in every point of view, with that of other men.

Mr. BUFFAM.—I will mention one case to show the power of the coloured people to devise and execute plans when necessary. A free coloured man went to the state of Virginia, and there he married a female slave that was so white, that no person would have suspected her of having any African blood in her. After marrying her he returned to the city of Philadelphia, and there he purchased several suits of clothing, such as are worn by ladies. With these he returned to Virginia, and caused his wife to be dressed in some of these fine clothes; they left her master's house in the night, and the next morning went to the coach office, the wife professing herself to be a traveller, and having with her, her servant or slave; she took a passage for both to Philadelphia, where they arrived in safety. From thence they proceeded to Canada, where they found, under the sceptre of Queen Victoria, that protection of their just and inalienable rights which was denied them in their native land.

The CHAIRMAN.—Dr. Lushington informs me that Lord John Russell appointed a black man chief judge at Sierra Leone.

The resolution was then put and carried.

Mr. SCOBLE introduced to the Convention a black man, named Moses Grandy, who had been a slave in North Carolina, and had purchased his freedom three times over at an expense of 1,800 dollars.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE BY THE BEY OF TUNIS.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I have a short report to present on a very interesting subject; one that has very much engaged the attention of the abolitionists of this country, and is calculated to produce a very powerful effect on those nations in which slavery still continues to exist. It has reference to

TUNIS.

"On the 29th of April, 1841, Sir Thomas Reade, the British Consul at Tunis,

having had a favourable opportunity presented to him of bringing under the attention of his Highness, the Bashaw Bey, the subject of the slave-trade, and the facilities hitherto afforded at that Regency for the transport of slaves to other parts of the Turkish Empire; and having assured him, that it would be truly gratifying both to the Government and people of Great Britain, if he could devise means for checking it; his Highness, who had listened most attentively to the suggestions of the Consul, replied, 'I will immediately comply with your wishes, and do everything in my power to put a stop, not only to the exportation of slaves, but to slavery altogether.'

"Two hours after this important interview, the Bey transmitted to Sir THOMAS READE the following interesting document:

THE BEY OF TUNIS TO SIR THOMAS READE.

"'On the part of the servant of God, AHMED BASSA BEY, Prince of the Government of Tunis, to our ally Sir THOMAS READE, her Britannic Majesty's Consul-general at Tunis.

"'After the conversation we have had on the subject of the shipment of negro slaves for purposes of commerce, we must acquaint you, O friend, that the sacred principles of creation are repugnant to it, and our heart throbs with pity whenever we hear mention made of it.

"'As for ourselves individually, we have not a single slave, according to the law relative to the servitude of slaves, who are purchased and sold as if they were animals, because in our religion the restrictions on the subject are so severe that it is very difficult to preserve the conditions.

"'We are of the number of those who admire the opinions of the English Government relative to this subject; and ours are in accordance with those of our friend, the perfect, the politician, and minister, Lord PALMERSTON; and I look upon them as an effect of his perfection, and the goodness of his principles.

"'We, therefore, from the present time, prohibit the exportation of slaves from our regency for the purposes of commerce.

"'We will direct our attention to the means of enfeebling this commerce to the utmost limits of our efforts, and pray God to extirpate it from the world.

"'We trust that God, who created us and them, and who bestowed the gift of judgment upon all, will reward us for it. We desire you will communicate to our friend, the above-named minister, the contents of this letter.

"'Continue in the belief of God.

"'*Written on the 9th of Rabih*, 1257.
"'(*29th of April*, 1841.)'

"In a despatch dated the 12th of May, 1841, Sir THOMAS READE conveyed the following information to Lord PALMERSTON:—

"'Since my despatch of the 30th ultimo,' he observes, 'I have had a conversation with the Chevalier Raffo, and he has assured me that the Bey, according to his promise, has already issued strict orders prohibiting the exportation of slaves from his dominions, and that his Highness has liberated the whole of the slaves of his own establishment. The Chevalier remarked to me, 'That this is only the beginning of the affair: you will see that his Highness will keep his word faithfully; and that, if he had it in his power, he would at once liberate every slave in the regency. But unfortunately he is not rich enough to do so. He is determined, however, to put an end to the slave-trade.'

"In carrying his noble and just intentions into effect, the Bashaw had to encounter enormous difficulties; but having entered upon the work, he was

determined to persevere. The following communication to Sir THOMAS READE, for the information of the British Government, states the gratifying fact of the abolition of the slave-markets at Tunis :—

THE BEY OF TUNIS TO SIR THOMAS READE.

"'On the part of God's servant, AHMED BASSA BEY, &c. &c. &c., to our ally SIR THOMAS READE, Consul-general of the English Government at Tunis.

"'You are aware how painful the trade in the human species was to us, and how contrary it was to our feelings; our pity for the poor slaves has not ceased to excite our solicitude towards weakening that trade, and reducing its weight. We have thought proper to abolish their sale in the market, where the public crier disposed of them as of cattle, in Tunis our capital, as well as throughout the regency.

"'We have ceased to levy the duty which accrued to us on their sale, and have expunged it out of the revenues of our Government.

"'We have written to that effect to all parties in the regency. God knows the state of these poor people when the public crier exposed them for sale in the market!—and that for the sole object of deducting the fixed duties upon their sale, although such a revenue ought to be despised by persons of humane sentiments.

"'This portion of the human species ought nevertheless to enjoy a greater degree of consideration than other animals! The present shall be, God willing, an occasion for raising them above their unhappy condition of slaves, in all such cases as shall occasion no loss to the capital of their owners; and in a short time the measure shall be complete by the abolition of this species of property throughout the whole of our regency. In the mean time our prohibition of their sale, our sympathy for their condition, and their relief from slavery, will, with God's assistance, further our views. We have acquainted you only with these news, knowing that your feelings accord with ours on the subject.

"'Continue in the belief of God.

"'12 *Regeb*, 1257.
"'(*6th September*, 1841.)'

"The buildings in which the nefarious traffic was carried on at Tunis were destroyed. The effect of this proceeding is thus described by Her Majesty's Consul:—

"'It is very difficult to describe the sensation which the destruction of the slave market has created in Tunis. The poor slaves are almost frantic with joy: and, although their proprietors seem disposed to remonstrate with, or in some manner oppose, the Bey, I feel no doubt whatever, from my knowledge of his Highness's firm character, that he will overcome these remonstrances and opposition without much difficulty.'

"On the presentation of an address of congratulation from the Anglo-Maltese Anti-Slavery Society, and of a letter from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, expressing their satisfaction at the steps which his Highness had taken towards the suppression of the slave-trade, and trusting that he would follow them up by the abolition of slavery itself,—he observed, 'I began with pleasure the abolition of slavery, and I will not cease to prosecute the great work of emancipation until I have completely extirpated slavery from my dominions.' And this promise he is determined to keep, and, as a first step towards it, issued a decree, declaring that all 'Negroes, born after the 8th December, 1842, shall be free, and be considered and treated as any other Mussulmans.' This decree is regarded at Tunis as the *coup-de-grâce*

to slavery, especially as not only the Bey, but all his ministers have set the noble example of the voluntary emancipation of all their personal slaves, which it is expected will be generally followed. It may be added, that the attempts made to introduce slaves into the regency since the 6th September, 1841, have failed; and that all persons coming into the regency, whatever might be their previous condition, are declared to be free."

Many interesting statements might be made in connexion with this subject. Suffice it to say, that the Bey is in the prime of life; that he is animated by noble sentiments, and is determined to co-operate with the abolitionists of this country in the accomplishment of the great object they have in view. I trust that as an encouragement to the princes and chiefs in all parts of Africa, to adopt a similar measure, the Convention, before it separates, will vote an address to the Bey of Tunis, testifying its high satisfaction that a Mohammedan prince has acted out the principles of the abolitionists, both of this country and of America. If the deputation from France had been here, I should have called their attention to the fact, that though France has taken Algiers, yet it allows the continuance of slavery in that part of the world.

Mr. WILLIAM BALL.—I rise to move

"That this Convention has learned with sincere satisfaction the noble conduct of his Highness the Bashaw, Bey of Tunis, in abolishing slavery and the slave-trade in his dominions; and that a Committee be appointed to draft an address to his Highness expressive of that satisfaction."

Mr. PETER CLARE having seconded the resolution, it was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. L. TAPPAN.—I hope that when the committee draw up the address, they will direct the attention of all Christian countries to that noble example.

A committee, consisting of the following delegates, was then appointed:—Messrs. Lewis Tappan, J. W. Wayne, Joseph Sams, and Thomas Swan.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN URUGUAY.

Mr. SCOBLE —I have now to introduce a short paper, which will show that the Oriental Republic of Uruguay have done that which it is believed is tantamount to the abolition of slavery.

"The decree for the abolition of slavery in this republic was issued on the 12th of December, 1842, and is as follows:—

"The Senate and Chamber of Representatives of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, united in general assembly, considering

"That since the year 1814, those born in the territory of the republic should not be reputed slaves;

"That since July of 1830, there should not have been any slaves brought into it;

"That amongst those who exist, therefore, with this denomination, there are very few of either sex who should be considered as such, and these have in part compensated their value by the services they have rendered;

"That in no case is the recognition more urgent of the rights which these individuals hold by nature, by the constitution, and by the enlightened opinions of the present age, than in the actual circumstances in which the Republic requires free men to defend the liberties and the independence of the nation; decree:

"Article I.—From and after the promulgation of the present resolution, there are no longer any slaves in the whole territory of the Republic.

" Article II.—The Government will appoint the able-bodied men who have been slaves, colonists, or wards, whatever may be their denomination, to the service of arms, for such time as it shall consider necessary.

" Article III.—Those who are unfit for military service, and women, shall remain as pupils in the service of their masters, subject for the present to the constitutional law in regard to pupils or African colonists.

" Article IV.—Those rights which may be considered to be prejudiced by the present resolution shall be indemnified by posterior laws.

" Article V.—To be communicated to the Executive Government for its fulfilment.

(Signed) " Manuel B. Bustamente,
Second Vice-President.

" Juan Antonio Lavandera, Secretary.

" *Hall of Sessions, Monte Video, Dec.* 12, 1842.

" The Monte-Video papers, which brought the intelligence of the abolition of slavery in Uruguay, state, that the day after the promulgation of the decree, notes were delivered by the Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires, the Consul-general of Portugal, and the Consul of France, containing formal protests against the measure—on what grounds, however, does not appear. A note was also presented by the British Consul, containing expressions of congratulation and approbation of the measure. Fettered, however, as the act is, and dependent as its *bonâ fide* execution must be, on the chances of war, and the honour of the executive authority, we must wait the *denouement* of the present state of affairs, before we can determine whether the slave population will be free in fact, as it is now supposed they are in law."

Mr. SCOBLE moved,

" That the report in reference to Uruguay be entered on the proceedings of the Convention."

Mr. SAMS seconded the resolution, which was then put and agreed to.

PROGRESS OF TREATIES WITH FOREIGN POWERS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. SCOBLE.—The paper on this subject contains a large amount of information condensed into a small compass.

" With a view to condensation, the following tabular statement will show the periods when the principal states of Europe and America formally abolished the slave-trade, and entered into treaties with Great Britain to co-operate with her for the accomplishment of this object; as also when the mutual Right of Search and Equipment article (by which vessels fitted for slave-trade might be seized), were agreed to.

TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS OF VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA, WITH GREAT BRITAIN, FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Countries.	Period of Abolition.	Date of Treaties and Conventions.	Right of Search, when Conceded.	Equipment Article—when Agreed to.
Denmark . .	16 Mar. 1792	14 July, 1814		
		26 July, 1834	26 July, 1834	26 July, 1834
Great Britain	25 Mar. 1807			
United States	2 Mar. 1807			
Sweden . . .	3 Mar. 1813	3 Mar. 1813		
		6 Nov. 1824	6 Nov. 1824	6 Nov. 1824
		15 June, 1835		
Netherlands..	15 Jan. 1814	4 May, 1818	4 May, 1818	
		31 Dec. 1822		
		25 Jan. 1823		25 Jan. 1823
France . . .	30 July, 1815	30 Nov. 1831	30 Nov. 1831	
		22 Mar. 1833		22 Mar. 1833
		20 Dec. 1841		
Spain	30 May, 1820	28 Aug. 1814		
		23 Sept. 1817		
		10 Dec. 1822		
		28 June, 1835	28 June, 1835	28 June, 1835
Buenos Ayres	15 Nov. 1824	28 Feb. 1825		
		24 May, 1839	24 May, 1839	24 May, 1839
Columbia . .	18 April, 1825	18 April, 1825		
Mexico . . .	26 Dec. 1826	26 Dec. 1826		
		24 Feb. 1841	24 Feb. 1841	24 Feb. 1841
Brazil	23 Nov. 1829	23 Nov. 1826	23 Nov. 1826	
		27 July, 1835		27 July, 1835
		27 May, 1839		
Sardinia . . .	8 Aug. 1834	8 Aug. 1834	8 Aug. 1834	8 Aug. 1834
Portugal. . .	17 Dec. 1836	19 Feb. 1810		
		22 Jan. 1815		
		28 July, 1817	28 July, 1817	
		11 Sept. 1817		
		15 Mar. 1823		
Hanse Towns	9 June, 1837	9 June, 1837	9 June, 1837	9 June, 1837
Tuscany . . .	24 Nov. 1837	24 Nov. 1837	24 Nov. 1837	24 Nov. 1837
Bolivia . . .	5 June, 1837	25 Sept. 1840	25 Sept. 1840	25 Sept. 1840
Peru	5 June, 1837	5 June, 1837		
Naples . . .	23 Dec. 1838	14 Feb. 1838	14 Feb. 1838	14 Feb. 1838
Hayti	23 Dec. 1839	23 Dec. 1839	23 Dec. 1839	23 Dec. 1839
Venezuela . .	15 Mar. 1839	15 Mar. 1839	15 Mar. 1839	15 Mar. 1839
Chili	9 July, 1839	19 Jan. 1839	9 July, 1839	9 July, 1839
		7 Aug. 1841		
Uruguay . .	13 July, 1839	13 July, 1839	13 July, 1839	13 July, 1839
Texas	16 Nov. 1840	16 Nov. 1840	16 Nov. 1840	16 Nov. 1840
Austria . . .	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841
Prussia . . .	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841
Russia	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841

"GREAT BRITAIN.—On the 11th July, 1788, an act regulating the slave-trade was passed, after much opposition, in the House of Lords. Another act was passed the 23rd of May, 1806, (46 Geo. III., c. 52,) for preventing the introduction of slaves into the British colonies or territories abroad. This was followed by the 'Act for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade,' (47 Geo. III., c. 36,) which enacted, 'that from and after the 1st day of May, 1807, the African slave-trade, and all manner of dealing and trading in the purchase, sale, barter, or transfer of slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, practised and carried on in, at, to, or from any part of the coast or countries of Africa, should be utterly abolished and unlawful,' &c. On the 14th May, 1811, another act (51 Geo. III., c. 23,) was passed, which made slave-trading felony. Other acts, in explanation and confirmation, passed, such as 53 Geo. III., c. 92; 58 Geo. III., c. 49; and 58 Geo. III., c. 98. In 1819, on the 12th July of that year, another act (59 Geo. III., c. 70,) was passed to prevent the illicit importation of slaves into the colonies, by establishing a general registry of slaves in the islands, which registry should constitute the title of an owner to a slave. On the 31st of March, 1824, an act (5 Geo. IV., c. 17,) was passed, which declared, that any British subject concerned in carrying away from any place, or bringing into any place, any person as a slave, should be adjudged guilty of piracy, felony, and robbery; and on being 'convicted thereof should suffer death, without benefit of clergy, and loss of lands, goods, and chattels, as pirates, felons, and robbers on the high seas ought to suffer.' (This punishment was subsequently modified, by 1 Vic., c. 91, to transportation; the term of piracy being still by law affixed to the crime.) In the same year, the 24th of June, 1824, the laws relative to the slave-trade were consolidated into one act, (5 Geo. IV., c. 113,) since which there has been no legislation on the subject.

"THE UNITED STATES —The first act to prohibit the slave-trade was passed in the year 1794. This act declared it illegal to fit out any vessel for the purpose of carrying on the trade. This was followed by the act of 1800, declaring it unlawful for any citizen to have any property in any vessel employed in the transportation of slaves from one country to another. And by an act passed in 1807, it was declared, that after the 1st January, 1808, it should not be lawful to bring into the United States any persons as slaves. In 1820, it was declared piracy, and worthy of death, for any citizen to be engaged in the slave-trade.

"By the 8th article of the treaty recently negotiated between this country and the United States, it is stipulated, that each of the contracting parties shall equip a squadron of vessels carrying in all not less than eighty guns, to enforce separately and respectively the laws of the two countries relative to the slave-trade. And by the 9th article it is agreed that the parties to the treaty will unite in all becoming representations and remonstrances with any and all powers, within whose dominions slave markets exist; and that they will urge upon all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets, and for ever.

"FRANCE.—The treaty of the 20th December, 1841, for the suppression of the slave-trade, negotiated by France and Great Britain with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, though ratified by the last four powers, has not yet been ratified by France, though signed by its accredited ambassador to this country; opposition to the right of search being the plea set up by the French Chambers, though that had been reciprocally granted under the treaties between Great Britain and France made in the years 1831 and 1833.

"SPAIN.—Under treaties with Spain, Great Britain has acquired the right of demanding the liberation of all slaves illictly introduced into the Spanish colonies since the year of its absolute prohibition by that power, which took place in 1820. It is understood that Great Britain has made the demand; but the precise issue of the negotiations is not yet known.

"COLUMBIA.—The treaty with Columbia for the suppression of the slave-trade was made in 1825, since which period it has been divided into three distinct states—viz., New Grenada, Venezuela, and Equator. Venezuela has concluded a treaty with Great Britain, and it is understood that New Grenada and Equator will follow the example.

"BRAZIL.—The laws of the Brazilian empire, as well as her treaties with Great Britain, forbid the illicit introduction of slaves into any part of her territories. Attempts have been made to repeal the laws which constitute slave-trading criminal, and guarantee the liberty of slaves clandestinely imported into Brazil. Against this gross violation of national justice and faith, the British government has earnestly protested; and will, no doubt, follow up the protest by a demand for the liberation of all slaves introduced in contravention of the laws of the empire and the treaties with this country.

"PORTUGAL.—The last slave-trade treaty made with Portugal was in 1823. Owing to various circumstances, she was not pressed to the fulfilment of her engagements until the early part of 1832, when negotiations were renewed on the part of Great Britain; but the Portuguese government eluded all attempts to bring them to a satisfactory conclusion, until December,1836, when the ministry issued a decree finally and entirely abolishing the slave-trade: no steps, however, were taken to give it effect. Remonstrances followed; the flag of Portugal still covered the slave-trade. So flagrant a breach of faith on the part of Portugal, determined the British government no longer to delay measures to compel, if it were necessary, that power to fulfil her obligations. A draft of a treaty was transmitted to Lisbon in July, 1838, containing stipulations absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of that purpose; and a categorical answer was required whether Portugal would sign the treaty or not. She declined. The British government then declared that if she persisted in that refusal she would secure the end contemplated by the 'separate article' of September, 1817, without her co-operation. She persisted in her refusal. A bill was then brought into the British parliament, which passed both houses, on the 24th August, 1839, authorising British cruisers to detain all Portuguese vessels supposed to be concerned in the slave-trade; and also authorising British vice-admiralty courts to condemn such vessels when found guilty of that act.

"This law was conditionally repealed during the last session of parliament, (1842,) it being understood that the Portuguese government had consented to the treaty proposed by this country, which of course included the 'equipment article,' as well as the mutual 'right of search.'

"PERU.—In 1837, a slave-trade treaty was made with the confederation of Peru-Bolivia. Subsequently to this period Peru and Bolivia have separated. With the latter republic, Great Britain has a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade. Peru, at present, refuses a treaty, alleging that the constitution of the country does not authorise treaties with any other states than those of America. The real cause of this refusal, however, will be found in the effort that is now making in Peru, to obtain once more the formal admission of slaves into the republic, under a legalised slave-trade. The government of this country, however, has remonstrated against these proceedings, and holds Peru bound by the Peru-Bolivian treaty of 1837, which engaged to prohibit the slave-trade in the most effectual manner by the most solemn laws.

"AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, and RUSSIA.—At the congress of Vienna, on the 8th February, 1815, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, conjointly with England, France, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden, issued a declaration that the 'trade is repugnant to the principles of humanity and of universal morality;' that 'the public voice in all civilised countries calls aloud for its prompt suppression;' that it was the wish of the sovereigns represented at that congress, 'to put an end to

a scourge which desolates Africa, degrades Europe, and afflicts humanity;' and that 'no proper means of accelerating that period are to be neglected.'

"At the congress of Verona, on the 28th November, 1822, held by the same powers, another declaration was issued, in which they stated that they continued firm in the principles and sentiments set forth in the declaration of 1815, respecting the slave-trade; and professed that they will 'eagerly enter into the examination of any measure compatible with their rights and the interests of their subjects, to produce the result which is the object of their common solicitude upon this subject.'

"Austria, Prussia, and Russia, were invited by Great Britain, as far back as 1814, to co-operate in the suppression of the slave-trade. In 1818 they were again applied to, when they severally expressed their willingness to make the slave-trade piracy, and to join in a common league to put it down by force, and by the consent of all civilized powers for that purpose, as soon as Portugal should have abolished it by law. In 1822 they expressed the same sentiments, and the obstacles having been removed out of the way, they have redeemed their engagements by the treaty of December, 1841, which they entered into jointly with, and at the solicitation of, Great Britain and France. By this treaty the five great powers of Europe extend the right of search from latitude 32° North to latitude 45° South, and from the longitude of the East coast of America to the 80th degree of longitude East of Greenwich; thus admitting a right of search through the Atlantic, and on the Eastern as well as Western coast of Africa. As in the Conventions with France, made in 1831 and 1833, the ships detained are to be tried by the tribunals of the country to which they belong. If found equipped for the slave-trade, they may be condemned and broken up, unless either of the governments should take them into its service. By this treaty also, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, unite with Great Britain in declaring the slave-trade to be piracy; and all maritime powers in Europe who have not yet concluded treaties in relation to this traffic are, under this treaty, to be invited to accede to it.

"The only maritime powers in Europe, with whom Great Britain has no treaties at present for the suppression of the slave-trade, are Greece, Belgium, and Hanover; but there is no doubt that they will shortly be induced to follow the example of the great powers of Europe in this matter. The only powers in North and South America who have not yet negotiated treaties for the same purpose, are the United States, New Grenada, Equator, and Peru. The three latter republics, it is believed, will soon accede to such treaties; and unless the resistance of the United States be overcome, she will stand alone in the Old and New world, as the only professedly Christian and civilized power which refuses to unite with others in a common league for the suppression of the slave-trade.

GENERAL REMARKS.

"The United States, Great Britain, the Brazils, Austria, Prussia, and other states, have declared the slave-trade to be piracy, and punishable according to the respective laws of those countries as such; and every civilized power, both in Europe and America, has pronounced it highly criminal and inhuman, and subject to penalties more or less severe. Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Netherlands, France, Spain, Buenos Ayres, (the Argentine Republic,) Mexico, Brazil, Sardinia, Portugal, the Hanse Towns, Tuscany, Bolivia, Naples, Hayti, Venezuela, Chili, Uruguay, Texas, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, have conceded the right of search. The same powers, with the exception of Portugal, have also agreed that vessels fitted out for the slave-trade may be captured, condemned, and broken up, except when specially provided that they shall be taken into the navy of such powers as they may be found to belong to. It

should be observed, however, that though the Brazilian plenipotentiaries have agreed to the equipment article, and the breaking up of vessels condemned for slave-trading, these articles have not yet been ratified by the legislature. The limits within which the right of search can be legally exercised are also less with other powers than with Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

AFRICA.

"Agreements stipulating the entire suppression of the slave-trade on the part of African Chiefs, and on that of their subjects, have been concluded, viz:—

February 13, 1841,	with the	Chief of the Timmanees.
April 8, 1841,	,,	Chiefs of the Bonny.
April 23, 1841,	,,	King of Cartebar.
May 7, 1841,	,,	Chiefs of the Cameroons.
August 28, 1841,	,,	King of Aboi or Ybo.
September 6, 1841,	,,	King of Egarra country at Idda.

Bandinel's Slave-trade, p. 297.

ASIA.

"We learn from the papers relative to slavery in British India, that as far back as the year 1820, a treaty was concluded with four Arab Chieftains of the Persian Gulf, Hasan Bin Ramah, Sheikh of Abuthabee, formerly of Rasul Khymah; Karreeb in Ahmud, Sheikh of Jomal-al-Kamra; Shakboot, Sheikh of Aboo Dabay; Hasanbin Ali, Sheikh of Zyah, by Major-General Sir W. Grant Keir. The Sheikh of Bahrein appears to have acceded also to the treaty. In this treaty it was declared that the carrying off slaves, men, women, and children, from the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, and the transporting them in vessels, is plunder and piracy, and the friendly Arabs shall do nothing of the kind. In 1822, a treaty was effected by Captain Moresly with the Imaum of Muscat, who holds considerable possessions on the Eastern coast of Africa, and at Zanzibar in particular, one of the greatest and most pestilent slave marts. In 1837, Captain Hennell entered into agreements with the Chief of the Joasmees; the Sultan Bin Suggur; the Sheikh Rashid Bin Hummund, Chief of Amulgareen; Sheikh Mukhtoom, Chief of Debaye; Sheikh Khulufa Bin Shukboot, Chief of Aboothabee, for the same purpose; and again with his Highness Saeed Bin Sultan, Imaum of Muscat, in 1839. The only difference between the treaties made with the Imaum and the Arab Chiefs is, that he would not agree to the boundary line being fixed further West than Pussein, on the Mukran coast, which is 70 miles East of Cape Guadel, the point agreed to by the Arabs, the reason assigned being, that Pussein was the easternmost boundary of his Highness's territory on the Mukran coast; and, that its provisions do not appear to apply to his Highness's vessels, probably in deference to his dignity as a sovereign prince, and to his close alliance with us. In 1835, as we have already stated, the Râo of Cutch issued a proclamation against the slave-trade. It would also appear, that in the same year, the Jam of Noanuggur, the Rana of Porebunder, the Thacoor of Bhownuggur, and the Chief of Mangralle engaged to co-operate with the Indian Government for the suppression of the slave-trade."—*Parliamentary Papers, No.* 262, 1841, *pp.* 173-187.

Mr. STACEY moved,

"That the report now read form part of the proceedings of the Convention."

Mr. EDWARD CARROLL having seconded the resolution, it was put and agreed to.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I have now to present the following

REPORT ON THE EXTENT OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE WITH CUBA AND BRAZIL.

"The victims of the African slave-trade, previously to its abolition by Great Britain, were estimated at 72,000 per annum. The destruction of human life connected with the capture of this vast mass of human beings, and their transit to the coast for sale, was computed at from 140,000 to 150,000. The loss sustained during the middle passage may be stated at 12 per cent. on those embarked. Those who perished during the first year of their bondage may be reckoned at as many more. It will then appear, that of the 72,000 shipped from Africa for the slave markets in the Western world, not more than 55,000 would be alive at the end of fourteen or fifteen months from the period of embarkation. No wonder that facts such as these, excited the horror and nerved the resolution of the fathers of abolition in this country against the atrocious traffic, and finally enabled them to achieve a glorious triumph over the monster evil in the British legislature.

"It was firmly believed that the termination of the slave-trade by Great Britain would have led to its general extinction by other powers, especially as the act for abolishing it, passed by the Congress of the United States in 1789, came into operation the same year (1807) that the British legislature passed its celebrated law for its extinction. Denmark and Sweden had previously issued edicts for its suppression, which prohibited the subjects of these states from prosecuting it after the year 1802. But the hope which had been cherished was doomed to disappointment: the slave-trade was checked for the moment, but not suppressed; for we find that in 1810, the number of slaves transported from Africa to Brazil and Cuba amounted to 80,000, with the prospect of still further increase. The friends of Africa became alarmed, and were compelled to abandon their well-considered schemes for its civilization, upon which they had entered, and to direct their attention to more effectual measures for its suppression than at that time existed. Legislation at home and negotiation abroad were resorted to for that purpose, but in vain, as may be seen from the able work of Sir T. Fowell Buxton, 'The Slave-Trade and its Remedy.' According to him, upon the most moderate computation, the slave-trade dooms to the horrors of slavery, every year, among professedly Christian powers, 120,000 victims; and among Mohammedans, 50,000; whilst in procuring them, there were annually destroyed 280,000 more, making in all 450,000. This computation referred to a period anterior to 1840. The traffic having become contraband, and active measures having been resorted to by this country, in conjunction with foreign powers, for its suppression, its horrors were multiplied; and it appears an undoubted fact, that 'of every thousand victims to the slave-trade, one-half perish in the seizure, march, and detention on the coast; one-fourth of those embarked perish during the middle passage; and one-fifth of those who are landed, perish in the seasoning during the first year; and the remaining three hundred, with their descendants, are doomed to hopeless bondage and a premature grave.'

"Such was the state of the question when the philanthropists of Europe and America met at the Convention in 1840. It now remains for the friends of humanity, assembled in convocation, to inquire whether it has diminished or increased in extent and atrocity; and what expectation, if any, may be entertained of its extirpation.

"If we consult the documents laid before parliament, and rely on the statements of official men, it would appear that the slave-trade has very sensibly

diminished within the last few years; but if we put faith in private sources of information, and in the statements submitted to us by men of intelligence and honour, who have no possible motive for deceiving us, then it will be found that the diminution in the slave-trade has been comparatively trifling; and that no rational hope can be indulged of its final extirpation, until slavery itself shall be abolished.

"CUBA.—According to the latest published returns of the Slave-Trade Commissioners at Havana, the case stands thus:—'Previous to the year 1838,' say they, 'there were about 80 vessels from this port (Havana) engaged in the slave-traffic. In 1838, there were 71; in 1839, 59; and in 1840, 54; making an apparent decrease of one-fourth of the number despatched, but in reality more, if we consider,' they observe, 'that five vessels at least were sent merely with stores and equipments, or as tenders to the slave-vessels.' 'Nor,' say they, 'is the falling off less satisfactorily exhibited in the number of vessels arriving from the coast of Africa. In 1837, the number returned was 51; in 1838, 50; in 1839, 47; and in 1840, 41. At first sight,' they observe, 'this may appear a decrease of only one-fifth, but an examination of the list will show a real decrease in the arrivals of one-third also, five having returned in ballast, one having been too strictly watched to allow her to enter the port of destination for slaves; and two having returned with the crews and passengers of slaves condemned at Sierra Leone.' The Commissioners further state, 'that 28 vessels which landed their slaves in the port and neighbourhood of Havana in 1840 brought with them only 10,104 negroes: to this number they add six cargoes for Matanzas, with 1,652 slaves; two cargoes for Santiago de Cuba, with 550 slaves; and 8 cargoes for Trinidad and the smaller ports, with 2,200 slaves, making something less than 15,000 in all; or under the fifth of the supposed average of former years.' The number of vessels which sailed from the Havana from 1st January to the 31st October, 1841, the latest period to which the official returns are printed, was 26, and the number of arrivals is stated to be 23, having on board 7,985 slaves. This shows a further decrease. But it appears from a statement made by the Earl of ABERDEEN in the House of Peers, on 28th February last, founded on the latest communications from the Commissioners at the Havana, dated 2nd of January, 1843, 'that the number of negroes imported were, in 1839, as many as 25,000; in 1840, they were 14,470; in 1841, 11,857; and in 1842, only 3,150. In 1837, the year previous to this return, the number imported was believed to be 40,000.' So vast a diminution in the importation of human beings into Cuba, one of the chief slave markets in the world, would be matter of sincere congratulation, if it could be relied on as perfectly correct. The Commissioners, however, may have been deceived; nothing is more probable; they may have been inactive, conceiving it to be no business of theirs to institute a rigid inquiry into the extent of the slave-trade in different parts of the island, further than such notorious cases as came under their own observation; and this too is probable: or, the slave-trade in Cuba may be carried on more clandestinely, and in ports remote from the Havana, from which they can obtain no certain information, and this we have reason to believe to be the case. But supposing that this decrease in the slave-trade had actually taken place, it is quite clear that it has not arisen from a decrease in the demand for slaves; for at the very time the Commissioners first announced the decrease in 1840, they observed: 'Nor is this decrease in the supply to be explained away by any supposition of a decrease in the demand. The price of slaves in the market continues the same; and one of the late cargoes has been sold, we are credibly informed, though the negroes were very young, at the price per head of 425 dollars cash payment.' And after adding,

that the produce of the island had doubled within five years ending with 1840, they say, 'it must be seen that it (the increase in the produce) could not be obtained without a greater demand, increasing with it, for labourers; and that these labourers, in the present state of the country, must be expected to be obtained from Africa.' Exactly so; but if it be true, that within these five years, the number of slaves decreased so greatly, as the returns make it appear, namely, from 40,000 in 1837 to less than 15,000 in 1840, how is it possible the produce could have been doubled, especially when it is considered that the waste of slave life, on a low estimate, is equal to 5 per cent., or 30,000 per annum on the whole slave population? The fact is, the Commissioners can have no official knowledge of the actual extent of the slave-trade in Cuba; their statements are grounded on such casual information as may reach them by accident or by inquiry; and they are, in all probability, the last persons to whom correct information would be given. In a later communication, (1841,) having obtained information of the sailing of slavers for Africa, and the landing of upwards of 400 slaves at Guanama, they say, 'From these circumstances it appears that the trade continues, in fact, unrepressed, but bears evidently more of a contraband character, as respect the arrivals.' And, in a subsequent despatch, (1842,) after noticing the sailing of five vessels from the Havana suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade; they say, 'These indications of *undiminished pursuit of the slave-trade*, we regret to add, are further confirmed by the arrivals, as it is reported that nearly 2,000 Africans were landed from slave vessels in the immediate neighbourhood (of the Havana) during the month;' that is, in October, 1841. It thus appears that, whilst the lists obtained by the Commissioners of the departures from, and arrivals of slavers at the Havana, showed an immense decrease, there were other infallible indications to prove, that somehow or other, the number of slaves imported could not have been greatly, if at all diminished, and this we believe to be the fact now.

"From a distinguished individual residing at the Havana, who was good enough to report to the committee the state of the slave-trade in the island of Cuba, at the close of 1841, we learn that, 'the oldest and strongest portion of the Spanish mercantile marine is devoted to this piratical employment. From the various ports of the island, and from some of those of the Peninsula, more especially from Cadiz and Barcelona, from 100 to 150 vessels are annually despatched to the coast of Africa. On the average, about forty enter the port of Havana, twenty at Matanzas, and about forty between Trinidad and Santiago de Cuba. They measure from 70 to 500 tons each, and carry from 200 to 800 negroes in the confined space, or 'tween decks.' And this statement, it may be observed, agrees with the latest printed official accounts from Sierra Leone. For instance, the Judges of the Mixed Commission Court at that settlement, inform us, in their report for the year 1840, that twenty slavers from the island of Cuba had been captured on the Western coast of Africa and condemned, during that year. Of these, fifteen were from Havana, two from St. Jago de Cuba, one from Matanzas, and two from Cadiz. In comparing the names of these twenty slavers, with those in the lists furnished by the Commissioners resident at the Havana, we find, of the vessels that sailed for Africa, in the years 1839 and 1840, only six bearing the same name with those captured, a clear proof that the others had sailed for Africa without their cognizance. Now, if this be true of the captured, how many more of the non-captured may have escaped their observation in sailing, and have returned with cargoes, without their knowledge? This fact is decisive of the point that the information the Commissioners furnish the Government, cannot be relied

upon as indicating the true extent of the African slave-trade with Cuba, or even a near approximation to it.

"Another gentleman lately resident at the Havana, whose opportunities of knowing the practices of the slave-dealers were great, and who availed himself of them to serve the interests of humanity, in a recent communication observes: 'The slave-trade continues in the island of Cuba with the same activity which has characterized it for the last five years, with this difference, that the infractions of the treaty between Spain and Great Britain are not so glaringly committed as heretofore. A little more trouble is taken by all parties to cover their nefarious proceedings.' After detailing the circumstances of the arrivals and sailings of slavers at Havana, and the connivance of the authorities at these illegal proceedings, he says, 'Garcia Ona, the Governor of Matanzas, protects the slave-trade as much as ever it was protected. Several slavers have recently sailed from Matanzas for the coast of Africa; amongst the number, a beautiful fast-sailing Spanish bark, the name of which has not yet been ascertained. Besides which, we are informed that successful landings of Africans at St. Jago de Cuba, Trinidad, and other outports of the island, take place weekly.' 'A consul at Matanzas, with instructions to watch over the infractions of existing treaties, who would dare to do his duty in the face of danger, would tend to produce a great deal of good.'

"Brazil.—The extent of the African slave-trade with Brazil is more difficult to be ascertained even than that with Cuba, enormous as it is known to be. From the official reports of the Commissioners at Rio it seems that in 1837, ninety-two vessels arrived from Africa, and landed, in the neighbourhood of Rio, 41,600 slaves; in 1838, eighty-four vessels landed 36,974 slaves; in 1839, sixty-eight vessels landed 30,360 slaves; and in 1840, twenty-seven vessels are supposed to have landed 12,297 slaves. It would thus appear that the slave-trade with Rio Janeiro had diminished upwards of two-thirds within this period; but this would be a fallacious inference, as we find that there were known to have left the port of Rio alone, direct for Africa, in the year 1839, fifty-three vessels of 9,764 tons; and in 1840, fifty-four vessels of 8,527 tons, capable of carrying, on the lowest computation, from 25,000 to 30,000 slaves for each of these years. Now, as we find, on comparing the names of vessels on the lists of departures from Rio with the names on the list of captures on the Western coast of Africa, during the year 1840, that of them three only were seized by British cruisers, it follows, that of the remaining fifty-one vessels engaged in the slave-traffic for that year, with the exception of casualties at sea, twenty-four remained to be accounted for. These, we have no doubt, landed their cargoes in other parts of the province. But the vessels which sail from Rio Janeiro form only a part of the shipping employed in the odious trade; numbers are despatched from other ports of the empire, from most of which no returns whatever can be obtained.

"The following extract of a letter, dated Santos, a port seventy miles to the South of Rio, January 9, 1843, will show how actively the slave-trade is carried on in that district, and how hopeless the expectation of its suppression under the present system:—

"'We arrived off Santos on November 12, and received information that a slave vessel was daily expected from the East coast. The vessel arrived, but having gained intelligence from the Portuguese on shore that our boats were at the mouth of the river, she landed her cargo a few miles lower down, and thus escaped being captured. The commander of the English cruiser wrote to the governor of Mozambique, who, not being friendly to the slave-trade, fined the vessel severely for a breach of the custom-laws, which was reported

to the Portuguese Government at home, and an order was despatched for his supercession, it having been found that he was too strict, and that, in consequence, the colonial treasury was impoverished; and the officers and soldiers employed in the colony were under the necessity of applying for their pay to the mother country. A duty is paid upon each slave of seven dollars; and the authorities, instead of suppressing the abominable traffic, encourage it by every means in their power. The ship in question sailed from Quillimane with 850 slaves, all children, and landed 620, having lost 230 on the passage. The cost of the slaves at Quillimane is about 32 milreis each, (about £4 sterling,) and the price obtained for them when landed was 600 milreis (£75) ready money, leaving a profit, after a deduction of 18 milreis for their subsistence on shore previous to being sold, of 550 milreis upon each slave, to pay for the expense of their transit, and to reimburse the vile wretches employed in this nefarious traffic, and also to enable them to fee the authorities, in order to hoodwink them. In a conversation I had with the English Consul, Mr. Whittaker, he says that the authorities are all determined to encourage the traffic, alleging that no act can become law, by the Portuguese constitution, unless it be beneficial to the country generally; and that as the importation of negro slaves is beneficial, and desired by a majority of the people, the treaty entered into by the mother country is not binding upon them. The present governor acts upon this principle, and the traffic is now in a flourishing state.'

" In forwarding the lists of slavers known to have departed from the port of Pernambuco for Africa, from October, 1840, to June, 1841, inclusive, amounting to nine, and to those which had arrived and landed their cargoes of slaves during the same period, amounting to eight, the Consul observes: 'Reflecting upon these documents, it appears obvious that due vigilance is not observed by the superior authorities of the province; that those of inferior grade abuse the power delegated to them, otherwise the open disembarkation of the slaves, their introduction into the environs, nay, within the city itself, could easily be checked; the cupidity of the importers blinds the eye of justice, paralyzing the efforts of the few who are averse to the infamous trade.' This statement is more than corroborated by a gentleman long resident at this port, who, in a recent communication to us, stated that he is convinced the number of slaves landed at Pernambuco and its immediate neighbourhood, may be safely estimated at 1,000 per month, exclusive of those disembarked in other parts of the province. In reference to the latter point, the late consul at Pernambuco, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston in 1839, states that, 'After the utmost diligence of inquiry and vigilance of research, he could not arrive at a correct knowledge of the facts relating to the slave-trade in that province, in consequence of the manner in which they are impenetrably veiled and disguised by the artful combinations of all those who are either directly or indirectly interested in the traffic of African slaves.'

" The number of slavers which sailed from the port of Bahia for the coast of Africa, from the 1st of January, 1840, to the 30th September, 1841, is stated to have been forty, the number which arrived, twenty-eight. From the success with which the slave-traders have been enabled to carry on their nefarious transactions at this port, several individuals, we are informed by the consul, formed a company for prosecuting it with increased vigour. In his despatch of August 31, 1841, he says, 'They have already purchased five vessels, which are now ready, and on the eve of sailing; this circumstance will, I trust, sufficiently prove the necessity of having vessels of war constantly on this station.'

" In reference to Para, Mr. Consul Cowper says, 'Scarcity of money in this province is the great drawback to the enterprise of the slavers, who cannot, of

course, receive payment in produce' until 'after six months' credit;' but, in reference to the Northern provinces of the empire generally, he observes, 'It is impossible to obtain anything like a correct account of the number of slaves which are imported into the Northern provinces of Brazil. *It is undoubted that* HALF *of the whole quantity smuggled into the empire are brought to them.* This arises from sundry causes: first, the want of population; which, secondly, renders them the best markets for slaves; and lastly, from the great facilities offered to smugglers by the many tributaries of the Amazon.'

"These notices of the Brazilian slave-trade, imperfect as they are, will show to how vast an extent the dreadful commerce in human beings is carried on between Africa and that country. We know that the demand for new slaves is immense, created not merely by the waste of life resulting from the system of slavery, which, as in Cuba, may be reckoned at 5 per cent. per annum, but by the extension of cultivation in various directions. The Brazilian planters deem it a matter of vital importance, to use their own words, to import 'African slaves without restraint.'

"The number of slavers condemned at Sierra Leone during the year 1840 was twenty-eight, of which nineteen bore the Spanish flag, one the Portuguese, and eight the Brazilian. Only one vessel appears to have been adjudicated at the Havana for the same period, and two at Rio: in all, thirty-one slavers for the year; a very small proportion of the mighty fleet employed in the slave-trade. The total number of vessels employed in the Brazilian slave-trade is estimated at 200.

"With the data before us, however, it is impossible with certainty to fix the number of its victims, nor is it necessary to do so; for, whether they be one thousand, or one hundred thousand, our duty would remain the same, namely, to seek the entire abolition of slavery, and by destroying that, to destroy its cause; for whatever fluctuations the slave-trade may undergo, so long as there is a profitable market open for it in any part of the world, thither the supply of human victims will flow."

HORRORS OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

"The horrors of the slave-trade continue undiminished, as the following selection of cases will amply verify:—

"CASE OF THE 'JESUS MARIA.'—On the 29th of December, 1840, the Spanish slave schooner, *Jesus Maria*, was captured by H. M. schooner *Ringdove*. This vessel was 25 Spanish tons measurement, or about 35 tons British. She was in fact a small coaster, sailing from the Canary Islands to the different settlements on the coast of Africa, with, principally, potatoes and onions; but her captain, VICENTE MORALES, finding a number of Africans on the coast ready to be shipped, and no vessel ready to take them, changed the purpose of his voyage, and took them on board. She was so old and leaky, that had they met with the slightest bad weather they must have foundered, yet they embarked 278 *unfortunate victims* of the trade; besides having on board nine persons, calling themselves passengers, and ten others, the crew. In all 297 persons, or 8½ *persons to every ton.* The whole of the negroes, with the exception of four, were children.—*Slave-trade Papers, Class A*, 1841, pp. 175, 176.

"The following extract of a letter from Mr. Consul TURNBULL to Colonel COCKBURN, Governor of the Bahamas, dated Havana, 20th January, 1841, will further show the dreadful circumstances to which these unhappy children were exposed on board the *Jesus Maria.*

"'From the extreme state of emaciation and debility in which they arrived, I have to lament the loss of seven of their number, in spite of all the care

and anxiety with which they have since been attended by the commander and medical officers of Her Majesty's ship *Romney*, and by myself. The survivors, 233 in number, 136 males and 97 females, I have now the honour to consign to your Excellency's care, in the exercise of the discretion committed to me by Her Majesty's Government. Their age is far below the average of similar shipments, and I venture to suggest to your Excellency, that their case altogether is one which calls for a peculiar degree of tenderness in the arrangements to be made for their future disposal.' * * * 'Independently of the fact, unhappily in this island too little regarded, that these young persons now committed to your Excellency's care, and others their companions, who perished on the passage, had been stolen and reduced to slavery, it becomes my duty to acquaint your Excellency that several of them have been the victims of the most revolting and atrocious crimes, such as would be visited with condign punishment by a jury of slave-dealers. On the deck of this wretched schooner, the *Jesus Maria*, three murders were committed, on a grown woman and two boys, for no other motive, that I have been able to collect, than of wanton cruelty. These bloody deeds were effected by dashing the victims on the deck, and by blows of so violent a nature as to produce fatal results. In the cabin of the *Jesus Maria*, a series of scenes were enacted of a still more odious and disgusting character. The defenceless condition of the young girls of the cargo afforded them no protection against the devouring lust of the slave captain, VICENTE MORALES, his pretended passengers, and scoundrel crew. I confess to your Excellency that I have not the courage to enter on this horrid catalogue of crime. I must content myself with referring you to MAMBIA, ZOOBOG, and YADDY, three of this class of victims, and to the witness CREFOY, through whose superior intelligence, aided by her slight knowledge of Spanish, the facts will be more easily elicited.'—*Slave-trade Papers, B*, 1841, pp. 76, 77.

"CASE OF THE 'DOUS FEVEREIRO.'—The Portuguese brig *Dous Fevereiro*, of 280 tons, (Portuguese,) was captured by Her Majesty's schooner *Fawn*, on the 19th February, 1841. This unfortunate brig left Bahia fort, on the coast of Benguela, on the 1st February, with 510 negroes; and on the 19th, the day of her capture, she had but 375. The following description, extracted from the log of the *Fawn*, shows the miserable condition of the survivors. On boarding the vessel, we found all the slaves below, with the hatches on: on turning them up, a scene presented itself enough to sicken the heart even of a Portuguese. The living, the dying, and the dead, huddled together in one mass. Some unfortunates, in the most disgusting state of small-pox, in the confluent state, covered from head to foot; some distressingly ill with ophthalmia; a few, perfectly blind; others, living skeletons, with difficulty crawled from below, unable to bear the weight of their miserable bodies. Mothers, with young infants hanging at their breasts, unable to give them a drop of nourishment: how they had brought them thus far appeared astonishing. All were perfectly naked, and their limbs much excoriated from lying on the hard planks for so long a period. On going below, the stench was insupportable: how beings could breathe such an atmosphere and live, appeared incredible. Several were under the loose planks, which was called the deck, dying, one dead. On the few days' passage to Rio Janeiro, 13 more died, 12 in the harbour, and a number on board the *Crescent*, the recovery depôt for captured Africans in that port. Finally, of 180, who embarked for Berbice, 20 died on the passage, though every care was taken, a good supply of medicines and antiscorbutics, together with ample and wholesome provisions, having been put on board. The following tabular statement presents the mortality of those embarked on board this vessel at one view:—

Total number of persons on board on leaving Benguela . .		510
Died previous to capture		135
Captured		375
Died during four days' passage to Rio Janeiro . .	13	
,, at ditto	12	
,, during passage to Berbice	20	
At Berbice, two days after disembarkation . . .	4 —	49
		326
Brought from Rio . . .		180
Number left at Rio (of whom perhaps 30 may have died) . .		146

"Allowing 20 for the mortality of those left behind on board the *Crescent*, we shall have an aggregate loss of 204 out of 510, the original number embarked, or, *one person out of every two and a half.*

"CASES OF THE 'UNIAO,' 'OLIVIERA,' AND 'FLOR DE TEIJO,' LATE 'ANDORINHA.'—The Brazilian brig *Uniao*, of 244 tons, received on board (at Loando) 683 slaves, of which number 183 died on the passage, having been at sea forty-three days; the vessel much crowded; short of water and provisions. Landed at Catuama (in the province of Pernambuco, Brazil,) in March, 1841, about 500 slaves, very many in a sickly, weakly condition from their severe privations.

"The Portuguese brig *Oliviera*, of 313 tons, took on board (at Angola) 764 slaves, of which number 117 died during the voyage, the remainder landed April, 1841, to the Southward of this port (Pernambuco); many perished on the beach from excessive thirst, weakness, and disease. Humanity shudders at the picture drawn of their sufferings; some were removed to the residence of one of the partners, about four miles distant from this city, where they are daily perishing, victims to the cupidity of those employed in this inhuman traffic.

"The Brazilian bark, *Flor de Teijo*, late *Andorinha*, of 171 tons, received on board 720 slaves. More than 50 died on the passage; landed at Catuama on May 16, 1841, about 650 to 670; very many in a most wretched state from want and disease, through the overcrowded condition of the vessel. The remarks upon the *Oliviera* (above) are equally applicable to the unfortunate slaves imported in this vessel."—*Slave-trade Papers, Class B, p.* 754.

"CASE OF A SLAVER CAPTURED BY HER MAJESTY'S BRIG 'WATERWITCH.'—The *South African Commercial Advertiser*, of February 20th, 1841, contains the following extract of a letter from St. Helena:—

"'We have here a Portuguese schooner, captured by the *Waterwitch*, for condemnation, with 230 slaves on board. They have the small-pox very bad. Those that are free from it are landed at Lemon Valley, which place is kept under strict quarantine. When the *Waterwitch* first gave chase, the captain endeavoured to get away by lightening the vessel; for which purpose *he threw overboard about* 130 *slaves*, having originally on board 350. He then ran his vessel on shore, and made his escape. The boats of the *Waterwitch* saved about seventy from drowning, but the greater part of them died afterwards from exhaustion.'"

DIFFICULTY OF SUPPRESSING THE SLAVE-TRADE.

"The following is the substance of a statement of the difficulties which are found in suppressing the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, which was

communicated by Captain Hall, late in command of H.M. brig *Rolla*, employed on that coast:—

"'The cruel, unfeeling, and heartless slave-traders, or their agents, reside at the most convenient places at or near the slaving towns or villages on the West coast of Africa; and have generally large expensive establishments, in the shape of barracoons, for from 500 to 600 slaves to live in; others for women and boys, with comfortable houses and every luxury for themselves. They have also factories or storehouses, containing quantities of slave goods, the only inland barter for slaves. A great portion of these goods are of English manufacture, such as muskets, gunpowder, bar iron (for forging shackles and chains), cutlery, slave cottons, rum, tobacco, woollen cloths, salt provisions, rice, farina, &c.; these are carried to the coast, and considered as *legal trade* by mercenary merchant ships of all nations, particularly English, French, and Americans. The produce these vessels get on the coast in return is merely nominal; most of them leave in ballast, receiving from the slave-dealers payment in cash or bills on London houses for the goods or freightage out. There is scarcely an English merchant on the slave coast but indirectly carries on, and finds it his interest to keep up, the slave-trade; and the slave-traders can at all times procure an unlimited supply of slave goods from them.

"'A speculating slave-dealer from Cuba or Brazils, if he cannot readily procure a fast vessel for slaving, or wishes to avoid the risk of the outward voyage, gets a passage across in an American or Brazilian merchant vessel, generally laden with articles manufactured chiefly at Manchester and Birmingham, expressly for the slave market. He either takes a round sum of money with him, or deposits a sum beforehand in a London banking-house, on which he draws his bills to pay for the slave goods, and for the purchase of a fast-sailing vessel, mostly American, built for the express purpose, and brought to the Cape de Verd islands and on the coast for sale.

"'The regular slavers running between Cuba and Brazils and the coast of Africa, procure their goods for barter on credit from English houses in those countries, which they can to any extent, at the risk of 25 per cent. on the first cost. All these goods, technically known as *coast goods*, are of the worst possible manufacture, for which the natives are charged exorbitant prices.

"'The slaving piratical vessels which run across the Atlantic for cargoes of slaves sail very fast, and are generally well armed with large guns, for the express purpose of killing and wounding the seamen, and sinking the boats belonging to British cruisers, showing at the time no flag. On their making the slave coast to which they are bound, they immediately, night or day, communicate with the shore by means of light canoes, when they make sail off the land, and at the appointed hour stand in close to the beach, keeping under weigh. Everything being prepared, they ship off from the open beach their slaves, provisions, and water, in the course of three or four hours, crowd sail, and escape with impunity, which more than half do in spite of our vigilant cruisers. The elements seem to befriend them on the coast of Africa; the weather being generally thick and hazy, with light breezes and smooth water. They have exact information as to the position of the cruisers on the coast, and know their sailing qualities to a nicety; they have look-outs along it, and a communication is kept up by signals, fires, smokes, and small kroo canoes, which pull along shore very fast, giving timely notice of the approach of a man-of-war or her boats. The inducements to the slave-dealers are very great; indeed, if at all successful, they realize a profit of from 180 to 200 per cent., and upwards. All the chiefs and natives on the coast heartily turn their attention to the exportation of slaves; every other trade is lost sight of. The chiefs consider the slave-trade as a source of legitimate revenue, and they consider treaties as mere waste paper.

"'The present system of suppressing the slave-trade by cruisers is attended with great risk, anxiety, and loss of life, as also heavy expenses to the country; it is also attended with unspeakable horrors and unutterable sufferings to the poor unfortunate slaves who are doomed for exportation. They are frequently for months, in consequence of a man-of-war blockading the place, kept in a state of mere starving existence in the barracoons on shore. From the heavy expense of feeding them, many are starved to death, chained together in gangs of from twelve to twenty, by the neck, or shackled together by the legs in pairs. On an opportunity offering, they are shipped off in an exhausted, inanimate state, and packed in a slaver's hold nearly in bulk, where their miseries or sufferings increase, as they are deprived of fresh air, and almost of water, which they did not experience the want of in the barracoons. Only imagine, if it be possible, their accumulated sufferings during the voyage across the Atlantic; and, should they be taken by a man-of-war on the eve of landing the cargo of slaves at Cuba, or on the coast of Brazil, they would then, poor wretches, probably have to proceed on another voyage of extreme misery, until many would be happily relieved by death.'"

NAVAL FORCE EMPLOYED IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

"The number of vessels of war of all sizes engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade, during the year 1842, was fifty-eight, manned by 8,554 seamen, and mounting 945 guns. The estimated expense of keeping up this force is stated to be 575,466*l.* per annum."—*Par. Pap.* 363. 1843.

Rev. JOHN BENNETT.—I move

"That these papers be incorporated with the records of the Convention."

They are such as require no comments to fix them almost verbatim on our memories and our hearts. I trust they will go forth to the world to diffuse the simple, yet thrilling eloquence with which they have been drawn up. They should lead every friend to humanity, to consecrate every energy of his mental and moral being, to the work of sweeping away this fearful and hateful curse from the creation of God.

Captain PILKINGTON.—Having been in the Brazils, I think the statement is perfectly correct, and I therefore second the motion.

Some discussion then arose as to the best mode of disposing of this Report, which terminated by,

Mr. WILLIAM FORSTER moving

"That the Report which was laid before the Convention by Mr. SCOBLE, on the subject of the African slave-trade with Cuba and Brazil, be referred to a Committee, to consider how far it can be made practically useful; and that the following gentlemen be such Committee:—Messrs. G. STACEY, J. STURGE, J. BENNETT, L. TAPPAN, S. BOWLEY, and JOSHUA LEAVITT."

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—The fact is, the whole history of slavery and the slave-trade is fraught with horrors, and the more these horrors become exposed, the greater is the probability of their cessation. It is impossible not to see from this report, that the slave-trade with Cuba is carried on wholesale, and is accompanied with a fearful extent of cruelty in all its various branches. I think it is desirable to refer the report to a Committee, and I would suggest to that Committee, and for the adoption of the Convention, whether laying the report before the Earl of ABERDEEN might not be of some avail. The minister for Foreign Affairs in this country feels a deep interest in this subject, and is very much with us upon this question.

Rev. J. BENNETT.—However much Lord ABERDEEN may desire to aid you, you have to work through the medium of the public press. It is the public that you must keep in view.

The CHAIRMAN.—May I point out the distinction; it is easy to work on the Christian feelings of the inhabitants of this country, but how are you to reach the feelings of the planters in Brazil, the captains of slave vessels, the owners of barracoons, and in fact, the whole body of the inhabitants of Brazil, who have different views, and different feelings? Operate upon these several parties, if you can, but if we are to wait till that is done, we must wait a long time.

Rev. J. BENNETT.—I never thought of it.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

AMERICAN PAPERS REFERRED TO A COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I move the adoption of the following preamble and resolution .—

"That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society having sent out to the United States of America a series of queries, with a view of obtaining correct information on the present state of slavery in that country, and answers to those queries having been received and presented to this Convention;

"Resolved, That the whole of the said written communications, some of which have been already under the notice of the Convention, be referred to the Committee appointed this morning on certain American papers, and that they be requested likewise to report thereon."

Mr. SAMUEL BOWLEY seconded the motion.

Mr. FULLER.—I object to any papers on the Liberty Party question being referred to this Committee.

A long desultory conversation then arose on this point, which ended in the Rev. J. LEAVITT being called upon to address the Convention on the

LIBERTY PARTY IN AMERICA.

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—I will merely give a brief explanation of what is meant by the Liberty Party in America. A few years ago, it was the custom with us to address to candidates for office written interrogatories, and the answer was supposed to be our guide in giving our votes. We held it to be our duty to consecrate our elective franchise to the cause of the slave. Our practice then was to exert what influence we could on public men, through the effect of these written interrogatories. Some of the answers were evasive; they were made to come as near as possible to saying something, and yet to say nothing, so that we could not rely upon them. We found furthermore, that as the developments of slavery came out by degrees—for we were not borne at once into a full understanding of the operations of slavery on the institutions of the country—that no matter how worthy men were in their personal character when put into office, so long as they were connected with existing parties we could not rely upon them, because the influence of slavery and slave-holders at Washington was sufficient to absorb and pervert all the influence of these few individuals, and it went for nothing. In fact, the votes we gave to such men were but the means of transferring political influence at Washington into the hands of slave-holders, of one party or the other, so that whatever party might have the ascendancy, slavery governed. For these and many other reasons, a few of us, who had been somewhat active in the cause, became satisfied that it was necessary to break off entirely from both parties. They both being made up partly of slave-owners and citizens of the free states, they were under the dominion of slave owners. It was necessary, therefore,

to abandon both, and to organize a new party based on the principles of pure liberty; and with the determination, and for the object of making the question of slavery the grand political question of the United States. We commenced with the countenance of such men as BIRNEY, COLVER, GERRIT SMITH, and ARTHUR TAPPAN. The organization, very early embodied true men in all the free states. The next election that followed was the presidential election of 1840—one of the most excited that ever took place in our country. The great body of abolitionists were drawn to vote for the slave-holder, JOHN TYLER. It is necessary to have slave-holders in every party, according to the system that prevails amongst us. But in the face of all this opposition, and by dint of great effort, we numbered out of the two millions and a quarter of votes given, a few short of 7,000. We called ourselves the 7,000 that would not bow the knee to Baal. We were plentifully sneered at and jeered; but we adopted the maxim "let them laugh that win and try again." We held a meeting and re-nominated our candidate for the presidency—J. G. BIRNEY—who is an embodiment of the principles, design, and character of the liberty party. We are not ashamed of him anywhere, and if he should ever be President of the United States, as we hope, we shall not be ashamed of any of you seeing him. We have gone on organising a party from state to state, and nominating candidates for the state offices. At the election in 1841, we found that the 7,000 had increased more than threefold. In 1842 we nearly doubled the votes, and so far as the elections have taken place as yet, in different parts of the free states, we have made nearly a corresponding increase. By this mode we are becoming a permanent part of the political movements of the country. I believe our politicians are satisfied that, whatever else may be done with the liberty party, it cannot be killed. It comes up at every election. Its facts—its appeals are pressed on the people at every canvas, in those parts of the country with which I am acquainted, respecting the political and financial consequences of slavery. The presentation of these facts to the people is continually exerting a powerful influence in several of our states. In some states we have this rule with regard to elections; the person elected to office must have a majority of all the votes that are cast. We have, in repeated instances, defeated the election of the governor of a state. In Massachusetts we were very nearly getting a worthy gentleman, nominated by us, into the office of governor of the state. The plan, which was well laid, was defeated only by a single vote; a man that proved different to what we expected, or we should have had our man for a governor. In this way, and many others, we expect to extend our influence; and at no very distant time to control the elections in the free states. The majority of people are in the free states, and could always elect the President of America against the slave states, if they were united; and thus, in proportion as we convince them that the question of slavery is one of absorbing interest to the country—that it is the true question to be acted upon in political matters—so we expect to see a President that will co-operate with the philanthropy of the world in all honourable measures. But so long as we are subject to the control of the slave power, so long as slavery is shielded in her coat of mail, what can you say to the slave-holders? So long as it is a passport to the high honours of the Republic, you can preach, but the slave-holders can find grounds of consolation; there are plenty of preachers who tell us that slavery is not wrong, and thus slave-holders, with political power in their hands, and all the influence of rank and station at their command, are invulnerable to your moral influence. Slavery rests on these two pillars; and you can never reach the main pillar of political power but through the ballot-box. I will mention an additional fact, to show the position of the anti-slavery cause. There are 23 or 24 newspapers in the United States entirely devoted to it; besides many

others, more particularly the religious newspapers, which give it their support. I think I may say that all of these, with the exception of six, support the Liberty party; two of these are neutral, the other four oppose us, and these four all opposed the London Anti-Slavery Conventions of 1840 and 1843, and did what they could to dissuade and prevent America from sending delegates to this Convention.

Mr. FULLER.—I expect that this is going to be a bloodless warfare. I supposed that the formation of the Liberty party would come up, but I am glad it has not; for that is the bone of contention. I have no objection to nine-tenths of what Joshua Leavitt has said. The following is the testimony of the American Anti-Slavery Society, issued only last month, and is signed by William Lloyd Garrison, as the president, than whom a worthier man cannot be found in America or England. "The subtle spirit of slavery has been compelled to abandon one refuge after another, to which it has fled for safety; and it is the business of those who would drive it from the Republic to follow it in all its windings, and to besiege every covert in which it seeks safety from attack. Whether that covert be the pulpit or the communion table, the church or the conference, or any other institution, however sacredly regarded, it is to be vigorously assailed, until a dislodgment of the foul fiend be effected, without any other regard to consequences than is involved in strict obedience to the call of duty. Whoever will thus be faithful to the cause of the slave, or whatever society, must expect to be denounced as having an ulterior object in view, as being actuated by the spirit of infidelity, as warring against sacred institutions, as retarding the progress of emancipation! The American Anti-Slavery Society is widely misrepresented on the subject of political action. Whatever may be the inconsistencies of individual members, the society is to be judged solely by its own acts. By some, it is represented as repudiating all action of this kind, and requiring nothing more than the use of moral suasion. By others, it is charged with defending a loyal connexion with the two great political parties, according to the preferences of its members. These statements are equally incorrect. The society requires of all voting abolitionists, as an anti-slavery duty, that they shall carry out their principles at the ballot-box, even to the sacrifice of their peculiar views of national policy as whigs or democrats,—to vote for no man for any legislative, congressional, or executive office, who is either a slave-holder, or pro-slavery in spirit. It has uniformly regarded the formation of a third political party as uncalled for and injurious, and sees no reason to change its opinion on that point, leaving every one of its members, however, free to act in regard to it as he may think duty demands him on the days of election. Undismayed by any of the false accusations which are brought against us,—cheered by the retrospect of the past,—impressed by the assurance that our enterprise is 'the only earthly hope of the slave,'—conscious that a mighty work is yet to be performed, before the day of jubilee can be celebrated,—remembering that our success will be in proportion to our faith and self-denial in the holy cause we have espoused,—ever looking for succour and direction, for comfort and strength, for wisdom and power, to the God of the oppressed, whose sympathies, desires, promises, and blessings are with the struggling friends of human freedom,—let us redouble our zeal,—infuse new energy into our cause,—engage with fresh ardour in the glorious strife,—make larger sacrifices than we have yet done,—be still more courageous and aggressive,—shrink from no peril,—be utterly insensible to fatigue,—and 'endure, as good soldiers,' unto the end,—never doubting that we shall be 'conquerors, and more than conquerors,' through the majesty of truth, and the potency of Divine love.

"In behalf of the executive committee,

"William Lloyd Garrison, *President.*"

There were resolutions passed; the following are two of them :—" Whereas the Democratic and Whig parties continue, both in their national and local operations, to sustain the slave system; therefore, * * *

" 14. Resolved, That we cannot recognise as a consistent abolitionist, any person who will give his vote, or in any way countenance these parties, either nationally or locally, until they shall put in nomination men who have withdrawn all support from slavery, direct and indirect, not only politically, but ecclesiastically. Therefore,

" 15. Resolved, That we recommend to the abolitionists throughout the country, as an effectual means for the accomplishment of this object, to sign and circulate the following pledge."

And here is the pledge drawn up and signed. It is called " The Tee-total Anti-Slavery Pledge."—" Believing slave-holding, under all circumstances, to be a heinous sin and crime, and deeply convinced of the wickedness of aiding or abetting, by our countenance, any who are concerned in it; we, the undersigned, do agree never to vote for any candidate for civil office, nor countenance any man as a Christian minister, nor hold connexion with any organisation as a Christian church, except such as have dissolved their political and ecclesiastical connexions with the slave system, and are *practically* pledged to labour with us for its immediate and entire extinction from our country. Nor will we aid in returning fugitives from slavery, nor do any act to prevent the slaves from regaining their liberty, by such means as they may think proper to adopt."

Then follow two other resolutions.

" 16. Resolved, That we earnestly caution abolitionists against being misled so far as to sacrifice their principles, by their conduct in reference to political action; while we sustain the right of petition, and oppose the admission of Texas, we ought, at the same time, to hold these as secondary questions in the abolition enterprise, and never give our suffrages, or recommend that others give them to any candidates for the principal executive or legislative offices, state or national, except those who avowedly intend to advocate the abrogation of all constitutional and legal provisions which in any manner sustain the institution of slavery.

" 17. Resolved, That while we disapprove of organising a permanent abolition political party, we recommend to voting abolitionists temporary nominations for the concentration of their votes, so long as the candidates of the existing parties refuse to declare themselves in favour of the objects expressed in the foregoing resolution."

I think so far as I have gone, I have redeemed the society. I am satisfied that the American constitution is a pro-slavery document, and therefore I cannot elect a man to go and sustain that constitution. If I am about to open a wound or to create any discomfort, I shall sit down.

The CHAIRMAN.—Our friends were allowed to offer some explanations respecting the Liberty party, but it was not the intention of the Convention to go to a trial between them and other parties.

Mr. FULLER.—The Chairman has touched the point at issue. I have no objection to the question being opened, all I dread is, your being called upon to decide a question here which we cannot decide in America. It has been asserted that nine-tenths of all the talent is in the Liberty party. That does not prove that they are right: we are too much accustomed to go by majorities. I am willing to admit that there is a host of good Anti-slavery men amongst them. I most cordially subscribe to that doctrine, though I believe they have acted wrong. I attended a Liberty party meeting at Syracuse, and there was a document drawn up by ——— Woodward, for whom I have a great esteem as a

man and as an abolitionist. The advice contained in it was, that if an old organizationist—that is, such a man as myself—was out delivering lectures, and a Liberty man was there, he was not to offer the hospitality of his house, not to assist in getting a meeting-house, nor in getting persons to attend. I have been at an Anti-slavery meeting, where the president of the society has described myself and two other persons there, not members of what is called the Liberty party, as a gangrene, a pestiferous influence that ought not to be allowed; and has said that the Anti-slavery movement commenced in politics, was worked and carried on by politics, and that it was a higher duty for a man to vote than to pray for the abolition of slavery. Some persons have denounced these men, and said that there is no abolitionism in them. I am not prepared to say that; I believe that they have, and I was glad to see them put to the test. We held a Convention at Utica, and they came and congregated in the room, and intended to take no part. A mob collected of about 2,500 people, and when the Liberty party found that we were going to be mobbed, they acted as men should do, they came and sustained us, and behaved admirably. I stood there for three-quarters of an hour to get a hearing, and the President said, that if any man could put his hand on those who continued to carry on the riot, he would give five dollars for their apprehension. All I was fearful of was, that this Convention might put its stamp either upon the new or the old organization; but I believe it has nothing to do with fixing a stigma upon either. The probability is, that when I get home, standing as I do, that I shall wash my hands of all organization, and work with every body,—men, women, and children, who will knock off the fetters of the slave.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—West of the Alleghany mountains the rancour between the old and the new organization is so feeble, that in Ohio alone last fall, we cast 5,000 votes, though the candidate brought forward by the whig party had been popular with the abolitionists, because he was a friend of the coloured people. That is one fact; another is simply this: That though the Ohio American Anti-slavery Society was formed in Ohio, yet both societies take the same paper, and both contribute to the same object—the liquidation of the old debt.

Rev. A. A. PHELPS.—I think it due to the new organization delegates who are here, to say that it was no part of our design to bring the question of old and new organization before this Convention. We can manage that question for ourselves. But knowing that the question of the Liberty party must come before the Convention, we conferred beforehand in respect to it, and in respect to other subjects, and came to a distinct agreement that in bringing forward any information we might have on this or other subjects, we would not do it in such a way as to involve the general question of old and new organization, or to commit the Convention either way in regard to it. If therefore the Convention has had its attention called to it, and been in any way embarrassed with it, the responsibility does not rest with us.

The Convention then adjourned.

SIXTH DAY'S SITTINGS, MONDAY, JUNE 19.

(MORNING.)

SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of Saturday were read and confirmed.

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE BRITISH WEST INDIA ISLANDS—PLAN OF MACGREGOR LAIRD, ESQ., FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

MR. MACGREGOR LAIRD.—The Glasgow Emancipation Society having done me the honour of appointing me their delegate, I have now, in conformity with their views, to move certain resolutions in favour of free emigration from the coast of Africa to the British West India Islands. They are the following:

"That from the earliest period of the Anti-slavery contest, the opinion that free labour is,—all other things being equal,—cheaper than slave labour, has been held demonstrated, and received as an axiom by the Anti-slavery body; and this Convention hereby affirms and maintains the truth of such proposition.

"That it is the duty of this Convention to support all plans by which this great truth may be practically brought into operation, provided such plans are consistent with the moral, religious, and pacific principles, solemnly avowed to be the basis on which this Convention is formed.

"That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the slave-trade carried on upon the Atlantic is caused by the demand in the Western world for slaves to cultivate sugar, coffee, and other tropical productions, and that the *only* moral, religious, and pacific plan to destroy that demand for slaves, is to produce at a cheaper rate by free labour, the sugar, &c., now raised by the labour of slaves; and that it is self-evident, that when that is accomplished, slavery and the slave-trade will of necessity cease.

"That the free tropical colonies of Great Britain in the West Indies have abundance of fertile land unoccupied, which it only requires labour and capital to render productive, and that, if they possessed a sufficiently numerous population, they could produce sugar, &c., cheaper than any countries cultivated by the labour of slaves.

"That it has been sufficiently established, that the African race, of all other races, are constitutionally best suited for agricultural labour within the tropics, and that it is desirable that any addition to the existing population of British Sugar colonies should be of that race.

"That in the opinion of this Convention, it is highly desirable that such an addition should be made to the population of the British West Indies, as would enable them to undersell the slave holder *in the markets of the world*, and that, in order to do so, it is essential that all restrictions on the free emigration of the negro race from *all parts* of the coast of Africa to the British colonies be removed, provided that such emigration be conducted exclusively by the government, on a basis of perfect freedom, and that a free return at all times be granted to such emigrants, from the colonies to the place from whence they came.

"That a petition embodying these resolutions be presented from this Convention to both houses of parliament."

Unlike many of the speakers who have addressed you, I regret that I cannot congratulate the Convention upon the progress which the cause of Africa has made since 1840; and I think that we run great danger of being lulled into a false security on this point. Do we see any alleviation of the misery of the negro race in the Southern states of America? Do we find any improvement in their condition in the slave-holding empire of Brazil? Have we loosened the bonds of

the negro in Cuba and Porto Rico—or rendered his home more secure from the incursions of the man stealer in Africa itself? No. Turn which way we will, the only places in the survey on which the mind can dwell with any degree of complacency, are our own colonies in the West Indies, where we behold the glorious and unique spectacle of a free, prosperous, and happy negro community.

The success which has attended our exertions on behalf of that portion of the negro race, over which we could exercise a direct and legitimate control, and the total failure of all our attempts by slave-trade treaties, mixed commission courts, preventive squadrons, and African settlements, to improve the condition of that portion held in bondage by foreign powers, or to lessen the desolation of Africa by the ravages of the foreign slave-trade, may well claim the attention of this Convention, and excuse me entering into a short history of the different remedies that have been tried and failed within the last thirty-five years, before bringing forward the one, of which I am the humble advocate, before the meeting.

First, As to the Slave-trade Treaties, about which we hear so much in Parliament.—It is of importance that their true value should be correctly ascertained, as late events have shown that there is every probability of their ultimately producing an European war. A short sketch of their rise and progress, with the principal slave-importing countries, is necessary to a complete view of the subject.

As soon as, in 1807, Parliament had passed a bill abolishing the British slave-trade,—(it may teach us charity to be reminded, that we were preceded in that righteous measure by Denmark in 1792,)—the British ministers at all foreign courts were ordered to negotiate treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade. They commenced with Portugal; after three years' labour, concluding a treaty in 1810. In 1815, Great Britain paid 300,000*l.* for seizing Portuguese vessels, engaged in the trade up to the 1st of June, 1814; and the same year, gave up to her 600,000*l.* for another treaty, putting an end to the Portuguese slave-trade, "except for the purpose of supplying the Transatlantic possessions belonging to the crown of Portugal." In 1817, a third treaty was made, under which the Mixed Commission Courts and Preventive Squadron were established. In 1823, another treaty was brought forth. "In the meanwhile, the trade carried on by miscreants of all nations, under the fraudulent cover of the Portuguese flag, became a disgrace to Christendom." (*Bandinel*, p. 222.) In 1839, the British Parliament took the law into their own hands, and passed an act authorising British cruisers to seize Portuguese vessels engaged in the slave-trade, and constituting British Vice-Admiralty Courts to condemn them. In 1842, this law was repealed, and a fifth treaty has been made with Portugal. We are therefore about to recommence the same ground again with this power; though the increase of the trade under our former treaties was from 25,000 slaves, in 1807, to 56,000, in 1822; and in 1839, 48 vessels, under the Portuguese flag (out of a total of 61 slave vessels) were condemned at Sierra Leone.

With Spain, we commenced in 1808; but did nothing until 1814, when we offered the Spanish Government a bribe of 800,000*l.* to abolish the trade at the end of five years. Having more honesty than the Portuguese, the Spaniards refused, and (no thanks to our diplomatists) the money was saved; but Spain engaged to prohibit the trade, except for Spanish possessions. In 1815, we got her to sign, with other powers at the Congress of Vienna, a declaration "that the slave-trade is repugnant to the principles of humanity and of universal morality." In 1817, another treaty was got on our paying 400,000*l.* for it; and in 1822, a third; yet "the sea swarmed with slave-ships, carrying

on the slave-trade under the flag of Spain." (*Bandinel*, p. 161.) And so it continued until 1836, when the fourth or CLARENDON treaty was made; which Sir T. F. BUXTON designates "an impudent fraud," but which Mr. BANDINEL thinks perfection, or as near perfection as a treaty can get. In it was embodied an equipment-clause, by which a vessel with certain articles and fittings on board is liable to condemnation. This has had the effect of diminishing the trade carried on under the Spanish flag, but the number of slaves landed in Cuba does not appear to have been at all affected by it,—43 vessels entering the port of Havana, after landing their slaves on the coast of Cuba, in 1836; the annual average number in the next four years being 45. It appears, therefore, that for our 400,000*l.*, paid in 1817, we have got four treaties, under which the supply of the Spanish Colonies with slaves has gone on as regularly as that of any other article of commerce, increasing and diminishing with the demand for them; that in the meantime we have, as slave-catchers for them, handed over to their tender mercies several thousand Emancipados at the Havana, who are a degree worse off than the slaves themselves; and our Consul, having contrived an ingenious plan to get back some of these poor people, has had his "exequatur" withdrawn, and been turned out of the colony.

On the separation of Brazil from Portugal, negotiations were entered into to induce the Brazilian Government to abandon the slave-trade: and in 1826, a treaty was entered into, declaring it piracy after 1830; when a Mixed British and Brazilian Court were to adjudicate on seizures. The greatest exertions were used to import slaves from the date of this treaty, and the vessels were consequently much more crowded than usual; yet, out of 150,587 slaves legally imported into Rio Janeiro, between the 1st July, 1827, and 31st December, 1830, when it became a smuggling trade, the mortality on the middle passage was *only* 8 *per cent.* In 1831, the trade still going on, Don PEDRO issued a decree, declaring all slaves brought into Brazil free. In 1835, a new treaty was entered into with Great Britain, similar to the Spanish one of the same date, which the Brazilian Legislature refused to ratify then, and repeated the refusal in 1840. The result of our treaty-making with Brazil, according to the only source of information, the Parliamentary Papers, A and B, has been an increase in the extent of the trade, accompanied with an increase in the cruelty with which it is carried on; the mortality being raised on the middle passage from 8 per cent., in 1830, to 25 per cent., in 1840. (*Buxton*, p. 174). If a man is to be made a slave, let him be made a slave as comfortably as possible; but do not let us, under the hypocritical name of philanthropy, add to the cruelty inflicted in transporting him to the field of labour. In the meantime, our cruisers have captured some thousand negroes; and "every account received from Brazil of the state of the negroes, who had been *nominally* emancipated by sentence of the Mixed Commission Courts, shows that in reality they have continued to be slaves." (*Bandinel*, p. 239.)

The Portuguese, Spanish, and Brazilian flags, being the only ones employed in the conveyance of slaves from Africa within the Tropics, a sketch of the results of our treaties with them was necessary; but treaties have been multiplied with every power in Europe having a maritime flag; with every power in the Americas, except the United States and one or two others; and attempts have been made to extend them among the barbarous chiefs that line the coast and rivers of Africa. If it was not too melancholy a subject to laugh at, the idea of "a confederacy with the chiefs from the Gambia on the West to Begharmie on the East, and from the Desert on the North to the Gulf of Guinea on the South," (*Buxton*, p. 297,) to be purchased by scarlet coats, cocked hats, &c., would be supremely ridiculous. The attempt to make

Christian powers adhere to them having failed, seemed to be taken as the strongest proof that Pagan ones would strictly comply with the most stringent conditions of a slave-trade treaty.

Let us listen to the opinions of the value of the treaty system, expressed by its inventors, its executive, and her Majesty's Government prior to 1840. On the 26th of December, 1839, Lord JOHN RUSSELL states, after announcing its failure, that "her Majesty's confidential advisers are therefore compelled to admit the conviction, that it is indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system." (Parliamentary Papers, No. 57, 8th February, 1840.) After thirty years' trial of the old, this declaration of the necessity for a new system is very valuable. Sir T. F. BUXTON states, in 1839, "It is, then, but too manifest, that the efforts already made for the suppression of the slave-trade have not accomplished their benevolent object." p. 203. The Reports of her Majesty's Commissioners at Sierra Leone, Havana, &c., may be taken fairly to represent the opinions of the Executive. In January, 1821, they report from Sierra Leone only one case brought before them, and a great falling-off in the traffic. (Parliamentary Paper A.) In 1836, they report an increase of the slave-trade in the vicinity of Sierra Leone; "There would then appear at present, we regret to say, but little likelihood of the slave-trade ever being suppressed by the present restrictive measures employed to prevent that traffic." (Parliamentary Paper A, 1831.) Twenty years after the establishment of the Mixed Commission Courts, on the 31st December, 1838, Messrs. MACAULAY and DOHERTY make the following statement to Lord PALMERSTON; and to it I beg to call particular attention, not only on account of the character and connexions of the author, which, in all relating to Sierra Leone and the slave-trade, will command attention, but for the full and frank admission of the total failure of the system Mr. MACAULAY had been so long administering, and the prophetic spirit with which the ultimate result of all our past exertions is foreshadowed. After recommending that Great Britain should treat the vessels of all nations as British property, and the crews as British subjects, they go on to state, "But, whatever other means may be necessary in a time of profound peace to give effect to England's interpretation of the law of nations, those means she will surely not hesitate to adopt, when her *only other alternative is, retiring at once from a contest which she has long waged—baffled, beaten, and insulted, by a set of lawless and outcast smugglers,*—or wilfully continuing to sacrifice thousands of valuable lives and millions of money, with the full knowledge, that the only result of her further efforts will be fresh triumphs to the slave-traders, and the increased misery of their victims. Desirable as would be the concession by America of the right of mutual search, experience has shown we can expect *no permanent advantage from it.* Disappointment has followed every effort hitherto made, and stronger measures are now imperatively called for,—measures which, without violating the laws of nations or the faith of treaties, will at length accomplish the earnest desire of the British nation, by the total abolition of the African slave-trade. (Parliamentary Papers, A; further series, 1838 and 1839.)

The curious inquirer, by referring to the evidence taken before the Select Committee, on the Coast of Africa, Questions 5,192 to 5,196, will see how Mr. MACAULAY'S "only other alternative" has dwindled down from a stout declaration of war to the knife against slave-dealers of all nations, to a puny extension of our present system. It seems also from this despatch, that we have been nearly quarrelling with America, and are now squabbling with France, about a mere shadow—the right of search being of "*no permanent advantage*" to the suppression of the slave-trade. But, however unanimous the parties were in 1840, in exposing and denouncing the insufficiency of the preventive

system, the same parties, led by Mr. Bandinell in place of Sir T. Fowell Buxton, have discovered, in 1842, that we have effected wonders by our treaties; a revolution in opinion, the grounds of which it is of importance should be thoroughly examined.

Of Mr. Bandinell's work, as an authentic and valuable record of what has been done in the treaty-making line, no one can speak too highly: it is a précis that cannot be too much praised for its concise, business-like, methodical arrangement; it is evidently the work of a man whose heart is in his business. That it is a work taken by the higher powers as good authority, no one can doubt who heard Lord Brougham's eloquent eulogium on the author, in his powerful but vain appeal, to the House of Lords at the close of last session, to make efficient his own or his friends' non-efficient consolidated slave acts. But, with the fullest belief in the accuracy of the facts stated by Mr. Bandinell, in his work, I must demur to his conclusions as to the *cause* of the decrease in the slave-trade; and, confining myself to Cuba, I shall prove, that Mr. Bandinell, notwithstanding his great care and research, has fallen undesignedly into error. He states, (p. 285,) that "ever since the treaty of 1835, (the Clarendon treaty,) the diminution of slaves imported has been marked and gradual, and is becoming more striking every year." In contradiction, her Majesty's Commissioners at the Havana, report on the 7th January, 1837, "that the slave-trade had not abated in vigour during the year 1836." In July, 1838, "they regret to have to report an alarming increased series of operations on the part of the slave-dealers; no fewer than 18 vessels fitting out in the harbour for the coast of Africa." And on the 1st of January, 1840, "the numbers introduced into the island have *not on the whole varied from former years.*" Who are right, the Commissioners at Havana, or Mr. Bandinell in Downing-street?

They differ also as to the import, which Mr. Bandinell estimates at 40,000 a year, and Sir T. F. Buxton at 60,000. Her Majesty's Commissioners state positively, "the average number of Africans imported per annum *does not exceed* 25,000." I ask again, who is right? To prove his position, Mr. Bandinell quotes the Report of the Commissioners at Havana, as to the import of slaves for 1840, at 14,470, instead of his imagined number of 40,000; which shows a diminution of nearly *two-thirds.* But what do these ill-quoted Commissioners say, in their despatch, 1st January, 1841? "Still, the whole number brought to the island in 1840 would be less than 15,000, or under *three-fifths of the supposed average* of former years." (Parliamentary Papers, A, 1842;) and, echoing their brethren at Sierra Leone, they write, that "England must determine on taking it into her own hands, unless she be content to have made a useless sacrifice in all her past exertions, *and retire baffled from such an inglorious contest.*" Three months afterwards, we find them reporting, under date 11th March, 1841, "The number despatched (for the slave-trade) is, we fear, a prognostication of the dealers being as desperately bent as ever on carrying on their pursuits;" and they give a key to the reason, by mentioning that a retired slave-dealer, called Mazorra, was about to return to Spain with a fortune of four millions of dollars. On the 15th of September, 1841, reporting the arrival of 400 negroes, they state, "From these circumstances it appears, that the trade continues *in fact unrepressed;* while it bears evidently a more contraband character as respects the arrivals." On November 25th, 1841, they again report, "These indications of *undiminished* pursuit of the slave-trade, we regret to add, are further confirmed by the arrivals, as it is reported that *nearly* 2,000 *Africans* were landed from slave vessels, in the immediate neighbourhood, *during the month.*"

Now I am quite ready to admit, that the slave-trade may have fallen off since 1839—I know that it has; but any mercantile man connected with Cuba

will laugh at the idea of its being caused by our treaty system. In 1836, the Commissioners stated, in their despatch from Havana, "Never since the establishment of the Mixed Commission has the slave-trade of the Havana reached such a disgraceful pitch as during the year 1835;" and they gave the reason:—"*The actual high price of colonial produce*, which has risen here most remarkably in value since the emancipation of the negroes in the British Colonies, is without doubt one of the principal causes of the *increase in the demand for Africans.*" So the decrease in the import of Africans into Cuba within the last two or three years, has been caused by the great commercial distress, *checking the demand*,—a fact which is well known to every mercantile man; interest being at the rate of 18 to 24 per cent., produce one-third of the price it was in 1839, and credit almost annihilated. This natural result of commercial distress spread over a series of years, has been seized upon with their customary assurance by the Slave-trade Treaty profession, as evidence that their more stringent treaties, the increased number of cruisers, and taking the law in their own hands, by destroying slave-trade barracoons and property on the coast of Africa, is producing the desired effect of first checking, and, if followed up, ultimately destroying the slave-trade. Hence their change of tactics from the condemnation of the treaty system, in 1840.

The Slave-trade Treaties can only be justified on the good the African race derive from them. Tried by this test, it is questionable whether they have not proved to the negro a curse in place of a blessing. When we commenced them, we found a legalised slave-trade going on with a certain degree of cruelty, which may be represented by a mortality of from 10 to 15 per cent. Our interference made it a smuggling trade, and has raised the mortality to from 25 to 33 per cent. The numbers exported is not diminished. "Each individual has more to endure, and the number of individuals has increased to twice what it was. The result, therefore, is, that aggravated suffering reaches multiplied numbers." (*Buxton*, p. 268.) The reply to this argument against the system is, that we are not answerable for the increased cruelty of the trade; the guilt of that rests with the slave-dealer. The slave-dealer retorts, "You prevent my using large and roomy vessels to carry on a trade you acknowledge you cannot prevent. It is my interest to carry it on with the least possible loss of life. You force me to pack my negroes in bulk, and then preach humanity to me." The person most of all interested, the negro, has no voice in the matter; if he had had one, I suspect the question would have been settled before this. The humanity of our treaty-makers is local, being confined to the Tropics; the Mediterranean slave-trade is *expressly excluded* from our treaties.

I consider that we have no right to increase the sufferings of the whole annual export of slaves for the *chance* of capturing and liberating a small per-centage of them; that the evil we do is present and palpable, the good uncertain, and contingent on a variety of circumstances, over which we have no control; in short, that we have no right to do evil that good may come. When the great maker of slave-trade treaties was driven from office, a deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society went to thank him for those treaties. (Cries of "No.") For what then did they go? They are not a political body. What did Lord Palmerston, or any other Foreign Secretary, ever do for the cause of the slave?

To those who cling to the "equipment-clause" as all-sufficient if made general, the case of the *Jesus Maria*, captured in 1841, off Porto Rico, will illustrate the practical effect of that law. This vessel, of 35 tons British, or 25 Spanish, took in a cargo of 278 slaves, on the coast of Africa, and made the voyage across the Atlantic with them and nineteen passengers and crew. Any one acquainted with a Cowes pilot-boat may imagine, if he can, the state

297 human beings would be in, in such a craft, under a tropical sun! It cannot be too generally known, that the only effect of this much-vaunted clause is to increase the cruelty of the trade. The instance I have named is not a singular one; there are many others. The *Si*, 89 tons, 400 slaves and crew—the *Pomba d'Africa*, 35 tons, 169 souls—the *Vincedora*, 16 tons, 71 souls—*Corsica*, 80 tons, 392 slaves—all prove that the more stringent our measures, the more inhuman the trade; that we can, and will if we persevere in our present system, drive it into row-gallies, but that if the demand continue it will still go on.

If our treaties, by accomplishing their object, had enabled the African to cultivate the soil in peace and security, I for one would not have alluded to the expense annually incurred in carrying out the system; as, at whatever cost, we are bound to repair the injuries we have inflicted on the negro race while carrying on the slave-trade. But as the slave-trade, always cruel, has its horrors increased tenfold by our interference, while its extent is not diminished, the expense at which this result is arrived at is a fair subject of complaint.

Sir T. F. Buxton estimates the expense incurred by Great Britain in carrying out the Slave-trade Preventive System at 15,000,000*l.* up to 1839. Her Majesty's late Commissioner of Inquiry on the coast of Africa estimates the expense incurred there, independently of the salaries and contingencies at home, of officers connected with the anti-slavery trade department at 229,090*l.* per annum; and by the finance accounts I find, that for the year ending 5th January, 1842, 57,024*l.* was paid out of the Consolidated Fund, to the officers and crews of Her Majesty's ships, for bounty on slaves, and tonnage on slave-vessels. These gallant men, however, do not think they get what they ought to do, for there is a long correspondence about what they lose by the way the prizes are measured for tonnage-money: but it must be consolatory to them to know, that they have in one year received 1,000*l.* more prize-money than their predecessors did in nine; the amount of prize-money paid for capturing slaves from 1814 to 1822 being only 56,017*l.* In fact, the African station has been improving in value as a naval command since the slave-trade treaties: it is now the *bonne bouche* of the admiralty, and as such was given to the last First Lord's brother. The Mixed Commission Courts cost the country about 15,000*l.* per annum: and as any dispute between the Portuguese, Spanish, or Brazilian Judges, is settled by an appeal to the dice-dox, the monotony of their lives is agreeably diversified; having retiring salaries, the patronage is valuable. The whole annual cost may be taken at 300,000*l.*

The moral that is conveyed in the history of the treaties is plain. We have cajoled, bullied, or bribed foreign powers to enter into treaties, based on principles which their subjects could neither appreciate nor understand; we have taken for granted that public opinion in Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, was as far advanced on the subject of the slave-trade as that of Great Britain in 1807: we have endeavoured to embody a question of national morality in parchment and red tape, as if it was a question of Valencia raisins or Oporto wines, with diplomatic courtesy: we took for granted, that the parties entering into the treaties were sincere, and kept no compulsory power in our own hands; and the disappointment that will always attend any attempt to legislate for the consciences of other men has awaited us.

The next remedy I have to notice is, the attempt to civilize Africa, and extinguish the slave-trade, by settlements of Europeans on her coast. It was commenced upwards of half a century since, and tried coincidently with the slave-trade treaties; but, as the late Niger expedition was based on the assumed success of this plan, and as the extension of our settlements in Africa

is a favourite scheme with many at the present day, it is essential that I should show the complete failure of that remedy, before I can expect to find support to the one I am about to propose.

Sierra Leone was founded in 1787, "for the purpose of teaching the natives to give up the slave-trade on a religious principle, and to substitute for that trade a more legitimate commerce." Fourteen years afterwards, (March, 1801,) the directors of the Sierra Leone Company state, on the subject of African civilization in general, "the directors have nothing of a recent nature to report which can afford satisfaction to the proprietors." In 1807, the company, who up to that time had sunk 250,000*l.* in the colony, petitioned the Government to take up the colony, their funds being exhausted. The grounds on which its retention is recommended are stated to be, first, the claims of the Maroons and Nova Scotians to the protection of Government; second, the degree of probability which may exist of forwarding the civilization of Africa by means of the settlement of Sierra Leone; and third, its advantage as a naval station. In an evil hour the Government consented; and the parties who had been from 1787 to 1807 abusing the confidence of the public with their specious accounts of Sierra Leone, *got up* the African institution, which started into existence in July, 1807, with this grandiloquent appeal to the sympathies and imagination of the public: "A plan which proposes to introduce the blessings of civilized society among a people sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and occupying no less than a fourth part of the habitable globe," must needs find favour in the eyes of a discerning public. They go on to assert, that the bankrupt Sierra Leone Company "had established the possibility of introducing agriculture and innocent commerce into Africa." "It had shown, that not only provisions, but the various articles of export which we now bring from the West Indies, may be raised on the African coast." "In that centrical part of the great African continent, schools may be established, useful arts may be taught, and an *emporium of commerce established*." Such was their glowing exordium thirty-five years ago. The curious in the history of popular delusions may compare it with the "Address of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave-trade and Civilization of Africa," in 1840, and find an extraordinary similarity in both matter and style.

From 1808 to 1825 the public were amused by flourishing reports of what was doing, and what could be done, in Africa. But, notwithstanding these reports, the expense of the flourishing colony became so intolerable, that Commissioners were sent out in 1826; and they reported to Parliament, in 1827—"The results of more than eighteen years' experience, as exemplified in the condition of those liberated Africans located in Sierra Leone, seems to justify the inference, that either the mode pursued with the view of improving their condition by agricultural pursuits has not been judicious, or that their character and habits are unfavourable to that kind of improvement, or perhaps that both these causes have operated to a certain extent. However this may be, the results are in themselves incontrovertible, and leave little room to hope, that without the adoption of more effectual measures, the adult class of negroes will be induced to improve their present condition." "It is with great regret that we state it as our conscientious opinion, that the progress hitherto made towards the civilization of the liberated Africans, as exemplified in their present habits and condition, *falls infinitely short* of what might reasonably have been expected from the liberal means dedicated to this benevolent undertaking." In 1830, forty-three years after the formation of the colony, a Select Committee, appointed to inquire into the state of Sierra Leone and Fernando Po, report—"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the management of the settlement of Sierra Leone has not hitherto been produc-

tive of advantages to the extent which was anticipated, either to the *liberated Africans located there*, or *towards effecting an intercourse with the interior of Africa to promote its civilization*, although the expenditure by Government for that purpose has for many years been very large; but a better system has of late been adopted, which, if persevered in, with the modifications herein suggested, will secure the advantages that can fairly be expected from the maintenance of the settlement." They recommended the removal of the Mixed Commission Courts to Fernando Po, and that no more captured slaves should be located at Sierra Leone. In 1832, the charge of the Chief Justice was published by Parliament, ominously headed, "Slave-trade, Sierra Leone." The charge asserted, and the inquiry that took place afterwards proved, that kidnapping was a common offence in the colony, and supplying goods and ships to slave-dealers one of the most important branches of its business.

In 1838, Sir T. F. Buxton took up the subject; and in 1839, published his *Slave Trade;* a work whose practical fault is its exaggerated estimate of the numbers exported. When the government were pledged to his plan, the *Remedy* was published, and which may be shortly designated an extension of the Sierra Leone system. He asserted, that "the only glimmer of civilization, the only attempt at legitimate commerce, the only prosecution, however faint, of agriculture, are to be found at Sierra Leone, and at some of the settlements which I have just named; and there alone the slave trade has been in any degree arrested." (p. 365.) "Still, experience speaks strongly in its favour, because many thousands of human beings, taken from the holds of slave-ships and placed there in the rudest state of barbarism, have made considerable advances in civilisation, because thousands of negro children have received and are receiving the rudiments of Christian character, and because a trade has there taken root, in itself inconsiderable enough, it is true, but yet one third of the whole legitimate trade of Central Africa." (p. 367.) I have inserted this extraordinary statement, because I think it will be the last public attempt to bolster up the Sierra Leone system.

In the year 1839, another commission of enquiry was sent out to Africa. The gentleman selected was Dr. Madden, whose uncompromising hostility to slavery and the slave-trader are well known to all readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. No one can suspect him of any prejudice against Sierra Leone. At the time of his visit, the colony had been settled fifty-three years. His opinion of Sierra Leone, as stated in his report, is—"I can neither consider the colony of Sierra Leone, with reference to the objects for which it was founded, as an utter failure, nor yet by any means as a well-ordered settlement—prosperous in its trade, increasing in its cultivation, and successful in its influence over the inhabitants of the adjoining districts."

In reference to its success in putting down the slave-trade, he says, "The great argument in the early reports of the Sierra Leone and African Association for the maintenance of this colony, was the influence it would exert over the natives of the adjoining countries, and the tendency it would have to suppress the slave-trade in its neighbourhood. Now, the Sherboro is within fifty miles of Sierra Leone, the Gallinas within 150 miles, the Scarcies within 20, the Pongos within 90, and the Nunez within 130 miles of our chief settlement. These are notorious slave ports, and we keep up that settlement at an expense of £80,000 a year for all its establishments, and find, that instead of proving any barrier to the extension of the slave-trade in these places, that they still exist in the vicinity, and have become *infinitely more numerous and prosperous than they were before the settlement existed.*" (Appendix, p. 259.)

With regard to its progress in agriculture, he remarks. "At different times, some European merchants, or other settlers, have undertaken the cultivation of

a garden, or a few acres of mountain soil, where they have tried to produce coffee, capsicum, ginger or arrow-root: these have been tried, and either after failure or temporary success, the *death* of the experimentalist has brought every thing to ruin, and the cultivation of the ground has been neglected, and in a little time wholly abandoned." (p. 261.)

"Its progress in population—

"Liberated Africans emancipated from

1816 to 1840	59,531
Previously	11,278
Total	70,809
Liberated Africans in the colony, 1840	37,029
Deficit	33,780"—p.249

No unprejudiced person, calmly looking back upon the history of Sierra Leone since 1791, can doubt that a deliberate system of deception as to the real state of the colony, both in its moral and economical condition, has been practised upon the people and government of this country. Equally must he exempt from active participation in the fraud, the great majority of those noblemen and gentlemen whose names were used to gild the lie and make it pass current with the public. They trusted implicitly to the accounts laid before them; and, deceived themselves, were made the instruments of deceiving others. Great allowances may be made also for the conclusions former committees of inquiry arrived at. The earlier ones, especially, were hampered with the difficulty of providing for the Maroons and Nova Scotians; and in 1830, the committee in vain attempted to stop the extension of the system. The curse of slavery still blighted our West India Colonies, and rendered it impossible to call their agency into play. There existed a sort of necessity for following up the line of policy that had been commenced: they had the ready and unscrupulous assertion—the false statement of the promise of prosperity, which it would be so desirable to see fulfilled, always at hand to re-assure them. Men of honour themselves, they trusted too confidingly; and that may be considered the extent of their fault. One principal reason of the impunity with which the public have been misled about Sierra Leone is, no doubt, owing to its situation; it is out of the way—not one traveller in ten thousand visits it. Having no trade in itself, it has no mercantile representation in this country; its European population is composed almost exclusively of men who live on the system, either in place or waiting for one. Its communication with the mother-country is irregular and tedious; letters seldom arriving under sixty to seventy days. The officers of the navy, whose duties call them there, despatch them as quickly as possible, and return to their stations. To them it must appear merely as the residence of the mixed commission court—the utensil through which they get a legal claim to their prize money. But the great and fatal bar to the permanent improvement of the colony is the climate. The following letter, which is on the minutes of the committee, shows the comparative value of European life in our tropical colonies.

"North British Insurance Office, 27th June, 1842.

"Dear Sir,—We are in receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, and beg to inform you, that an extra premium of 25 per cent. per annum would be charged for permission for an approved life to reside at Sierra Leone.

"For similar permission to the East Indies, in a civil capacity, 3 per cent., and for the British West Indies, from 3 to 9 per cent., according to the island visited.

"We are, &c. (Signed) B. and M. Boyd.

"M. Laird, Esq., 15, Great St. Helen's."

It is impossible to get a sufficiently numerous resident European population, to affect favourably, by their example the mass of barbarism they are in contact with. What is there is not a very choice one, as in the nature of things it cannot be; no instance being known of *an European family being reared* in any of our West African colonies; and without female influence and family ties no *complete* European society can be offered for example to the African. This is the real secret of the lamentable moral reputation of the colony, after the thousands that have received what is called a Christian education in it. No man regrets this more than I do; but I see in it an insurmountable barrier to doing any good by European agency, in our present settlements, to the African race. Providence has erected a wall of malaria around it, which we cannot break through—which fifty years' experience at Sierra Leone has proved we cannot even measure. I protest, therefore, against keeping up a settlement that for the last 25 years has notoriously been the cheapest place at which to purchase a slave ship, to procure a crew of ruffians to man her, a cargo of slave goods, and in whose immediate vicinity exists the cheapest markets in all Africa for purchasing slaves. These statements are not mine alone, unsupported by other evidence; they are taken from official documents. It is, I know, a very unpleasant subject to dwell upon, but with that I have nothing to do: I could not, as an honest man, sit in this Convention without bringing them forward; they have been too much kept in the back ground heretofore.

In 1840, there were four remedies for the slave-trade proposed to the British Government: *First*, Sir T. F. Buxton's extension of the Sierra Leone system, in the shape of the Niger Expedition and model farms, coupled with a more stringent cruising system. *Second*, Mr. Turnbull's plan, as detailed in his work on Cuba, and which, if I mistake not, was sanctioned by the Anti-Slavery Convention, held in that year. *Third*, Mr. Macaulay's plan of taking the law in our own hands, and treating all nations as British subjects. *Fourth*, Mr. Wakefield's, as published in the *Colonial Gazette*, to encourage a free emigration to and from the coast of Africa, and the British colonies in the West Indies.

As the first three left intact all places and emoluments, and in fact, rather increased them, they were supported by that interest which the slave-trade treaties have created; were consequently adopted by the Government, and have been tried, and notoriously failed in accomplishing anything for the advantage of the African race. The fourth remedy which created no places or pensions, and threatened to destroy those at present existing, was most violently opposed by the same interest which procured the adoption of the others, and in consequence was rejected by Her Majesty's Government. I stand here to-day to advocate that remedy as the only sufficient one in our power to extinguish slavery and the slave-trade, by means exclusively moral, religious, and pacific—the only ones which according to the constitution of this Convention it can support.

In 1842, the failure of the three remedies that had been adopted by the Government, added to the economical state of the West Indies, the high price of sugar, and the financial state of the country, forced the Government to appoint two Committees of the House of Commons—one on the state of the West Indies, the other on the state of our African colonies. All inquiry into the working of the slave-trade preventive system, and into the late Niger Expedition, was carefully excluded from the West African Committee, and any attempt to introduce either subject was immediately put down. The report of the Committee on the West India colonies, stated that emancipation had "been productive, as regards the character and condition of the negro population, of the most favourable and gratifying results;" that the production of the staple articles, sugar, coffee, &c., had very much diminished, principally

because "the labourers are enabled to live in comfort and acquire wealth, without, for the most part, labouring on the estates of the planters more than three or four days a week, and from five to seven hours in a day;" and they recommended "the immigration of a fresh labouring population, to such an extent as to create competition for employment." "Such immigration to be under the authority, inspection, and control of responsible public officers." The Committee on the West coast of Africa reported that, "It would be well for the African, in every point of view, to find himself a free labourer in the free British West India colonies, enjoying there, as he would, higher advantages of every kind, than have fallen to the lot of the negro race in any other portion of the globe;" and recommended that a *free* emigration should not only be allowed but encouraged, and carried on by the Government. Now, if free emigration from Africa to the West Indies was intended by the Committee to be anything similar to what free emigration between Great Britain and her colonies actually is, they have only to refer to the plan of emigration manufactured by some West India proprietors and the Colonial Office, as stated in the papers, relative to emigration between Africa and the West Indies, laid before Parliament, to find, that it is a totally different thing, and that the Government who attempted to enforce such regulations in London or Liverpool, as they have done in Sierra Leone, would be considered anything *but encouragers* of emigration. To enumerate a few of them, any African, except Kroomen, desirous to emigrate, must have resided in Sierra Leone for six weeks, before he was eligible to emigrate. One professional gentleman, whose evidence had great weight, had the assurance to propose a residence of twelve months as a *sine qua non*. He must give three weeks' notice *in writing* of his intention to do so, and must have possession of some authenticated printed paper for a certain number of days. He must register himself for some one colony, and is not allowed to change his mind without paying a fee of 2s. 6d., and while any transport is taking emigrants for any one West Indian colony, he is not allowed to register himself for any other. It is not likely, that in a colony where emigration is denounced from the pulpits, and opposed by the European residents, that these restrictions will lose any of their stringency in practice. Now, an African is or is not a free agent: if he is free, the regulations enumerated are so many infringements on his free agency; if he is not free, we have no business with him.

I will not dwell upon the tendency of these rules to check emigration, but state at once, that if intended for the purpose of perpetuating the slavery that under the name of apprenticeship notoriously exists in Sierra Leone, and to prevent runaway slaves from the interior taking refuge in the colony, they could not have been better drawn up. The pretence, of course is, that it is necessary to protect the African from the British Government, as no individual has or can have any interest in the matter. The resolutions I have proposed state concisely the principle of the remedy I advocate. It is based on the well-established fact, that the labour of a free man, working on his own account, is of more value than the labour of a slave, working under compulsion; and that, consequently, if a sufficient amount of free labour was brought into competition with slave labour, we should be able to undersell the slave-holder in the markets of the world, and by so doing, render his slaves valueless, and force him into emancipating them. I will not go into detail in proving the truth of this position, as it is one I presume none in this Convention would think of disputing; but merely state, that under all the unfavourable circumstances our West India colonies labour under, at present their free inhabitants produce more sugar *per head* than any slave population on the globe.

The manner this remedy may be applied is, by filling our thinly populated

colonies in the West Indies with a population of free negroes; by encouraging free African emigration, as recommended by the West African Committee; and discouraging all such plans as the Colonial Office abortion which I have described; to establish a bridge, in fact, between Africa and the West Indies, that shall be *toll-free both ways*—a steam bridge, if possible; but, at all events, a bridge that every negro shall have a right to traverse, without asking permission from any one. Let us calmly examine this subject of emigration.

The broad view of the subject of African Emigration is in itself simple. In Africa, we have a population of many millions, demoralised and degraded; the experience of centuries has demonstrated, that Europeans cannot (with rare individual exceptions) exist in the country. No instance is known, as I have said, of any family from European parents being reared on the Western coast of Africa, from Cape de Verde to Angola. The whole continent, from the Desert of Sahara, with the exception of our settlement at the Cape, may be said to be shut out from intercourse with the civilised world, by a ring fence of unseen but deadly malaria. The enterprise of merchants,—the zeal of travellers,—the enthusiasm of the missionary,—have alike failed to gain any footing in the interior. For 50 years we have been sacrificing life and money at Sierra Leone, with no good effect upon the surrounding population; for 34 years we have been trying to put down the slave-trade, and, according to Sir T. F. Buxton, only aggravating its horrors by our interference. We have tried in vain, by treaties and squadrons, to give the people security of life and property; in spite of all, the slave-trade flourishes,—the misery and suffering of the negro race seem perpetually on the increase. It is clear that no great or general improvement can take place, except by negro agency; that until that is created in sufficient quantity to render Africa a safe country for peaceable inhabitants to live in, any plan that holds out a refuge and asylum in our free British Colonies to the negro race, is of necessity a benefit to them. It is one that they cannot receive from any other nation, none having free tropical colonies,—one that we are bound to accord to them on the common principles of humanity, without reference to any economical advantages. Within ten or twelve days' steaming of this coast of Africa, swarming with a miserable, unemployed, ignorant, and persecuted population, we have our colonies of Guiana and Trinidad; to the North of them their sister colonies—Tobago, St. Vincent, &c.; to the West, Jamaica; the bulk of their inhabitants of the same race, colour, and natural disposition as those on the coast of Africa, the land from which they sprung. Let us compare the account of the African race in their own country, given by Sir T. F. Buxton, with that of the same race in our sugar colonies.

In "*The Slave-Trade and its Remedy*," (p. 269,) he says, "Every day which we pass in security and peace at home witnesses many a herd of wretches toiling over the wastes of Africa, to slavery or death; every night villages are roused from their sleep by the alternative of the sword, or the flames, or the manacle. At the time I am writing, there are at least 20,000 *human beings* on the Atlantic exposed to every variety of wretchedness." Turn to "Gurney's West Indies." From St. Kitts he writes, "The imports are vastly increased; the duties on them were 6,000*l.* more in 1838 than in 1837; and in 1839, double those of 1838 within 150*l.* This surprising increase is owing to the demand on the part of the free labourers for imported goods, especially for articles of dress. Education in useful knowledge and religious instruction are rapidly advancing. There are nine churches on the island under the Establishment—six Methodist chapels, and three Moravian institutions." (p. 47.) The population of St. Kitts is about 20,000. From Antigua, he writes, "It is a cheering circumstance, of no small importance, that there are no less, as we are told, than 7,000 scholars

in the various charity schools of Antigua. In all these schools the Bible is read and taught." "We overtook a wedding party; both bride and bridegroom were common labourers on the estate. The bridegroom was attired in a blue coat, handsome waistcoat, with a brooch, white pantaloons, and Wellington boots. The bride in a vast silk pink bonnet, lace cap, and white muslin gown, with fashionable sleeves." "A third meeting was held in the Methodist chapel; it was promiscuously attended, as was supposed, by 2,500 people." (p. 66.) At Dominica, he says, "A majority of the Lower house in the Legislature is composed of coloured persons." In reference to Jamaica, he says, "Wonderful was the scene we witnessed that morning in Samuel Oughton's Baptist chapel, which we attended, without having communicated to the people any previous notice of our coming. Such a flock we had not before seen, consisting of nearly 3,000 black people, chiefly emancipated slaves, attired after their favourite custom in neat white raiment, and most respectable and orderly in their demeanour and appearance. They pour in from the country, partly on foot and partly on *mules or horses of their own*. They now entirely support the mission, and are enlarging their chapel, at the expense of 2,000*l.* sterling." (p. 96,) "'How many dollars should I find in thy purse at home?' said a Friend in our company to a young married negro, who was guiding us along one of the mountain passes, 'Should I find five?' 'Yes, Sir,' replied he, 'and no great matter neither.' How very *few of our labourers in England* would be found with twenty shillings in their purse, of spare money, was our reflection on the occasion." (p. 104.)

No one can deny that the transference of the negro from the state depicted by Buxton to that described by Gurney, would benefit the individual transferred, both morally, intellectually, and physically. Any one will allow that, looking at this question *per se*, the negro race would have that opportunity of rising in the scale of humanity in the West Indies, which all good men desiderate, but which all experience has proved, cannot be offered them on the coast of Africa; and yet few measures have met with more opposition; none, certainly, have been more misrepresented, than the mere proposal to allow them to avail themselves of these advantages.

The Anti-Slavery Society has petitioned the House of Commons against any scheme of emigration from Africa to the West Indies, on three specific grounds: They deny the existence of the alleged want of labour; but even if it does exist, they object to emigration from Africa, because it would stimulate the internal slave-trade; and further, decidedly object to it, because it offers a precedent to other nations who still allow the existence of slavery within their territories or colonies, and who will recruit their slave populations by the import of nominally free, but really enslaved Africans, and thus create a new slave-trade, evade our treaties, &c. &c.

As far as the denial of the want of labour,—it is contradicted by the Report of the West India Committee, by the Blue Book presented to Parliament, and by the diminution of produce, exported for the last eight years in every colony where the population was not in proportion to the soil. It would have been unnatural if the quantity of labour had remained the same after emancipation. The natural longing of the human mind is towards fixed property in the soil, and if the North Atlantic was turned into a fertile prairie to-morrow, our Anglo-Saxon workmen would take possession of it by millions, and change the present cry of labourers willing to work, but unable to get it, to one of manufacturers and farmers crying out for labourers. I grant every thing that has been said about planters and attorneys; slave-owners do not willingly resign their authority, and the vices inherent in the old system would endeavour to perpetuate themselves in the new; but planters, as well as other men, must and did bow to the

stern law of necessity, and it is not to be supposed they continued long endeavouring to coerce labour out of free men, without finding out their mistake, and conciliating them. A deficiency of 90,000 tons of sugar is not to be accounted for by the unwise and irritating proceedings of a few planters. They think emigration will stimulate the internal slave-trade; how, is not stated; but as the only way in which the internal slave-trade can be stimulated into greater activity than it exists at present is, by purchasing slaves, and as it is felony for any British subject to do so, directly or indirectly, this objection falls at once to the ground,—it exists only in the imagination of the petitioners. They object, because foreign nations will make it an excuse to carry on the slave-trade under another name, evade our treaties, &c. Granting that they did, they would only do that openly, and with much less cruelty, which they notoriously do at present secretly, with all the aggravated horrors of a smuggling trade; fewer slaves, perhaps, would be exported from Africa; the slave-dealer could calculate on only losing 7 to 8 per cent. of his living cargo, instead of the 30 or 40, to which our preventive system has raised the mortality. Taking the worst view of the matter,—the African race would rather gain than lose if the slaves annually imported into Brazil and Cuba were conveyed openly as emigrants, instead of covertly as slaves. If Sir T. F. Buxton's book has done no other good, it has opened the eyes of the people to the cruelties perpetrated under the name of humanity, in our vain attempt to suppress the slave-trade. But there is one effectual way of preventing this: the British language is spoken on the coast of Africa, in every roadstead, harbour, and river; in our Colonies, we have emancipated slaves of every nation in Africa, speaking their own as well as the English language. If the Government spread information along the coast through these people, that any men taking refuge under the British flag would be protected, and at the same time ordered our cruisers to receive them, the power of the slave-dealing chiefs to supply slaves to foreigners would be at a blow destroyed,—their own slaves would desert them,—leaving them no other dependance for their rank and subsistence than legitimate trade.

Take, for example, the Cameroons river: if a Spanish and British vessel were lying in it, the one giving freedom and protection to every man who came on board, and with free men, of their own colour and nation, able to give them an idea of what liberty was; the other purchasing slaves; how long would King Aqua, King Bel, or any other slave-dealer, keep the power to procure slaves in his hands? Suppose Sierra Leone had been as eligible a place as Guiana, and instead of repelling the surrounding tribes by Alien Acts and religious persecution, protection and employment had been given to all comers, would the Gallinas have been the notorious slaving port it now is? Could the slave-trade have flourished in contact with such a city of refuge, as it has notoriously done around Sierra Leone? The idea of such a thing is absurd. What we desire to see on the coast of Africa is, exactly what we see daily acted in Canada,—the British flag covering every one—black, mulatto, or white, that can reach its shelter. A slave from Alabama or Tennessee, when once he crosses the boundary line of the United States and Canada, is free and discharged from all manner of service. A slave that reaches the deck of an English ship on the coast of Africa should surely have the same privilege.

The Anti-Slavery Society praise those who subscribe money to assist runaway slaves in America, but the proposition of offering refuge to the negro in the only free country peopled by his own race, is scouted as a revival of the slave-trade. But I protest altogether against our actions being influenced by what any other nation may, or may not do, to encourage African emigration; it is either right or wrong;—if right, it should be done; if wrong, left alone. We are forbidden to do evil, that good may come; but this new reading of the

Commandment, that a positive good is not to be done, *because it may* produce evil, was reserved for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to discover. I appeal to you to support these resolutions on behalf of the people of England. They have a right to demand the benefits that were promised them, when they gave twenty millions to emancipate the slaves in the British colonies; since 1834, they have paid twenty millions more in the increased price of sugar out of their hard earnings. We are bound, therefore, to use all "moral, religious, and pacific" means in our power to cheapen that sugar, which they so much desire, and which is now beyond their reach—they really feel the cost of emancipation—it matters little to the rich what extra price they pay for it. I appeal to you for support on behalf of the negro race in slavery; 7,000,000 of our fellow-creatures have their liberties depending on the great battle between free and slave labour, that must be fought out in our West India colonies, I ask you to side with one or the other party by assenting to or refusing to pass these resolutions. I appeal to you on behalf of the negro peasantry in the West Indies. You all know that the present cultivation is only kept up by a close monopoly of this market; that slave grown sugar is thundering at the door; that, if admitted, the capital of Britain at present invested there will be sacrificed. Consider, I beseech you, the danger of disuniting the negro and European races; look at the picture drawn by Chandler, of the state of the peasantry in Hayti, and that given by Gurney, of the same race in Jamaica. Above all, I appeal to you on behalf of Africa itself: look at the condition of that unhappy country, as depicted by all writers and travellers, from the earliest ages down to the present day, and refuse, if you dare, to open a door for their escape; to lend your assistance in forming this bridge between a land of slavery and one of freedom. Consider the benefits that would flow from the return of these men to their native land, after a residence in the West Indies, where they would have been in contact with European civilization, and have been stimulated by the example of the Creole population. We have never yet succeeded in Africa by European agency; do not refuse this method of creating an African one.

Mr. JOHN MURRAY.—I rise to second the resolution. With respect to free labour, on which the question mainly rests, I would simply refer to the paper of Mr. John Sturge, published in the proceedings of the last Convention, and to the authorities by which his views are supported. I believe that the principle is fully admitted, that free labour, when placed on an equal footing, is capable of maintaining competition with slave labour. With regard to treaties which must be enforced by war-like measures; with regard to Sierra Leone, and the employment of armed cruisers to put down the slave-trade, I fully agree with Mr. Laird, and therefore, I shall at once dispose of that question also. I would recommend the Convention to pass a distinct resolution as to the inefficiency of those measures. I have no hesitation in saying, that I entirely agree with Mr. Laird as to the remedy; and I wish that there was the same extent of sympathy in the Government, that we as an anti-slavery body profess to feel.

Colonel NICHOLLS.—I am again called upon to stand up on behalf of Africa, and to speak against emigration from that country in the present state of its laws and customs. I have, with great pleasure, heard a multitude of truths from Mr. Laird. With all that he has said, as to the ridiculous manner in which attempts have been made to put down the slave-trade, I fully and entirely accord. Ten years' residence on the coast has convinced me that Sierra Leone has failed, and our cruisers also, in effecting it. But why have they failed? Because we have not had honest orders from our law-makers. If Her Majesty's Government had said to their officers, "Go into the harbours of the different

towns upon the coast where there are slave barracoons, and tell them that it is the will of the British Government and people that there should be no more slaving;" the traffic would have been put down ten years ago. I have done so at the three towns up the Cameroons river. Our cruisers hover round the coast to catch the vessels, and take the birds instead of destroying the nest. If you destroy the nest, the birds cannot breed. But that would not suit their purpose—and why? Because they would lose the head-money.

Mr. J. STURGE.—We cannot directly or indirectly sanction an armed force.

Colonel NICHOLLS.—Nor am I going to recommend it *alone;* it must be aided by a good system of commerce, education, and religion. We put down slavery at Bonney and Old Calabar—the greatest of all the slave towns on the West coast—and at Cameroons. I went to one of the chiefs there, and desired him to give up his slaves. He refused; on which I told him that I would make him do it. "How," said the chief, "you will not attack me, a chief, in my own town?" "You know, I have no such intention, having neither gun, sword, nor spear; but I will do it by the public opinion of your own people, whom I have taught at Fernando Po." "Well," said the chief, "I know I must not quarrel with you; you will give me something for the slaves out of the barracoon." I gave him, reluctantly, a couple of puncheons of rum. The slaves were taken out, washed and cleaned, and their irons removed. They were shackled together in pairs, and on the irons being removed maggots came out of their flesh, and the iron shackle was grating against the bone. I was aware, that at another port of Cameroons, we should have some trouble with King Bel, and I told the Captain of the Navy that we must make a show of fighting, but that not a shot should be fired; that I would go first, and he should see how I took the slaves from King Bel. The Kroomen went before me, and we ran up to the chief's house and surrounded it, and captured his four wives and children. I then pointed the attention of the captain to a host of armed men—upwards of a thousand. King Bel attempted to escape, but I went to him and said, "Are you not ashamed of attempting to runaway from me? Did I ever do you an injury or harm you?" King Bel said, "What have you come for?" "To take the slaves out of your barracoon." He made many excuses, and urged that he could not break faith with the Spanish slave-dealers. I reasoned with him, and said, "Here are eight or ten British vessels come for purposes of legitimate commerce; will you quarrel with your English friends for the sake of a rascally slave-dealing Spaniard?" "Well," he replied, "I should not like to quarrel with you. You will give me something." I did reluctantly give him a puncheon of rum, and the slaves were all liberated. Allow me to state, in proof of what Mr. Laird has said, that the Mixed Commission Court on one occasion took the word of a slave captain against that of a captain of a British man-of-war, and gave him back his ship, and fined the captain 1,000*l.* The slaves, however, were liberated, by which I gained my point. I mention these facts, to show that it is the easiest thing possible to put down slavery and the slave-trade in Africa. I pledge myself that it can be done, and I am ready to go and effect it. You send out men-of-war at an enormous expense; you have Mixed Commission Courts, which you pay largely; that court fines the officer for doing his duty 1,000*l.*, and means are contrived by which the British Government pays the amount to the slave-owners; this I call a robbery in the face of this generous country. I say sweep away all the Mixed Commission Courts, and leave our honest Admiralty Court to settle the matter. Now, a word upon free emigration. I was called upon lately to give my evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons. I there stated that free labour was

better than slave labour; every body admits that. But we want free labourers; and where, I ask, can they be obtained? Let Mr. LAIRD, or any body else, answer that question. It is a mistake to suppose that they can be obtained in Africa. I will relate a conversation that took place between Duke EPHRAIM, the king of Old Calabar, and myself. When I wanted to clear the island of Fernando Po, I asked him what he would let me have a thousand men for to clear the bush. I promised to pay and treat them well. He replied, "Nobody who goes to Fernando Po will come back here—you preach to them the rights of men." I then observed, your chief has no right to sell people like sheep and pigs. He added, "I will sell you a thousand men, and you can give them their liberty afterwards." Now, suppose I had given him 6,000*l.*, and brought the people to Fernando Po, and said, "You are free, and I shall pay you for your labour;" would you not have said that that was a good act? But look behind the picture. Here was Duke EPHRAIM with your 6,000*l.*; he would have gone into the interior, and with the produce of 1,000 men would have purchased 2,000. But that is not all; in collecting them, probably 4,000 would have been destroyed, so that that would be six for one. Is not that carrying on the slave-trade again? But even that is not the half of the picture. If I do this, how can I say to Brazil, to Spain, and to Portugal, you shall not do it? They would do it, and Africa would be torn to pieces ten thousand times more than she has hitherto been. I therefore hold up my hands against these resolutions. We stultify ourselves by entertaining them. But our West India colonies require men, and how are they to be procured? There are a few free people who have no employment at Sierra Leone; and nobody can prevent a free man going where he likes. If he likes to go under the protection of the British Government to the West Indies, let him go. This however would be but as a drop in the sea, for the West Indies. Mr. LAIRD says, the West Indies has capital, and bids you take the hands to the capital, but I say take the capital to the hands. Why should a large and a fertile country, covered by a great population planted there for the purposes of its cultivation by the Maker of us all, be continually made the scape-goat of West Indian cupidity. I repeat then, let the friends of Africa send their capital to Africa, and I will answer for their having a rich and a benevolent return. My plan for putting down slavery and the slave-trade by a safe and judicious mode, would be for the friends of Africa to form a large and efficient commercial company, and let the British Government take up positions on the coast, giving the governor permission to accept the sovereignty of any territory that may be freely offered to him, and pass an act to declare every man free that comes into those colonies. Then, if they cannot obtain employment in Africa, let them go the West Indies. But I say again, let capital go to the hands.

The CHAIRMAN.—The recommendation to form new colonies is not in order; and unless the resolutions that have been proposed contain the real remedy for the slave-trade, they should not be adopted.

Colonel NICHOLLS.—They do not contain a good remedy for the wrongs of long-oppressed Africa; they ought not to have been suffered to be discussed in this Convention.

Rev. J. H. HINTON.—Mr. LAIRD is mistaken if he supposes that he appears before us as a man unknown. He has taken too active a part in advocating, and promoting, not only the abolition of slavery in Africa, but questions of general humanity, to be unknown to such a Convention. His presence amongst us is hailed with great delight. I individually, at least, can give him entire credit for his philanthropy. I believe that he possesses so much goodness of heart that he is sorry he applied hastily the term "hypocritical" to other parties. He will recollect the expression. There is no con-

troversy with him as to his introductory matter, viz., with relation to the employment of armed cruisers; the only question that need be entertained by the Convention, relates to the remedy he has proposed. It seems a hard thing that any one should rise in such an assembly as the present, under even the appearance of objecting to free emigration. The right, and the practical exercise, of free emigration seem to belong so essentially to a free condition, that one can hardly be a lover of freedom, without being an advocate for this right. Nor could there arise a difficulty on the subject, if it were certain that what seems to be meant by the term free emigration was really meant by it, or that the emigration proposed by Mr. LAIRD would be actually free. It is possible, however, that under the name "free emigration," there may be concealed emigration which is not free. I only protest against being misled by names and sounds, and doing anything to promote a system which, being called free emigration, should be found to be something very different. That part of the resolutions which introduces this subject distinctly occurs towards the close. "That in the opinion of this Convention, it is highly desirable that such an addition should be made to the population of the British West Indies, as would enable them to undersell the slave-holder in the markets of the world; that in order to do this it is essential that all restrictions on the *free* emigration of the negro race, from all parts of the coast of Africa, to the British West Indies, be removed." Now, before at all noticing the tenor of this language, I beg to observe that Mr. LAIRD's speech entirely failed even of the plausible appearance of supporting it. This resolution goes to the removal of all restrictions upon emigration from all parts of Africa; whereas Mr. LAIRD has advocated nothing but that it should be held lawful for Her Majesty's ships on the coast of Africa to receive refugee Africans. That is not what is contended for in this resolution. It might be done, and yet this resolution would not be carried out. That Mr. LAIRD should have thought he was supporting this resolution by only proposing that the Queen's ships should receive refugee Africans, is to me amazing; I can only suppose that some one else drew up the resolution, leaving him in ignorance of its tenor. It may, therefore, be affirmed that the resolution falls to the ground, as unsupported. It is plain that if all restrictions to the emigration of free Africans be removed, then the merchant ships of other nations may go to the coast of Africa, and take off as many of its inhabitants as they please. There is no proposition for having a court that should have jurisdiction all along the coast, to decide whether every emigrant is a free emigrant or not. It would open the whole coast, which Mr. LAIRD did not advocate; the resolution, consequently, is an unsustained one, and as such it ought to fall to the ground. But if I take up the thing itself, I find that there is a strong reason against the permission of unrestricted emigration along the coast of Africa. Mr. LAIRD tells us that he would advocate the measure on liberal, just, and humane principles; but on this point he was nobly and clearly answered by Colonel NICHOLLS, his own father-in-law, who deeply sympathises with him in all the generous feelings and motives by which he is actuated. I imagined when this veteran got up, that he was about to support the resolutions; but on the contrary, he replies to his son-in-law by assuring us that the Africans were to be had on the coast of Africa only by purchase. With a very small exception of a few hundred Kroomen, all the Africans upon the coast are slaves, the property of their chiefs. They cannot go away from the territory without previous permission, or, if they do, the chief pursues them, and they are captured. Now, I say that buying Africans from the chiefs, is slave-trading. When Mr. LAIRD was telling us that it was altogether a futile objection to say that this system of free emigration would give a stimulus to the slave-trade, he turned to the West Indies and asked,

whether we were afraid of re-establishing it there? No, thank God, I am not. British public opinion has authority there. But he never said anything about the African slave-trade having two ends. Though there is no fear of slaves being bought and sold in the West Indies, yet as Africans can only be procured on the coast by purchase, his system of free emigration (so called) must constitute a slave-trade there. And every successive purchase would furnish the means for carrying it on to a greater extent. On such a system, the interior of Africa would be desolated by a new slave-trade, the horrors of which, though partly told, are partly untold, and partly unimagined. This is proposed to be done, not only by British subjects but by the British government, and thus the British government will be made the actual slave-trader. The English government, which has taken so prominent a part in the abolition of the slave-trade, is thus to stultify and degrade itself beyond all conception. I cannot conceive that it wants any thing more than the opening up of this matter in the fewest words, to induce this Convention, with one heart and one voice, to negative these resolutions. Then as to the pains taken to lay the ground for this. We are told that, if there be free emigration to all parts of Africa, it will enable the West Indians to raise sugar at a cheap rate and in large quantities, so as to undersell the slave-holder. I hold that, without such a basis being laid, free emigration ought to be permitted all over the world. I do not want any body to say, Promote free emigration because you will make sugar cheap, and undersell the slave-holder. Let there be no restriction on emigration, in any quarter, that is not called for by humanity. If the kind of emigration now called for involved no collateral mischief, would any West Indian, or other man, sugar manufacturer, or otherwise, have thought of prefacing the proposition by a long rigmarole of resolutions? There is some art about this. It becomes evident that you want, under the name of free emigration, what is not free emigration. But we are told that, if there were a great many more people in the British West Indies, they would be able to make sugar in such quantities, and at such a rate, as to undersell the slave-holder in the markets of the world. That has not been proved, and Mr. Laird has made no attempt to prove it. It is a proposition susceptible of by far too many doubts to be admitted without proof; and I do not as yet believe it. I have never known our West Indian planters willing to sell their sugar at Cuban and Brazilian prices. They would be willing to have more sugar made, if they could sell it at their own prices; but does any body imagine, that if sugar would fetch no more then 1*d.* per lb.—the price in the East Indies—our West India planters would be covetous of its manufacture? On the contrary, they would willingly let the world supply itself from other quarters. But further, if it were true that with their coveted influx of population, our West Indian proprietors could make sugar so as to undersell the slave-holders of Cuba and Brazil, I should not, on that account, be an advocate for inflicting injury on Africa. Let them use humane means for increasing their population; let them treat the peasantry well; let them train up a hearty race of children to be the labourers of a few years hence; and then I care not how many people they have, and how much sugar they make. One of these resolutions reads thus:—"That it is the opinion of this Convention that the *only* moral, religious, and pacific plan to destroy that demand for slaves, is to produce at a cheaper rate by free labour, the sugar, &c., now raised by the labour of slaves." Of course, if we could produce sugar at a cheaper rate by free than by slave labour, that would be *one* way of putting down slavery and the slave-trade; but why the framer of this resolution should have put in the word *only*, I cannot conceive. No doubt, if this could be done with truth, it would make a stronger resolution; but to say that the production of sugar at a cheaper rate by free than by slave labour, is

"the *only* moral, religious, and pacific plan to destroy the demand for slaves," seems extraordinary. One plan to lessen the demand for slaves is to enlighten the conscience, and touch the heart of the slave-dealer, that he may find it to be, as Newton did, a horrible trade, in which he should not be implicated. Fiscal regulations present another plan that is neither irreligious nor unpacific. But of these and other plans this resolution goes to deny the existence. On the whole, I am not disposed to move the previous question in reference to these resolutions. They contain sentiments which, I trust, the Convention will negative, and I shall like the opportunity of holding up my hand distinctly against them. Not that I am opposed to free emigration, it being really such. It has been made a charge against the Anti-slavery Society, that we have been opponents of free emigration. On the contrary, our interposition was powerfully used against the coercion that was attempted with reference to the labourers in the West India islands. But, when free emigration is to be used as a name for the internal slave-trade; when artful and unrighteous men, who have for many years made Africa, with all its interests, subservient to the accumulation of wealth, seek to perpetuate that system, it is our duty to show that we can lift up the veil, and see what is really intended. We must, at whatever risk and sacrifice, or to whatever obloquy we expose ourselves, stand up strongly for this principle, that when it is intended to buy men in Africa, the British government must not lend their sanction to the scheme, by promoting what is termed free emigration.

Mr. SCOBLE.—After the very searching and powerful speech which has just been delivered to the Convention, it is unnecessary that I should take up much time in enforcing the statements and arguments which have been so ably brought before you. There are, however, two or three points which have been passed over by my friend Mr. HINTON, which deserve consideration. The first is, the various charges which Mr. LAIRD has thought proper to bring against the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society. I know not why, in advocating his scheme, he should have travelled out of the way to attack that Committee. If, before he had ventured to do so, he had previously accurately informed himself of the facts of the case, instead of attacking, he would rather have commended that body for the steps it has taken with reference to emigration. The statement of Mr. LAIRD has been to this effect—that the Committee have presented an address to Lord PALMERSTON, commending him for his slave-trade treaties. I beg to say that the Committee have never so done; and a very slight acquaintance with the official records of the Society would have shown that, according to its principle, they never could have done it. Its fundamental principle is this, that so long as slavery continues, it is in vain to expect the overthrow of the slave-trade. Now, we know that it is not by treaties that slavery can be put down in those countries in which it exists; and therefore, it might have been inferred, that the Committee, in their intercourse with the Government, would not commend slave-trade treaties, but direct their attention to the means of putting down slavery. Again, as we know that treaties between Great Britain and foreign powers must be supported, occasionally, by a resort to physical force —and that of the worst possible kind—the Committee have earnestly and conscientiously protested against that mode of procedure. Their principle of action is, "moral, religious, and pacific;" and strange indeed would it have been, if, in violation of the fundamental principle of the Society, and of their well-known opinions, they should have done that with which Mr. LAIRD has charged them. Now, what was the nature of the address which has called forth the indignant eloquence of Mr. LAIRD? It was an address thanking Lord PALMERSTON for having used the moral influence of the British Govern-

ment in carrying into effect the wishes of the late Convention. Because the noble lord did this, the Committee, as the representatives of that Convention, felt it to be their duty to thank his lordship for it. The address is too long to be read now, but it will be found in the third volume of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, p. 170. If Mr. LAIRD will thoroughly scan the whole of that address, he will find that the word "treaty" is not once introduced in the sense in which he has alluded to it. An equally satisfactory reply may be given to the other charges reflecting on the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Probably, the cause of those charges may be found in this circumstance: that the Committee, though they highly estimate the character of Mr. LAIRD, though they believe him to be animated by the purest motives in all his labours for the benefit of Africa, yet do not exactly accord with his scheme. Reference has been made to the plan of Government for removing African labourers to the British colonies. That subject would fairly have claimed the attention of the Convention had time permitted, but on that point there is no difference of opinion between Mr. LAIRD and myself. We both agree that the Governmental plan is open to the most serious exceptions; we both agree that the plan ought not to be supported by the people of this country; we both agree that the West India body have had power enough to prevail upon the Government to draw up a plan of emigration to suit their own interests, without regarding the welfare of those to be conveyed into the colonies, or the ultimate interests of Africa itself. Mr. LAIRD has brought his scheme under our attention, but has left it before us in a very defective state. Mr. HINTON has informed you of the manner in which African emigrants must be obtained, namely, by purchase, or some arrangement tantamount to it. If means be given to a chief, he will find you free emigrants enough; but he will not tell you how he obtains them in the interior. Another question arises, and that a very important one for the emancipated negroes in the colonies? I am not advocating their interests, but opposing the scheme of emigration submitted to our attention. I think, however, that we must not overlook the question, as to what would be the general effect of emigration upon the large body of emancipated labourers, who are just emerging from the ignorance and degradation necessarily consequent on their previous condition. We know that the native African has been civilized and christianized, and we know also, that whatever amount of African population be introduced into the British colonies, it will consist principally of the male sex, because they are the only fit and proper persons to be agricultural labourers. The Government scheme only gives one woman to two men; and looking, therefore, at the consequences to the people themselves, we cannot but believe that the effect will be detrimental to the existing labouring population of the colonies, if Africans are introduced in this way. I will not, however, pursue that subject further—it is enough to say, that, with the exception of Sierra Leone and Gambier, only a very limited number of Africans, truly free, can be obtained to emigrate to the West Indies. The evidence laid before Parliament proves that this is the case; and hence, at the present time, the Government will not allow of a resort to the Gold coast, where we have a settlement, because there is no population there that can be denominated free. The Government look elsewhere; but the chiefs will tell you that the people are not free, and that you must obtain their consent before you remove them: showing that the people have not a free will of their own. I understand that Mr. LAIRD intends, that the Gold coast should be a place of refuge for slaves from the interior who may find their way there. I have heard it stated, but I have not had sufficient evidence to prove the fact, that these refugees are given to the chiefs, who claim them as their subjects. I hesitate not to say, that any such giving of them up is an

illegal act, and that by entering upon British territory, they were to all intents and purposes free. I, for one, should be obliged to Mr. LAIRD if he would bring out the facts of the case, and let us see whether the British functionaries at any of the British settlements have so done. If he does so, I will venture to pledge myself that the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society will follow up the question, as they have done in other cases in which the interests of the negro were involved. I agree with Mr. HINTON, that we ought to meet the proposition of Mr. LAIRD with a direct negative; not because I do not believe many of the statements contained in that paper, but because his scheme has not been properly laid before this Convention in all its parts, and he has not made out the case, which I expected he would do, in venturing to address the Convention. The object of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society has been to secure, that if emigration take place, it shall be, what it professes to be, *bona fide* free, spontaneous emigration from Africa to our colonies.

Rev. J. CLARKE.—The subject of free emigration from Africa is certainly one of great importance. It has been my lot to see immigration in Jamaica and Demerara, and emigration all along the Grain, the Ivory, the Gold, and the Slave coasts of Africa, onward to Fernando Po. I was a passenger in a vessel which carried eighty wood-cutters as emigrants to Fernando Po, and I saw the manner in which these men were obtained. There were eighty-six in all brought on board the vessel; and though it was not by force, yet there was something very like it. They had no voice in the matter; they came upon the deck in a state of nudity, very few having as much as a piece of cloth about their middle. The man who brought them received for each person, certain pieces of cloth or other articles, according to his choice. Two of them had been disposed of as slaves; not for life, but for the time being, and they were sent down to Fernando Po, with the understanding that after remaining there about three years, they would, by some means, be able to return. Before proceeding further, I should mention that six of these men, to manifest their unwillingness to leave their own country, jumped overboard, got into the canoes by night, and made their escape. This caused vigilance in the captain, who was a humane, excellent man, and treated these people kindly. He found it necessary to send some of them below, because of their great desire to return back to their native country, and observed, "When we have got to a place where they will be afraid to escape, we may again bring them on deck." They slept under the canvas by night; they were supplied with rice and other provisions, and landed at Fernando Po. We arrived on the Friday; the Saturday passed, but on the second Saturday, three of them were tied up before my window and flogged, as I have seen slaves flogged in Jamaica. For what were they punished?—because they had made some attempt to run to North Bay, and effect their escape. It is my firm conviction, from what I saw in Africa during the fourteen months of my sojourn there, that there are few persons indeed along the coast who are at liberty to emigrate to Fernando Po, or to the islands of the West Indies, and I believe that nearly all are obtained from their chiefs. There is a regular system prevailing throughout the Kroo country of this kind: what is called a tradesman takes under his care ten or twelve boys, who are taught to paddle a canoe, in which they carry him to different vessels. After he has kept them a certain number of years, he tells them it is time they should be sent off to learn the English language, and he engages a vessel to carry them to Benin, or Bonny, or Fernando Po, where they are to acquire the English language, and receive some remuneration for their services; and it is expected that in three or four years they will return. This is the motive presented to the view of these young persons, but it is not sufficient to dry up all their feelings and affections for their native country. We

carried three of these back, and I never shall forget the feelings they manifested when they came into the vessel. On our arrival, the aged father of one came on board the ship, and rushed into the arms of his child. It was one of the most affecting meetings I ever witnessed. I went up to the old man when his emotions had somewhat subsided, and said, "What were your feelings in reference to your son?" He said, "I cry every day for fear the people of England should kill my boy." I mention this to show the sufferings of those who go, and of those who are left behind; and also to prove that those sent from Africa are not at liberty to engage themselves as emigrants. Some persons from the Cameroons were employed at Fernando Po as wood-cutters. They were sent as a species of slaves: so much was promised to those who came, and so much to the king of Benin; but the son of the king came and received the whole, and the men were thus defrauded of remuneration for their labour. It is true they receive a trifle, and a little food; but they are often obliged to go round the town to obtain a supply of food for the sabbath day. I believe that, however much you may desire free emigration, it cannot be carried on at the present moment. The only mode of benefiting the Africans is to educate their children. I can testify from my experience in going along the coast, and seeing the natives day by day, that the people are prepared to receive instruction; that the best thing for the destruction of the slave-trade, for the civilization of Africa, and the encouragement of legitimate commerce, is to send the light of the gospel to that dark and benighted land. I will read a letter that was sent from king Eyo Honesty, of Old Calabar, to Commodore Raymond.

"To Comr. Raymond, man-of-war ship,—

"*Criek Town*, 1*st December*, the 1842.

"I am very glad you come up and settled treaty proper, and thank you for doing every thing right for me yesterday. I have been look for some man-of-war long time, and when French man-of-war come here, I sent, think last December, one canoe to let you know. But too much wind live to catch Fernando Po, and not one come to help me to keep treaty all same. Mr. Blount promise, and when I no give slaves, French man-of-war come here and make plarty of palaver, but I no well one thing I want for beg your queen. I have too much man now, I can't sell slaves, and don't know what to do for them, but if I can catch some small cotton tree, and coffee to grow, and man to teach me, and to make all sugar-cane for county come up and prosper, and sell for trade side society glad; Mr. Blythe tell me England glade for saide mure to teach book, and teach for understand God all same white mans. If queen do so, I glad too much, and we must try to do good for England always; what I want for dollar side is proper India romorle and copper rod. I no want fool things, I want things for trade side. For England, I trust try to do good things for queen and young king; trust live long time proper.

"I am, sir, You Friend

"King Eyo Honesty.

"*Criek Town, Old Calible.*

"I thank you again for comming and done all thing proper for me, and glad too see you very often.

"To Commodore Raymond,
"Ship Spy, man-of-war."

I have also another from the successor of Duke Ephraim, which is much to the same purport.

"*Old Calabar, Decr.* 4, 1842.

"To Comr. RAYMOND.

"Now we have settled treaty for not bying slaves, I must tell you something I want your queen to do for us: now we can't sell slaves again we must have too many man for country, and want something to make work and trade, and if we could have some seed for cotton and coffee, we could make trade. Plenty sugar cane live here, and if some man come and teach way for a bit, we get plenty sugar cane too; and then some man must come for teach book proper, and make all man savey Got for white and men we go only same fashion. We thank you too much for do what thing you have and coming to keep thing right long time we no look man-of-war all same. Mr. BLOUNT promise, and one Frenchman been for make plenty palaver for slave side when he can't have them; you been do very proper for us, and now we want to keep them proper month. I hope some man-of-war must come some time with proper captain all the same you to look out for us and help us to keep word when French man-of-war come. What I want for 1000 dollars is a fine coat and sword all the same I tell you, and the rest in copper and brass rods. I hope Queen VICTORIA and young Prince live long time and we shall get good friends.

"I am your best friend,

"KING EYAMBU,

"King of all the Blackmen.

"Also I want comb and shell for fine pattern of coat enclosed."

I do not think that the cruisers on the coast of Africa do much good; on the contrary, I think the horrors of the slave-trade are increased by them, and I hope the time will come when a better plan will be adopted. I have already suffered something in Africa, but it will not deter me from going to end my life in that land. By the course of education which the missionaries, by whom I am to be accompanied, purpose to carry on in Africa, we hope very soon that the slave-trade will be abolished on the coast, and which of course will put an end to it in the interior. It is the tradesmen on the coast who are the means of transfer between the people in the interior and the slave colonies. I am persuaded that if the system of emigration to the West Indies were to be put into operation, the wars in the interior would be fearfully increased. The Spaniards, the Brazilians, and the Portuguese, and all who are engaged in the slave-trade, would take great encouragement from such a measure, and would say to the English, that under the name of emigration we were carrying slaves from Africa. Thus a fearful amount of misery, wretchedness, and woe would, I fear, be entailed upon the long oppressed and down-trodden inhabitants of that land.

Mr. L. TAPPAN.—Just before I left America, Captain RAYMOND, who has been up the coast of Africa as far as Coromandel, to have some conversation with King TUCK, arrived in New York, and he fully confirms all that has been stated by Mr. CLARKE. He also conveys the gratifying information to the friends of Africa, that just in proportion as the English language shall be taught to the natives of Africa will the slave-trade be suppressed. It would do more than all the fleets of Great Britain, and all the physical force put into operation, to suppress that nefarious traffic. He says that when a slave-trader has ascertained that one of the negroes understands any of the English language, he discharges him, knowing that dealers will never purchase a man who can speak one word of our mother tongue: for they infer that he is under the protection of the British Government; and, in the second place, it indicates to them that he knows too much of other things to be held safely in bondage.

Mr. SAMS.—Having seen the native of Africa in his quiet home, in his

peaceful abode, I may say that I never met with any who *wished* to leave that (when unmolested by the WHITE) his truly happy father-land. On the contrary, I doubt if there is any class of persons to be found that possesses the real "amor patriæ," the love of country, in a greater degree than does the native African. The propositions, therefore, if carried—without strong incitement to emigrate, and this excitement would I think be very injurious—would be, I apprehend, perfectly nugatory. I consequently cannot unite in, but must, and do disapprove of, the proposal of our friend, MACGREGOR LAIRD.

Mr. LAIRD.—I will say a very few words in reply to the gentlemen who have opposed these resolutions. Mr. HINTON found fault with me for imputing motives, and then turned round and imputed art to me in drawing up the resolutions. Let us be consistent. I did not impute motives to individuals, but I used the term "hypocritical philanthropy" in connexion with slave-trade treaties. The reverend gentleman, and the gentleman who succeeded him, raised up an argument which I did not use, and then cleverly knocked it down. You have been told that the exportation of 1,000 from the coast would lead to the death or slavery of 6,000 in the interior. Now I did not propose to ransom men, but merely to receive them. I ask any American present, whether, if a British vessel were lying in the Mississippi offering freedom to every black that boarded her, if that would be buying slaves? Where are the means to come from to increase the slave-trade in the interior of Africa? The West Indians have no interest to furnish them, for they cannot bind men on the coast of Africa. All contracts entered into outside the West Indies are rendered null and void; and when in the West Indies, you cannot enslave them. With regard to opposition to the labourers in the West Indies, I imagine the people of this country had no idea, when they emancipated them, of giving them a monoply of the labour market. In British Guiana there is scarcely a man to a square mile. Do we intend to limit the population to that? Certainly not. I regret if I have given offence relative to the address to Lord PALMERSTON. If the Committee did not congratulate his lordship on his treaties in words, they did it in spirit. (Cries of "No.") I beg pardon. If Mr. SCOBLE had read his lordship's reply to the address, it would be seen he understood it so. What is his moral power? It is only by physical force that he can support his representations. It is said that I have not fully explained my plan. I had not time to do it. With regard to Mr. CLARKE's statement, that the men to whom he alluded, were purchased on the Kroo coast; why did he not, when he met a British cruiser at Cape Coast Castle, protest against it?

Rev. J. CLARKE.—I did not say they were positively purchased. I said a price was paid for them.

Mr. LAIRD.—That is a nice distinction.

Rev. J. CLARKE.—We did not meet a British cruiser.

Mr. LAIRD.—The captain told me that he did meet a British cruiser, but perhaps Mr. CLARKE was not aware of it; he must however be aware that Fernando Po is *not* a British settlement, and the circumstance of a man being flogged before his door could not exist at this moment in the British West Indies. Why then was it brought forward? To excite our sympathies. Why, at this rate, I may be charged with being a slave-dealer. I hired twenty-two Kroomen as sailors, and paid them one month's advance in dollars and in cloth. But do not vessels leaving the port of London pay the seamen in advance? It has been said that the money is paid to the chiefs—that was not the case in 1832. The Hon. Captain DENMAN says, that emigration from the Kroo coast may be as free as from this country to Canada, and he recommends Government vessels because the people have more confidence in them. The Kroomen are per-

fectly free in their own country, and it is only since it has been proposed to take them to the West Indies that they are said not to be free. There are a large number of them on board our navy; they frequently come into the port of Liverpool, but no instance has ever occurred of any of them coming before a magistrate and saying that a price was paid for them on the coast. Mr. CLARKE had plenty of opportunities while residing at Fernando Po to denounce the transaction he has described as having taken place, but never did so. Such testimony is not worth listening to.

Mr. RICHARDSON.—I rise to order. A man of Mr. CLARKE's reputation and standing is not to be put down as unworthy of giving testimony.

Mr. LAIRD.—I had a right to say that such testimony was not worth anything.

The CHAIRMAN.—It is improper to make such assertions with respect to the testimony of a gentleman.

Mr. LAIRD.—I should be sorry to hurt the feelings of any man; but I feel warmly when I see such a determination to close the door of refuge on the African. (Cries of "No.") These resolutions contain in themselves nothing against the constitution and principles of this Convention. I drew them up carefully, with a very honest purpose, in as plain language as I could command. I call upon you again not to refuse the application for a bridge as free as London-bridge, between the West Indies and Africa. I object *in toto* to the principle of ransom. Aware of its evils, I was one of the first to object to it. If you reject the proposition before you, you will prevent the only chance which the poor oppressed African has of getting away from his miseries. I leave the resolutions in your hands. Whatever may be the issue, I shall feel that I have done my duty.

The resolutions were then submitted to the meeeting, but only three or four hands were held up in their favour, the rest of the delegates voting against them.

The Convention then adjourned.

SIXTH DAY'S SITTINGS, MONDAY, JUNE 19.

(AFTERNOON.)

SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

ADDRESS TO SIR T. F. BUXTON, BART.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I have now to read the Address, prepared by the Committee, to Sir T. F. BUXTON.

"The Convention, having received the intimation that their esteemed friend, Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., is prevented, by the state of his health, from attending the sittings of this body, would tender to him their acknowledgments of the high sense they entertain of the services he has rendered to the anti-slavery cause, and the deep sympathy they feel for him under his present affliction; and would express the hope that, under the Divine blessing, he may be soon restored to health and usefulness, in the various spheres of benevolent exertion to which he has been devoted."

Rev. Dr. RITCHIE moved, and Mr. SCOBLE seconded, the adoption of the Address, which was unanimously agreed to.

SLAVERY IN THE DANISH COLONIES.

Rev. T. SCALES.—The following is the report of the committee appointed to inquire into slavery in the colonies of Denmark.

"This Convention having received information respecting the present state of the Anti-slavery cause in Denmark, recommend, that an appeal to the rulers and people of Denmark, and to all persons or bodies implicated in holding their fellow-men in bondage in the colonies of that country, be prepared; in which the inhumanity and injustice of that practice shall be set forth, and its utter inconsistency with the doctrines and precepts of the gospel.

"The said address also to contain a plain statement of the duty of abolishing slavery at once, and entirely; and to show the safety and sound policy of such a proceeding.

"That the preparation of the Address be confided to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and that they be recommended to have it translated into the Danish language, and extensively circulated in Denmark; for which purpose, if needful, it is suggested, that a deputation should, at an early period, proceed to Denmark."

Mr. JOHN ALLEN moved, and Mr. P. CLARE seconded,

"That the Report and recommendations be received, and referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to carry out such recommendations."

Carried unanimously.

UNITED STATES—PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.

Rev. H. H. KELLOGG.—There are some topics connected with the question which has been assigned to me, to which my friends PENNINGTON and LEAVITT have given their attention, and which they have presented before you; this will render it unnecessary to go into the matter so much at length as I should otherwise have done. I may, therefore, take the liberty of touching upon one or two points which are not immediately connected with my branch of the question, but which are necessary, in order to the true presentation of the subject before this Convention. With respect to prejudice against colour, allow me to say, that there is an error in a report in some of the daily papers of a former day's proceedings, in which I shall be understood as saying, that "a white person entering a church with a black man would throw the whole congregation into commotion." No such idea was expressed by me, and it will be received with great surprise, as coming from me, by those who have seen me enter white congregations scores of times with coloured people by my side. For three years I was connected with an institution of learning, in which there were from three to seven coloured young ladies, constantly enjoying all its social and literary privileges equally with the white young ladies. They ate at the same table; they attended the same recitation rooms; they walked to the same house of worship; they occupied the same seats indiscriminately: and yet it was by no means an abolition congregation; for I was excluded from the desk for preaching on the subject of slavery. I deem this statement requisite, in order to show that there is by no means that prejudice against people of colour in all parts of America, which has been represented by my friends here as existing in some of its cities and towns. In that church, which is under pro-slavery influence, an official member, who is well known for his pro-slavery principles,

would pass the elements to the coloured members of my institution intermingled as they were with the white people. There was present on one occasion an aged and, as she might be regarded by some, despised coloured woman, and I feared that he would pass her by. If he had done so I had determined to leave the house; but he did not. Other congregations are to be found all over our widely-extended country, in which the same generous sentiment prevails—in which coloured people are neither excluded from any seat they take in the house of God, nor from our institutions of learning. I will relate one anecdote, which serves to show the state of feeling with respect to these young ladies, to whom I have referred. There were a few coloured pupils from the city of New York, and there was one white young lady going through New York to a distant place. She was unaccompanied by her friends, and I placed her in charge of a respectable coloured young man, from that city, who came to attend these coloured young ladies home. She not dreaming of any impropriety, accepted his attendance, and went with him and the young ladies by steam-boat and rail-road to that city. She informed me, this Spring, that she had no idea, during the whole journey, of any impropriety; but, she added, that she should hesitate to do it now; for her friends in New York had been teaching her other doctrines. In that institution, in the state of Illinois, to which, two years since, I removed, coloured youth would be received with the same freedom as they are in the one already named. As an evidence of the prevailing sentiment there, I will state that, at the celebration of the 4th of July—the American jubilee of freedom—there was an assembly from different towns of probably more than 1,000 individuals, coloured persons, who went with us, riding promiscuously to the place of general assembly. When they arrived, they were in the midst of the procession; they passed through the town, came to the place of public resort, took their seats, and enjoyed the exercises, without any objection on the part of the marshals of the day, some of whom were not anti-slavery men. At a large anti-slavery meeting, on the 1st of August, commemorative of emancipation in the West Indies, a similar occurrence took place. There is a vast amount of pro-slavery prejudice—of pro-slavery feeling; but there are some lights as well as some shades in our extended country.

The subject which has been committed to me is,—

THE RELATIONS OF SLAVERY TO LAW, IN THE UNITED STATES—THE PROGRESS OF LEGISLATION AND JUDICIAL DECISIONS.

To a correct understanding of this subject, we need to go back to the time when the United States became one independent nation, and attentively consider the circumstances of those respective states, and carefully note the views which were then entertained, and the laws and constitutional provisions which were then established. At the conclusion of the war of the American revolution, there were 13 states which had declared themselves independent. In all of these states slavery, to a greater or less extent, existed. In a part of them, it was well known that there existed a determination to carry out the principles of our declaration of independence, in the entire overthrow of slavery; and in others, it is well known that the incongruity of the system of slavery with our institutions was clearly perceived; and a strong desire was expressed by many of the leading characters that this incongruity should soon disappear. The views of JAY and other men of the North, and the writings and public declarations of WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, and MADISON, of Virginia; of PINCKNEY, of Maryland; and others in the Southern states, are doubtless familiar to the Convention; and these views, writings, and declarations of men so highly distinguished as they were, and possessing so great influence as they did, can leave no doubt upon a candid mind, that they entertained what may be called sub-

stantially anti-slavery views, and that it was their expectation that this institution would be of short-lived duration. JEFFERSON repeatedly, slaveholder as he was, expressed the idea that the free principles which were acknowledged in the declaration of independence, and which the youth of the country, he supposed, were drinking in continually, would overthrow that system, in the view of which he could not but expect that the justice of God would yet be revealed against us, if it were continued. These states, which were at that time united under the articles of confederation, were in their infancy, having just terminated a seven-years' war, in which the country had become temporarily embarrassed, impoverished, and burdened with a debt, for the speedy removal of which, no reasonable expectations could be cherished. Under these circumstances, there were the most powerful inducements to cultivate harmony, and to pursue such a course in adjusting the new government which they were about to establish, as should not interfere with the substantial and permanent interests of the country. The public sentiment of the world, moreover, so far as it was anti-slavery, we must all remember, was abolitionism of the gradual type; and immediate emancipation was a doctrine then rarely proclaimed on either side of the water. Slavery was a state institution, and none of the states were prepared, with the light they then possessed, to declare for immediate emancipation. In this situation, delegates were appointed to meet in Convention to form a constitution, under which the general interests of the country might be protected and promoted, while individual state sovereignty should not be surrendered. They intended thereby to provide for the common defence, to establish justice, and to secure the blessings of liberty. That they sincerely desired to accomplish these objects, although, in common with others of that generation, they were in darkness as to the mode by which they could most speedily and effectually arrive at them, we think is apparent from the instrument they framed, and the congressional proceedings intimately and immediately connected therewith. Had the Convention in drafting the constitution made no allusion to slavery in any form, it would still have existed—and existed in all the states in which it does exist—and the implication would have been fair, that knowing it to exist, the members of the Convention saw nothing in it of which to disapprove, nothing worthy of animadversion or notice, nothing incongruous with the objects they had assembled to promote. Had they spoken of it in the ordinary terms, calling slavery by its appropriate name, the same implication would have remained, but much stronger. But they did neither, and it appears that the constitution framed, and the manner in which they spoke of it, is a more clear evidence of the secret—if I may so call it—disapprobation of the institution, than though they had named it in appropriate terms, or passed it over in utter silence. They, by a guarded circumlocution, avoided the word "slave," as though it were not suitable so much as to be named among them as the advocates of freedom. There was, however, a decided opposition on the part of some of the members from the Southern states to any interference with the slave-trade, to which the Northern members yielded in part, to secure certain commercial objects which they had in view, and which the Southern members consented to on this condition. Having an eye to the abolition of the slave-trade, yet governed by the spirit of gradualism and compromise, they established that Congress should not prohibit any state doing so, which might see fit, to import slaves previous to the year 1808; thus allowing twenty years more for those states that wished to introduce slaves, to continue this horrid traffic. The old articles acknowledged no power to prevent it; but there was here a clear implication that when this period had elapsed, that power might, and very probably would, be exercised. It was also agreed, that persons owing service or labour under the laws of one state, and fleeing to another, should not be

exempted from such service or labour in consequence of any laws existing in the state in which they had taken refuge, but should, on the application of the person to whom such service or labour was due, be delivered up when that claim was made good. This clause has been considered by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the recent decision in the case of *Prigg* v. *Pennsylvania*, as securing to the citizens of the slave-holding states the complete right and title of ownership in their slaves as property, in every state of the Union into which they might escape. This decision, although made by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, is not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable. On the proper and just interpretation of this constitutional provision there are different opinions, not only among the public at large, but also among the abolitionists of the United States. Nay, there is among the delegates of this Convention some difference of opinion as to the interpretation of that article. Some think—I do not know that any members of the Convention maintain that opinion—that the true doctrine is set forth in the decision to which I have referred; while there are others who contend that the Court has decided erroneously, and they confidently expect the time to come when that decision shall be reversed. If the clause to which reference has been had, they would say, refers at all to the case of fugitive slaves,—which the words do not cover necessarily, but which probably they were intended to cover—it can convey, and was designed to convey, no more than this: that when the fugitive from slavery shall escape from one state to another, his master shall have the privilege of hunting for him, and, if found by him, upon the claim being duly established by law, he shall be delivered up to the person to whom his service or labour is due. This by no means establishes or secures to slave-holders the right of property—the right of ownership in those who have escaped. If that title of ownership was secured by this article to the person from whom he had fled, then would he have a right to invoke to his aid the power of the state in which the slave had taken refuge, and the instrumentality of its magistrates and executive officers, for the apprehension of the fugitive. But this he cannot do, for the Supreme Court, in the same case, decided that the state was under no obligation to help the master in his search —that neither the state legislation, state magistracy, nor state police, can be called into his aid, unless it is volunteered on the part of the state. It is maintained by those who say that the Court has decided erroneously in ascribing ownership to the master, that if the slave was properly property, and if the title to ownership was invested in him, it would be the duty of the state to issue its writ, and to employ its officers, to hunt up the refugee. When a man who has had a horse stolen from him goes to any state of the Union to hunt for his property, the state is bound to aid him, in virtue of one clause of the constitution, which says, that the "citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states," and therefore he has a right to seek for his property, and demand the power of the state in enabling him to do it. There would appear, therefore, to be some incongruity here, and it is well that the attention of the people should be specially turned to this. In accordance with this decision, namely, that the state is not obliged to interpose and secure the refugee, the state of Massachusetts has made it penal for any of its officers to aid in taking the fugitive. These different views are presented, for the purpose of showing the true state of opinion and feeling on the part of the anti-slavery public in the United States; and I will add, that the proportion of those who maintain that our constitution does not in this particular even tolerate slavery, is continually increasing. I know that there are those who entertain other views, and I regard it as just to the Convention, that it should be seen that this difference of opinion and

feeling does exist. I will say, that those who take the position that our constitution does not tolerate it, anticipate the time confidently as near, when some GRANVILLE SHARPE shall be raised up to refute the opinions of our YORKS and TALBOTS, sanctioned though they have been by our BLACKSTONES; and that a new decision will be given as vital to freedom in America, under our constitution, as that in the *Somerset* case was in England. Another clause in the constitution of the United States, in which the existence of slavery in some of the states is recognised as an existing fact, is that in which it is declared that representation in Congress, and direct taxes, shall be apportioned in such a manner that five of all other than free persons and Indians not taxed, shall count as three. This is supposed to mean that five slaves in federal enumeration shall be equal to three free men. This I pass, with the simple remark, that had nothing been said in the constitution upon this subject, then the whole number of slaves must have been included in our representation. Let this be borne in mind, that if our constitution had made no provision to reduce the five to three, the whole number must have been reckoned, or our constitution must have taken the ground that they were property, which it is careful not to do. To one or other of these alternatives the United States and the constitution must have been brought. If they were *property*, the propriety of slavery was conceded; if, upon the other hand, they were *men*, then the whole must have been represented. This result was unquestionably a compromise, and like all compromises between incongruous and hostile elements, is itself anomalous. Congress, under the old articles of confederation, had limited the territory over which slavery could be extended to that South of the Ohio river. Immediately after the adoption of the new constitution, the first Congress that was convened under it re-enacted that law, and declared that slavery, except for crime, should never be known North of the Ohio river, and the 40th degree of North latitude. In seven of these original states slavery has been abolished; in six of them it still remains. Seven other states have been received into the Union, in which the principle of slavery has been adopted; and six new states, in which slavery does not exist, have been added to their number. Thus there are now twenty-six states included in the Union, one-half of which are slave-holding, and the other half non-slave-holding states. The power of abolishing slavery in the former is lodged in the states themselves; and should this power be exercised immediately, or at the earliest practicable date, no principle of the constitution of the United States would be affected. The constitution would remain unimpaired and in full force. There is given to Congress no power to establish slavery, nor to abolish it. It may, however, here be inquired, whether slavery does not exist in the district of Columbia, which is under the exclusive jurisdiction of the national legislature? In reply, it may be remarked, that it is a serious question, and one on which the minds of men are greatly divided—whether it does constitutionally exist even there? If it does not constitutionally exist, if it is there merely by stealth, then, though Congress may have erred, the constitution is not faulty in that particular. I will refer, as briefly as I can, to the evidence which leads many in our country to take the ground, that it does not exist there constitutionally. It is well, however, that the constitution provides that under the United States Government no person shall be deprived of his liberty without due process of law. Let us now review the process by which the slaves have been created in the district of Columbia. When Virginia and Maryland ceded this ten miles square, constituting the district of Columbia, the laws of those states were of no force whatever, and every slave within that territory then became a free man. The Congress of the United States then enacted that the laws of Virginia and Maryland respectively, should be established over the ceded portions of the district.

Among other laws was that of slavery. Now the question in many minds is, Had Congress the constitutional power to create slavery? If it had not, then the decision of the Supreme Court would be, that such an act, so far as that particular law was concerned, was void. And if so, then Congress is responsible, and not the constitution—Congress not having power to reduce human beings to chattels. On the other hand, if the constitution did give Congress this power, then the constitution is responsible,—sin lies at its door. We come then to this conclusion, that if the constitution is responsible, against the constitution we must war; whereas, if Congress, by an unconstitutional act, did create slavery in the district of Columbia, then we have to bring the case before the Supreme Court, and bring Congress to acknowledge that it has done wrong—that it has exercised a power which it did not possess. This, therefore, is a very serious question to the abolitionists of the United States. It is altogether another warfare, if they have to fight slavery in the district as the unlawful creation of Congress by an unconstitutional act, from what it is, if it is regarded as the creation of Congress constitutionally, however wrongfully. In the one case, they have to bring the matter before the legal tribunals of the country, and call upon Congress to retrace its unauthorised course; in the other, they have to contend with the laws which have been regularly and constitutionally enacted. The view which has now been briefly exhibited, discloses the ground on which many of the friends of equal rights maintain that slavery, under the United States Government, is not only unrighteous, but also without constitutional sanction, and therefore should on both accounts immediately cease. Should this high ground be ultimately maintained, they will rejoice, inasmuch as it will open the way for a more effectual resistance of the monster who has sought a hiding place in our excellent constitution; while it will relieve the memory of our revered fathers from the charge of inconsistency in establishing an instrument to secure the blessing of liberty to some, while it imposed the curse of slavery on others. But should this ground fail us, we will still contend against this anomaly in our system, not suffering our regard for the noble principles which this instrument contains, to blind us to its defects. Slavery, whether constitutional or not, is an enormous wrong—a violation of the rights of man, an invasion of the prerogatives of God, and to its utter extinction we pledge the powers which God has given us. Through evil report and good report, through honour and dishonour, we will pursue our object till we repose in death, or sing the jubilee of universal emancipation. Since the last Convention various indications of progress cheer us in the legislation of the country. This progress we must not expect to find marked or well-defined in the slave-holding communities. So simple is the process of abolition, that but little can be done without doing all that is requisite. And in the nature of the case, we cannot expect that those who are doing wrong will begin to do right, or even to say that they are wrong, long before they are prepared, by deep conviction, to abandon the wrong. During the twenty years that the committee for the abolition of the slave-trade in Great Britain laboured for the accomplishment of their object, little progress was apparently made in Parliament until the eve of its consummation. When they had renewed their efforts for fifteen years, there appeared to be as settled hostility to the measure as at its commencement, and little more prospect of success. How greatly would they have erred had they, as late as 1804, in view of the votes which were given when this subject was from time to time presented, and the unyielding opposition with which they were met, given up the work. Nor do we in America expect to see much yielding till the horrid Bastile shall totter to its fall. That there has been progress even in the Congress of the United States, those who are familiar with its history can discern; and I will here briefly recapitulate various

acts which indicate that progress. The diminished majorities with which gags have been secured—the increased frequency and freedom with which the subject of slavery is discussed—the attempt to expel the venerable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, with its signal failure, and his triumphant vindication—the censure of the Hon. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, his resignation and triumphant return; the free, bold, and manly way in which he subsequently dwelt upon and urged sentiments, the naming of which had occasioned his censure, and the attention with which his unanswered and unanswerable arguments were received by his former censors—the different manner in which the petitions of New York merchants, in 1842, and Boston merchants, in 1843, were received: these, and many other acts and proceedings which might be named, all show that the spirit of freedom, even within the halls of Congress, is onward. The first petition just named was scouted out of the house; the next year the petition was received and referred, and an excellent report, embracing all that we wished, was presented, three thousand copies of which were printed and spread over the country, although the act was not passed. The slave states had passed restrictions which were in their nature unconstitutional, because to Congress is given the subject of commercial regulations; but these slave states had passed a kind of quarantine law in regard to certain of the free states, by which vessels from the latter were not permitted to come into the harbours of the former, except under certain regulations, which were exceedingly onerous. Coloured men were sometimes taken out of the ships, because they were coloured men; and they were detained till the ship was about to sail, and the expenses of their detention paid. This was extremely burdensome to the merchants of New England and New York, and led to those petitions the result of which I have stated. I say that these, and many other acts, show that the spirit of freedom is rising even in our national legislature. I will now proceed to the slave-holding states. In these you must expect to see but few indications of improvement. In Kentucky and Tennessee, agitation has been renewed and has considerably increased. In Maryland, a slave-owner's Convention was held, in which certain acts were prepared, business was cut out for the legislature then in session, the object of which was to establish more effectual protection for slave property, to prevent slaves flying from the country, and to increase the means of oppressing coloured men. These acts it was expected, from the imposing manner in which they were got up, and the influence by which they were supported, would be adopted: but they each and all failed of adoption in the legislature. Alabama has adopted an exclusive white basis for representation in the state legislation. This must exert a powerful influence upon the other states, and on the system generally. Passing to the free states: in Illinois, the state from which I come,—although during the last three years no law has been enacted which indicates improvement, and I regret to say that we have laws which are exceedingly oppressive and unfavourable to freedom,—a slave-holder from another state cannot bring a slave into the state and liberate him, without giving security to the amount of 1,000 dollars that he shall not become chargeable to the state. If he neglects to do this, he forfeits 100 dollars for every negro he brings to the state. No free coloured person can settle without he brings free letters, and obtains good security to the amount of 1,000 dollars, that he will conduct himself properly, and not become chargeable to the state. No man can give a piece of bread to a poor man if he happens to be a slave; no man can receive him to his house, and harbour him for a night, to preserve him from the pursuer, without subjecting himself to a penalty of 500 dollars, and imprisonment for six months. But let it be remembered that these laws are not all enforced. I have seen an article from a Missouri paper, complaining that while Illinois has such excellent laws, she does not put them in force. Negroes are allowed to go through the

state, and they have never yet fined or imprisoned those who aid them. Illinois lying between Kentucky on the South, and Missouri on the West; and the fact that many of its inhabitants are from the slave-holding states of Kentucky and Virginia, will account for much of the pro-slavery feeling, and for these oppressive laws. As it bears upon the laws before us, I may state, that during the last two years, I have only known three or four cases of those who have fled from slavery being taken and carried back, after they had escaped from the borders of Missouri or Kentucky. One of these was taken because he denied that he ever was a slave, and insisted upon it that he was free. If free, he was in no danger, and our friends had no eye upon him. The man-hunter came and seized him, and then he was foolish enough to acknowledge that he was the slave of the man in whose behalf he was arrested. When the pursuer was called upon for evidence, he had none to adduce. If the slave had not confessed it, he could not have been sent back, but having done so, he could not be rescued, except by force. Another man was taken because it was alleged that he had been guilty of a most heinous crime against humanity, and it was by appealing to the sympathies of abolitionists, and the sympathies of all around who were not abolitionsts, that he was permitted to be seized and taken. The alleged crime turned out to be a mere pretext. Abolitionists now understand too much about indictments from the slave states to place any confidence in them. Another individual was taken through the excessive fearfulness of the wife of the man who was aiding in his escape: she was wrought upon by fears for her husband's safety to reveal the place where he might be found. In Ohio, whose laws, with those of many other states, have been in some respects favourable to slavery, and oppression towards the coloured man, the legislature at its last session repealed that act in its black code, which forbade the harbouring, secreting, or in any way succouring a coloured man who had not free papers, and which was designed and calculated to assist in the capture and return of fugitives from slavery. It was a very similar law to that which existed in Illinois. This act had been passed at the instance of Kentucky, and upon the application of the legislature of that state through a committee. Its repeal is to be attributed in part, perhaps, to an advance of free principles; but we ought not to give Ohio too much credit on that account; for the reason avowed by the advocates of the measure is found in political considerations. Henry Clay had made, the season previous, a political visit to the state, an electioneering campaign, very much to the annoyance of the democratic party of Ohio, who did not wish to be interfered with by a foreigner from Kentucky. In moving for the repeal of the act which had been passed at the instance of Kentucky, one of the advocates of the measure remarked,—(I quote from a report of his speech:) "Since the people of Kentucky have sent agents here to interfere in our domestic concerns, he thought it nothing but justice to let them take care of their own negroes, without calling for the aid of a party who had been treated in bad faith." In New York, since the last Convention, the last vestige of slavery has been wiped from the statute book in the act of May 24, 1841, repealing the law by which slave-holders coming into the state had been allowed to bring with them their slaves, and on registering them, were permitted to retain them as slaves for nine months. Individuals availing themselves of this privilege could pass over into another state just before the time expired, and then return, and by registering them again, secure them for nine months more; and by repeating this process once in nine months, they could keep their slaves for ever. This law, however, is abrogated, and no slave-holder coming to New York will, without presumption, now bring with him a slave: for the moment a slave lands on the soil of New York, that moment his shackles fall off and he is a free man. A law was also passed in 1840, securing to those who are sought to be reclaimed as fugitives from slavery, the right of trial by jury. This law

has been denounced by the party now in power, and its repeal recommended by the Governor, and indeed carried in the lower house of legislature. It has been expressed here, as a matter of doubt, whether it was not the intention of the legislature to repeal it. For my own part, I have not the most distant idea that they designed to do it. Why did they not repeal it when they had ample time? They meant to make a show that would satisfy their good Southern friends, and sustain their democratic influence at the South, while, by entering upon it so late in the session, there might appear to be good reason for its failure in the want of time. In 1839, a negro having secreted himself in a vessel and thereby escaped, PETER JOHNSON, and two others of the crew of that vessel, were demanded by the Governor of Virginia on the charge of stealing a negro. The Governor of New York refused to deliver these men. He has again and again refused, and in one of the more recent refusals, he makes this declaration, after showing all respect for the acts of the legislature, he must still say, that if these men are within the jurisdiction of New York, they are under the protection of its constitution and its law, and there they must abide. It would be interesting to enter into these cases, but time will not admit. Virginia has passed additional laws forbidding ships belonging to New York to come to the harbours of Virginia, imposing a fine upon them, subjecting to being boarded by a cruiser, and this with a view of obtaining a repeal of the trial by jury law; but New York has not done it. These legislative enactments are the more important, because they have been obtained under the administration of an individual of whom New York is justly proud—WILLIAM H. SEWARD—who, when he was questioned by anti-slavery men, when a candidate, whether he was in favour of the repeal of the nine months' law, said that he was not; that he thought it was due in courtesy to the slave-holding states to allow their citizens to come accompanied by their usual attendants; yet that man has put his seal to the act repealing it. He has taken the high ground, which has entitled him to the thanks of the coloured people throughout the country. If these changes have resulted from conviction, they show a wondrous progress in the minds of our most distinguished public men; if they are the result of policy, it shows their conviction that there has been a progress in the public mind that justifies them in taking this high ground. Take which side of the dilemma they please, we have good ground to stand upon. In Rhode Island, three several efforts have recently been made to establish a new constitution. The first two did not embrace impartial privileges. The odious distinctions of "white" and "coloured" were retained, and the latter were excluded from the enjoyment of the elective franchise, the word *white* being introduced as a qualification for the suffrage. Both of these constitutions failed of being adopted. I will not go into the reasons of their failure, but Divine Providence had a reason, whatever might be the reason of the people. In the third constitution, where the word *white* would have been, it was omitted, but there was a space long enough for the five letters, w h i t e. It was then sent down to the people with the inquiry, "Will you adopt the constitution; and will you have the word *white* written in it. The people adopted the constitution, but, by an overwhelming majority, rejected the word *white*, thus leaving coloured citizens equally with others in the enjoyment of the elective franchise. The nearer we can bring this question to the people the better we succeed. In Massachusetts, the progress of legislation favourable to liberty is very apparent in the passing, by the legislature, of the resolutions against congressional gags,—restricting the right of petition against slavery and the slave-trade, and against the admission of any new slave-holding state,—in the repeal of the law which cast odium on the people of colour, by forbidding the intermarriage of white and coloured people,—and especially in the legis-

lation which grew out of the Latimer case. The Latimer case must have sounded across the waters, and I need not repeat it. In consequence of that, a law was passed with three sections, one of which declares that no judge, justice of the peace, sheriff, constable, or other officer of the state, shall aid or assist in any way in the recovery or detention of an alleged fugitive from slavery, under the penalty of a fine not to exceed 1,000 dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year; and that no jail shall be used for such purpose. In Vermont, in 1842, the legislature passed resolutions against slavery and the slave-trade, against congressional gags, and against any new slave-state being admitted to the Union, and directed copies thereof to be sent to Congress. The same law to which I have just referred, as having been passed by the legislature of Massachusetts, was passed last session by the lower house of Maine, but refused by the upper house; but both houses have united in passing a resolution to employ the whole authority of the state, and its funds, in rescuing from slavery any who are unjustly deprived of their liberty; that is, to provide for the recovery of coloured persons who shall be kidnapped and taken from Maine.

I have now gone through the legislative proceedings; I will only enumerate the cases of JUDICIAL PROCEEDING, because the most important have been already commented upon. In the Supreme Court of the United States, the negroes on board the *Amistad* were declared free, and have returned to their native land with the missionaries of Christ. In the case of *Prigg* v. *Pennsylvania*, the principal points decided were two, and have been already stated, the one unfavourable, the other favourable: viz., That slaves were by the constitution recognized as property in the states to which they might flee; and that the states to which they might flee were not bound to aid in their capture or restoration to their masters. In the case of *Groves* v. *Slaughter*, it was decided that the United States constitution does not recognise slaves as property, but as persons. In Illinois it has been decided by Judge POPE, that the law under which negroes, not having free papers, are liable to be arrested and imprisoned on suspicion of their being slaves is unconstitutional. In Ohio, the Supreme Court—one of the judges only dissenting, has decided that slaves coming into the state with the consent of the master, are free. In Missouri, three pious and worthy men have been condemned to hard labour in the state penitentiary for twelve years, for advising slaves to escape from their masters, and offering them facilities for their journey. (Cries of shame.) But they are doing good service to the cause. It is said that even slave-holders admit that their arrest and imprisonment was bad policy; and well they may, for ten now escape where one escaped before. Their arrest and subsequent imprisonment were the means of spreading among the slaves far more information than they ever possessed before, in respect to the highway of freedom, and inspired them with new hopes. Thus does He who makes the wrath of man to praise him, bring good out of evil, and send deliverance to the captive while he magnifies his grace in the patient endurance of WORK, THOMPSON, and BURN.

The CHAIRMAN.—I regret to say the time has come when particular engagements call me elsewhere. I can truly say that I feel regret at being obliged to withdraw, for I have been much interested during the time I have been in the Convention. I beg heartily to express my acknowledgments for the indulgence with which I have been treated by the delegates. I may further state, that it is my earnest desire, that whether on the other side of the Atlantic, or in this land, or elsewhere, whatever differences of opinion there may be among abolitionists, they may nevertheless give their close attention to the great object we have in view. It is, I believe, the will of Providence to work this great cause principally through the employment of instruments, though I

do not mean exclusively so; and it is my desire that the means he has used, or may yet use, both in England and the United States, may be blessed to the entire success of the cause. I wish you all cordially, farewell.

Richard Peek, Esq., then took the chair.

Mr. ARNOLD BUFFUM.—It has been remarked by H. H. Kellogg, that if the constitution should tolerate slavery, then we must war with that instrument. The Liberty party in the United States, as far as I understand their views, maintain that the constitution gives no sanction to slavery, and that all that is necessary is, to carry out the true principles of the constitution in the administration of the government, in order to annihilate slavery as far as the general government has cognizance over it. It has been stated by Joshua Leavitt, that when free persons of colour, acting in the capacity of seamen, arrive in vessels, they are imprisoned. One case has occurred of a very remarkable character. An American vessel went to Charleston with several coloured men, the captain of which was desirous not to subject himself to the expense of having them first committed to prison, and then paying the charges. He adopted the following expedient. Seeing a British vessel with its flag flying at the mast-head lying alongside him, he sent his coloured seamen on board, and thus native Americans were protected by the British flag against the laws of South Carolina.

Rev. H. H. KELLOGG.—In the statement I made respecting the different views held in America, I did not intend to commit any one. I stated that there were these differences, and I referred to the heads of the argument by which those who entertain different views suppose that they are justified. I intended to do justice to both parties on this question, and so to state the points as to avoid argument here.

Mr. FULLER.—It is of no use to mince the matter; there are only four states in which there are not slaves; and where there are slaves, I take it there must be slavery.

REPORT ON AMERICAN PAPERS—RECOVERY OF FREE MEN KIDNAPPED INTO SLAVERY. ORIGIN OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD presented a report from the Committee on American papers. It contained an analysis of those documents, and recommended that they should be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Captain STUART.—From what I have heard of those papers, and from what I know of the gentlemen by whom they have been presented, I am satisfied that they embody most important and interesting information, and therefore it is with great pleasure I move,

"That the papers submitted to this Convention by the American delegates be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to publish, on behalf of the Convention, so much of them as they may deem expedient."

Mr. SAMUEL BOWLEY.—I merely rise to second the resolution; I have had sufficient experience to know that it is better not to publish at all unless you publish correctly, and that can only be done by referring these papers to the Committee.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I do not call in question the correctness of the statement given by Mr. Kellogg; but there is one important omission with respect to New York. I am desirous that the subject should be adverted to, more especially as it has only been briefly named before. I refer to the law passed

for the recovery of free men kidnapped into slavery. It is perfectly well known, that for a long time it has been the practice of slave-holders to employ agents to kidnap free coloured men from the free states, and carry them into slavery; and not only so, but there are various other ways in which coloured persons are taken from the free states and removed to perpetual bondage. I will name one or two, and you will see the facility with which it can be accomplished. It is known that many seamen are carried into the Southern states and there sold into slavery, and that it is almost impossible for them to be recovered except by the act of the Executive of New York. Many coloured children are apprenticed from the alms-house, and carried by the persons to whom they are apprenticed and sold as slaves. Many persons are hired to travel; they are carried to the Southern states, and having no free papers, there they remain as slaves. About the year 1837, three young men were carried to Mobile, and ultimately to New Orleans, in the steamer *Newcastle*. They were taken on shore under the pretext of getting hemp for the vessel, but were carried by the captain to the city prison as his slaves for sale, and were sold by the jailor to three persons who carried them to Tennessee. One of them had an opportunity of conversing with a member of the Society of Friends, who brought the information to me, and we employed an individual to go and recover that man from slavery. I was then commissioned to see the Governor of the state of New York, to know if he could recover the other two. I was informed that had they been felons they might have been recovered: for there was a fund of 5,000 dollars to recover felons who might have escaped; but in consequence of having committed no felony, and being free men there were no resources, and he could not recover them. He advised, however, that a bill should be brought into the Legislature to appropriate money to recover men thus kidnapped and carried into slavery. The bill was not passed that session, but the next session they passed one without any restrictions, allowing him to expend any money that was necessary to recover men in this situation; and I am happy to say that he has recovered several.

Mr. FULLER.—A question was asked respecting the district of Columbia, and I thought that HIRAM H. KELLOGG did not answer it quite satisfactorily to me. The district of Columbia arose from this circumstance—Congress sometimes met in the New York state, and sometimes in Pennsylvania. At one time when the army was very short of money, and Congress was sitting in Philadelphia, there was a considerable arrear of pay due to the soldiers; they surrounded the state house and demanded their money. Congress possessed no power in the state of Pennsylvania, and it then wished that the United States of America should appropriate a certain territory over which Congress, and only Congress, should have control. Five miles were ceded by the state of Maryland, and five by the state of Virginia, making ten miles square. The cession was submitted to the country and was accepted, and when accepted, Congress did not recognize the slave laws of Maryland and Virginia, but re-enacted them—a thing which Congress had no power to do.

Mr. L. TAPPAN.—Congress passed a law that they should be continued over those states.

Mr. FULLER.—I call that re-enacting them. Congress had no more power to take cognizance of slavery there and continue it, than it would have had, had it taken five square miles from New York and Pennsylvania.

Rev. H. H. KELLOGG.—I must have expressed myself very unintelligibly if I uttered a sentiment different from that of Mr. FULLER—I believe I expressed the same.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

SLAVERY IN TEXAS.

Mr. SCOBLE.—With a view of facilitating the future business of the Convention, I hold in my hand a resolution which I will take the liberty of reading,

"That a Committee be appointed to prepare a report on the State of Slavery in Texas—to consist of Messrs. G. STACEY, J. STURGE, Rev. J. LEAVITT, Rev. A. A. PHELPS, Mr. J. FORSTER, and Rev. J. H. HINTON."

Rev. J. CARLILE seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

Mr. SCOBLE presented the following report on this subject:—

"*Slave Population of the four French Colonies, according to the Census of* 1838.

Martinique		76,517
Guadaloupe		93,349
Guyana		15,751
Bourbon		66,163
		251,780
Emancipations in 1839,	(average,) 1,800	3,200
Excess of deaths over births	1,400	
Population of 1840		248,580
Emancipation in 1840,	calculated, 1,800	3,200
Excess of deaths over births	1,400	
Population of 1841		245,380
Emancipation in 1841,	calculated, 1,800	3,200
Excess of deaths over births	1,400	
Thus, we have for the population on 1st January, 1842,		242,180

"A somewhat later account of the slave population of the French colonies, gives the following results:—

1839—Martinique,	males,—	35,227	females,—	39,106	
,, Guadaloupe,	,,	44,834	,,	48,812	
,, Cayenne,	,,	8,154	,,	7,365	
,, Bourbon,	,,	41,574	,,	24,439	
		129,789		119,722	Total. 249,511

"From 1834 to 1839, inclusive, the average of marriages among slaves amounted to, Martinique, seventeen; Guadaloupe, twelve; Bourbon, none. From the end of 1833 to 1840, the slave population of Bourbon, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Cayenne, fell from 261,500 to 249,500 souls. This differs from the first statement, and shows that the emancipations had not been taken into account. The production of sugar in 1841 is stated to be 90,814,661 kilo.; molasses, &c. 16,246,587 litres.

State of the slave population in 1841.

"The Department of Marine published on the 1st April, 1842, the second part of the returns collected in the four slave colonies, relative to the execution

of the votes of the Chamber on the erection of chapels, the religious instruction, and general care of the slaves. It appears from this return, first, that the funds allotted have been the first year diverted from their purpose, and employed, on the refusal of the *communes* of the colonies to continue the expenditure, to the restoration of the churches; it was not until 1841, that a small number of chapels were built. The number of the clergy has been slightly augmented by sending out some brethren of the Institute of Ploermel. Generally the masters would not permit the religious instruction of the slaves on their plantations, or even send them to the church for that purpose. The more a slave is enlightened, say they, the more he is disposed to reason and to become turbulent. The negroes themselves prefer devoting the Sunday to repose, or to the sale of the produce of their grounds. Although marriages may have augmented, the slaves find that it is a charge without an equivalent whilst they belong to their masters; unmarried negresses are more independent, their persons, they say, belong to their masters. All await, but in vain, an ordinance respecting marriages.

"The Colonial Councils, who had declared that they feared no investigations on their plantations, have all protested against the magistrates' visits, and declared that they will not permit them, unless forced to do so; they (the magistrates) have often been obliged to present themselve son the plantations supported by the *gendarmerie;* they have been denounced and accused of tyranny, and at Martinique the execution of the ordinance has even been suspended, (p. 41.)

"It is stated that in several parts of the colonies, particularly in Cayenne and Bourbon, the slaves in the country were entirely naked; they were not supplied with the clothing required by the Code Noir. There are dungeons on many plantations, particularly in Guadaloupe; slaves are seen going to labour loaded with heavy chains; others with iron collars; and others with masks, under a pretext that they eat dirt. 'On many of the small plantations, corporeal chastisements are unknown,' (p. 58.) Previous to the ordinance of 1840 the annual supply of clothing was rarely given, particularly in Guadaloupe, (p. 73.) On a sugar plantation in Marie-Galande, the inspecting magistrate saw in July, 1841, (p. 82,) two slaves, one a negro and the other a negress, who had each an iron collar, with four prongs of a foot and a half in length, terminating in a sharp point. They were stated to have been runaways. 'On another plantation,' says this magistrate, 'I was struck with the sight of a hideous tin mask on the face of a young negro, and above all, on that of a slave about twenty-five years of age; these masks were padlocked behind the head. . . . . A noise of chains was immediately afterwards heard, and I saw a slave with chains on his feet; a second, with a great ring of iron on the leg; and a third, (a domestic) with a collar bristling with seven prongs.' The magistrate went again to the estate to know if the masks had been removed; the negro of twenty-five years had run away. The master had attached a heavier chain to the domestic. He could not succeed in getting this removed. The law is powerless to repress these excesses. . . . Twenty-nine slaves had recently escaped from the island; they had prevented a new plot for escape from being executed, (p. 83.) The supply of clothing was only given on a small number of estates, (p. 86.) The magistrate had seen many young negroes in charge of the cattle in a state of complete nudity.

"In French Guyana, the hope of every instant seeing the chains of slavery fall off, is spread abroad in all quarters, (p. 2.) The ordinances respecting the supply of food are fallen into desuetude: only two Saturdays in the month are allowed for obtaining it, (p. 93.) On many of the estates, they are ignorant of the obligation to provide clothing for the slaves. We must not wait until

the slaves make complaints; they dread the vengeance of their masters if they do so: the protecting power is too far removed.

"At Bourbon in the seven *communes* of the district of St. Denis, the Procureur du Roi reports that upon some estates there are a very great number of the slaves who work entirely naked, (p. 102.) The huts are unhealthy, (p. 103.) There are some slaves chained, (p. 106.) The chain is inflicted for *one, two, three years, and perhaps more!* (p. 107.) The chains are very heavy. In the district of St. Paul, as a punishment, the slaves are deprived of the Sunday and Feast-days, (p. 115.) The magistrate found twenty slaves with chains, and fifteen others having irons on the feet. The number of runaways was for two *communes* only, during a period of three months, 353! He is convinced that many of the masters do not clothe their slaves, or that they do so in an insufficient manner, giving them only a shirt of blue dungaree every year! (p. 118.) Almost complete nudity, (p. 122.) Two planters of Sainte Rose, declared that they were not in the habit of giving clothing to their slaves, and that they allowed them the Sundays and the Feast-days, to furnish themselves!

"At Bourbon, the Procureur-général, M. Oje Barbaroax, never prosecutes any infraction of the ordinances, he confined himself to exhorting the masters to desist from the excesses with which they are charged; and he pretends to succeed by this means, particularly since the ordinance of 1840. He says that has caused the iron neck collar and the leg fetters to disappear, (p. 120.) The tribunals can only, in accordance with the ordinance of 1827, punish with the chain for two years; and that only for *serious offences*. But, with respect to the masters, the Procureur-général recognizes in them an *unlimited* power. Is a complaint preferred? the *Procureurs du Roi* advise him of it: but the Procureur-général, takes no steps in the matter, because the *inevitable* acquittal which would be pronounced, if the master were summoned before the Correctional Tribunal, would strike, as with an interdict, all the admonitions of the public minister, (Report of the 30th January, 1841, p. 129.) In short, in most of the communes, the slaves neither receive provisions nor care when sick; and, nevertheless, there have been, since the question of emancipation has been agitated, many ameliorations in the treatment of the slaves!

"This document is very important, from the confessions which it contains. We see in it, that in many parts the slaves are expecting their liberty, and will no longer endure the bad treatment they receive, or their sale by auction, particularly in Martinique, (p. 47.) The escapes of slaves are increasing, and they announce their intention of seizing by force the boats on the coasts, and leaving *en masse*. Emancipation becomes urgent.

"'It would be almost impossible,' (says the report from Martinique, of August, 1841, p. 56,) 'for a planter to take even a little time from his slave; there is a spirit of resistance amongst them, which prevents any attempt on what they consider their rights. If the master, on any misunderstanding with them, prevents their having recourse to the authorities, he would then have to dread the terrible and secret vengeance of the slaves,—the poison and the torch,—which frightens the proprietors much more than the penal laws.'

"A report of the 3rd September, 1841, relative to the island of St. Martin, (p. 77,) states, that 'the slaves are unceasingly *tormented* with the desire of escaping; in the district of the Grande-Anse, they had declared that they would do nothing—they desired liberty; if it was not accorded to them, they would take it.' One hundred and fifty slaves were spoken of as prepared to leave the island on the first opportunity, forcing the military posts, and seizing the boats attached to the shore. They are heard to speak unceasingly about liberty

and emancipation. The above facts were brought before the Chamber, in the sittings of the 28th and 30th May, 1842.

"The following projects of law have been submitted by the Commission appointed by Royal Decree, on the 26th May, 1840, 'for the examination of questions relative to slavery, and the political constitution of the colonies.' They were presented to the Chamber of Deputies, together with the Report of the Commission, which is very voluminous, in March, of the present year.

General and Simultaneous Emancipation Project of the majority of the Commission. Title 1, *on the Abolition of Slavery.*

Article 1. On the 1st January, 1853, slavery shall be abolished in the French colonies.

Art. 2. The slaves shall remain until the said period in their present actual condition, as regulated by the laws, edicts, and ordinances, in force in the colonies, with the modifications hereafter to be named.

Art. 3. Provision shall be made by Royal Ordinance, conformably with Arts. 3 and 6, of the law of the 24th April, 1833.

1st. For the food and maintenance of slaves.

2nd. For the number and distribution of the hours of compulsory, and for the remuneration of voluntary, labour.

3rd. On the observance of the Sunday and festivals.

4th. For the encouragement to be given to the progressive introduction of task-work amongst the slaves.

5th. For the discipline of the slaves, and,

6th. For their religious and moral instruction.

Art. 4. Regulations respecting the marriages of slaves, and the rights of parents over their children, legitimate or natural, shall also be enacted by Royal Ordinance.

Art. 5. Slaves shall be competent to acquire personal property. The personal property which they shall be in possession of by legal title, on the promulgation of the present law, shall immediately become theirs. Every title shall be considered as legitimate, which would be so in the case of a free person.

Art. 6. They shall have the administration of this property, and shall be competent to transmit it to their legitimate or natural heirs, and to dispose of it by will, or during their life time, in accordance with the provisions of the Civil Code.

Art. 7. They shall not be competent, in the case of a civil suit, to plead or defend it in their own names, but shall be represented by a curator *ad hoc*, named by the Procureur du Roi.

Art. 8. They shall be competent to execute all purely administrative acts, in reference to the property of their children, being minors.

The husband may also administer the property of his wife, if there be no stipulation in the marriage contract to the contrary.

Art. 9. With respect to property administered as in the article aforesaid, they shall not be competent to alienate, to borrow, to receive capital, and to give a quittance for it, without the assistance of a curator, named by the Procureur du Roi.

Art. 10. A simple wrong done shall be reversed in favour of the slave minor against all conventions, which, exceeding the bounds of his capacity, may have been made by himself, or by the administrator of his property, without the assistance of a curator.

Art. 11. When a slave minor is permitted to reverse his engagements, he shall not be required to reimburse that which may have been paid to him in consequence of those engagements, unless it shall be proved that what has been paid has turned to his profit.

Art. 12. The following articles are excepted from those which it shall be competent to slaves to possess.

1st. Ships, boats, or vessels of any kind.

2nd. Gunpowder, either for war or sport.

3rd. Fire-arms.

Art. 13. Every slave shall be permitted to redeem himself by purchase, in reference to the years of unrequited labour to which he is bound by the second article.

Art. 14. The price of redemption shall be as agreed upon by the parties concerned.

In case of dispute between them, it shall be referred to the royal judge, who shall appoint a jury, and decide, without appeal, on their report.

On the condition of the enfranchised.

Art. 15. Every enfranchised slave shall enjoy civil rights. Their children, born free, shall also enjoy civil and political rights, in accordance with the laws.

Persons enfranchised according to the law of the 24th April, 1833, shall continue to enjoy civil and political rights.

Art. 16. Every enfranchised slave shall be bound to reside during five consecutive years, from the date of his enfranchisement, in the colony in which such enfranchisement takes place.

Notwithstanding, the governor of the said colony shall be competent to dispense with the obligation in respect to any enfranchised slave, if there be reason for so doing.

Art. 17. Every enfranchised slave shall be bound during five years to engage himself for one or more years, in the service of some person or persons residing in the colony.

Art. 18. The engagement shall be contracted on conditions agreed on before the local authority. The form shall be determined on by a royal ordinance according to article 23, which follows hereafter.

19. The *maximum* and *minimum* of wages shall be regulated every year by the Governors in private council.

Art. 20. Every enfranchised slave who shall be unable to prove that he has done his best to conform himself to article 17, shall be arrested and placed in a disciplinary work-house, where he shall labour gratuitously, and shall, if need be, be coerced thereto.

Every enfranchised slave who shall prove his inability to procure an engagement, shall be received and employed in the public works.

Art. 21. Every enfranchised slave retained in the disciplinary work-house, shall be immediately released therefrom on his fulfilment of article 17.

Art. 22. Every infraction of the stipulated conditions between the engager and the engaged, shall be punished, according to the gravity of the offence, as follows:—

The engager a fine of from 25 to 100 francs.

The engaged shall be mulcted of a portion, not exceeding one half, of his wages.

The above fines shall be levied without prejudice to the penalties which either the engager or the engaged may have incurred, by ill usage or serious damage respectively committed.

In case of renewed misconduct, the engaged shall be taken to the disciplinary work-house, according to the provision of article 20, where he shall labour gratuitously for not less than five, or more than thirty days.

Art. 23. The following matters shall be the subject of royal ordinances.

1st. The rules and conditions of contracts.

2nd. The regulations of the disciplinary work-houses.

A royal ordinance shall specially provide for the jurisdiction to which shall be referred infractions of contracts. This ordinance shall be presented to the Chamber, in order to its becoming law, within a year.

Art. 24. In future the provisions of article 17, &c., relative to contracts, shall be applicable to all slaves enfranchised, whether by the liberality of their owners, by self-redemption, or in virtue of the first article of the present law.

Art. 25. Children under fourteen years of age shall be comprehended in the contract of engagement of their mothers. The local administration shall make provision for the reception of orphans under fourteen years of age in a public establishment.

With respect to sick or infirm slaves enfranchised, they shall be provided for in accordance with the law of the 12th July, 1832; article 9 of that of the 11th June, 1839; and article 29 of the present law.

Of Indemnity.

Art. 26. An indemnity shall be allowed to the colonists who shall be dispossessed of their slaves, by virtue of article 1 of the present law, for every individual, without distinction of age or sex, who shall be pronounced free at the period fixed by the said article.

Art. 27. For this purpose, an annuity of six millions of francs, at an interest of 4 per cent., will be inscribed in the name of the "caisse des depôts et consignations," in the book of the public debt. The interest will be received and converted every six months into annuities on the same account for the profit of the claimants.

On the 1st Jan. 1853, the capital of 150 millions of francs, represented by the said annuity, as well as the interests which it will have produced, will be handed to the claimants.

Art. 28. At the period fixed by article 1, for the definitive liberation of the slaves, the said sum of 150 millions of francs, together with the interest accruing, shall be divided amongst the different colonies, in proportion to the number of slaves of both sexes and of all ages, who shall exist in each of them at that period.

The basis of distribution amongst the colonists, of the proportion of the indemnity to be allotted to each colony, shall be determined on the advice of the local authorities, by royal ordinance.

Art. 29. In consideration of the indemnity provided for by article 26, every colonist shall be responsible for the food, clothing, lodging, and medical care of such slaves as, at the said period shall, through age or infirmity, be unable to work.

Art. 30. The following matters shall be provided for by royal ordinance.

1st. The mode of payment.

2nd. The guarantees to be required both from the colonists and their creditors.

Art. 31. Previous to the first of January, 1853, a revision shall take place, according to the provisions of article 3 of the law of the 1st April, 1833, of all laws, edicts, ordinances, or colonial regulations relative to the powers of the governors, the police, and the repression of vagrancy.

Partial and progressive Emancipation.—Project of the minority.—Of the enfranchisement of children born, or who shall be born henceforward.

Art. 1. From the date of the promulgation of the present law the following persons shall be enfranchised and declared free:—

1st. Children born of slave parents in the French colonies subsequently to the 1st January, 1838, inclusive.

2nd. Children who in future shall be born of slave parents in the said colonies.

Art. 2. They shall remain with their mother until the completion of their sixth year.

In case of the alienation of the mother, either by sale or gift, the new proprietor shall be subject, with respect to the children, to the rights and obligations of the former proprietor of the mother.

In case of the enfranchisement of the mother, the proprietor to whom she belonged, shall retain his former rights and obligations with respect to the children.

Art. 3. After the completion of their sixth year, the children shall be brought up at the charge of the state, according to the provisions of article 6 of the present law.

Art. 4. The colonists dispossessed in virtue of the present law shall be allowed an indemnity of 500 francs for every child arrived at the age of seven years. This indemnity shall be paid in three months from the day on which the child shall have completed his seventh year.

Art. 5. From seven to twenty-one years, every young enfranchised slave shall be employed *à titre d'engagé* by the proprietor to whom the mother, if a slave, belongs; or, if enfranchised, by the last proprietor to whom she may have belonged.

Art. 6. The engagement shall be contracted in the name of the young enfranchised slave, by the care and under the *surveillance* of the colonial authority. The conditions of the contract shall be fixed by mutual consent, subject to the right which the colonial authority shall retain.

1st. Of seeing that the young enfranchised slaves receive a moral and religious education, either on the estate, or in a school or asylum.

2nd. Of withdrawing him, if it should be judged expedient, in order to his being brought up in a public establishment.

Art. 7. The *engagé* shall remain with his mother.

In case of the alienation of the mother, or of her enfranchisement, the provisions of article 2 to be enforced.

Art. 8. The enfranchised shall remain until the completion of their 21st year, with respect to their civil rights, under the *surveillance* of the public minister, who shall, if necessary, appoint them a curator. On attaining their majority, they shall exercise all the rights assured to the French by the civil code. Their children born free shall enjoy all the civil and political rights which the laws accord.

Art. 9. As soon as each child enfranchised by virtue of the present law shall attain his majority, his mother, if she exist, and his father, if the child is born in lawful wedlock, shall be enfranchised by the state in consideration of an indemnity.

Art. 10. The indemnity shall be regulated by mutual consent. In case of difference between the colonial administrator and the proprietor of the parent or parents, it shall be referred to the royal judge, who shall appoint a jury, and decide, without appeal, on their report.

Art. 11. The parents enfranchised by Art. 9 shall enjoy all civil rights.

Art. 12 to 21 inclusive, on the self-redemption of slaves, and on the constitution of their *peculium* are respectively the same as Art. 3 to 12 inclusive of the first project.

Art. 22. Every slave, on the contraction of marriage with another slave, shall be allowed the sum of 100 francs, to be added to their *peculium*. The said sum shall be paid, on an order signed by the Governor, into the Savings' Bank, where it shall bear interest for the profit of the married couple. It shall not be taken out of the Savings' Bank, and employed by them, except by the authority of the public minister.

Art. 23. Every slave shall be permitted to purchase his own freedom.

Art. 24. The same as Art. 14 of the first project.

Art. 25. Every year the Governors of the different colonies shall, by order in private council, fix the maximum and minimum price of self-redemption.

Of Slaves incapable of Labour.

Art. 26. Every slave who, through age or infirmity, shall be rendered definitively incapable of labour, shall be enfranchised and declared free. He shall enjoy civil rights in accordance with Art. 31.

Art. 27. The proprietor to whom he belonged shall continue to furnish him with lodging, food, clothing, and such medical care as his infirmities may require, receiving a pension for so doing, which shall be paid by the state.

Art. 28. The amount of the pension shall be regulated by mutual consent, between the proprietor and the colonial administrator.

Art. 29. The mode of establishing the incapacity for labour, and of insuring the fulfilment of the obligations imposed on the masters by Art. 27, shall be provided for by royal ordinance.

Of Slaves enfranchised by the Liberality of their Owners.

Art. 30. Slaves who shall be voluntarily enfranchised by their masters shall, in future, be subject to the following regulations.

Art. 31 to 39 inclusive, relative to contracts, &c., are respectively the same as Articles 15 to 23 inclusive, of the first project.

Art. 40 the same as Art. 25, of the first project.

General Dispositions.

Art. 41. The present law shall be in force during twenty-five consecutive years. One year previous to the expiration of that period, the complete abolition of slavery, together with the indemnity to be allowed to the proprietors of slaves, and the condition of the enfranchised, shall be provided for by law.

Mr. J. BUDGE moved

"That the papers now brought under the attention of the Convention relative to slavery in the French colonies be referred to a Committee, who are hereby requested to draft an address to the Committee of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery founded thereon. The Committee to consist of the Rev. J. WOODWARK, Rev. J. H. HINTON, and Messrs. J. FINLAY and J. DUNLOP.

Rev. JOSEPH W. RICHARDSON, seconded the motion, which was carried.

SINFULNESS OF SLAVERY.

Mr. J. STURGE.—I beg to move

"That a Committee be now appointed, to be composed, as far as practicable, of persons representing the various sections of the Christian church, to prepare a faithful address to all who profess to be the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ in America, and all those countries in which slavery is yet tolerated, expressing the sentiments of this Convention.

First, on the sinfulness of slavery. Secondly, on the duty of Christian professors to be faithful in the use of means for putting an end to such crying sins. The following to be the Committee:—Rev. THOMAS SWAN, Rev. Dr. RITCHIE, Rev. Dr. CAMPBELL, GEORGE KNOX, SAMUEL BOWLEY, Rev. JAMES CARLILE, W. T. BLAIR, JAMES STANDFIELD, JAMES WILSON, THOMAS GARLAND, and the Rev. J. HARDING."

Mr. KNOX seconded the motion, which was put and agreed to.

CONDITION OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE IN CANADA.

Rev. HIRAM WILSON.—I have no doubt that a very deep sympathy is felt in the bosom of every delegate on behalf of the refugees from American slavery in the province of Canada. The circumstances of our meeting, and the pressure of business crowding upon us, require me to be very brief, and merely to give you a synopsis of the immense amount of matter that might be adduced in respect to them. I stand here as the representative and advocate—in connexion with our excellent friend Mr. JAMES CANNINGS FULLER, who is equally interested with myself in the same cause—on behalf of the most interesting fragment of the human family to be found on the face of the earth. You have been much interested with the statements from the Vigilance Committee of New York, with regard to the numerous cases of flight from bondage: I represent not far from 12,000 of my native countrymen, who have emerged from the prison of slavery, and made their way to Canada. They are a marvellous people. There is something marvellous in the idea of liberty producing such a transforming influence; they are emphatically men of one idea, that seems to get into the top end of the chattels—converts them into self-propelling locomotives, and moves them in a Northerly direction till they cross the line to Canada. There are not far from a thousand births occur annually along the national line that separates the United States and British America. They are a people remarkable in regard to their birth. They are of noble birth, more distinguished even than the birth of princes and princesses in this country. The latter are born into infancy, but the refugees are born at once into British manhood. The number of males to females is perhaps as two to one; and the entire coloured population in Canada would number not far from 16,000; indeed, some have estimated them at 20,000. They are located in different districts—in Gore-in-the-Home, in Niagara, in London, and in the Western districts. It was my privilege, about seven years since, to commence my labours as an itinerant among them, with a view to promote their improvement, and to elicit their testimony concerning slavery, as it was thought that this might be of great service to the Anti-slavery enterprise. For eighteen months I was under the patronage of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and procured from the refugees their testimony as to the horrors of the prison-house, from which they had fled. They represent every slave state in the American Union, and at the same time every variety of complexion between those of the fairer hue and the jet black. The great majority of the coloured refugees in Canada are from the more Northern slave states; they are continually arriving from what are called the slave-breeding states—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. I remember hearing it stated by JOSHUA COFFIN, who is interested in the Vigilance Committee, and who is familiar with the condition of Delaware and Maryland, that such is the tendency to fly Northward, that 20 years would abolish slavery in those states merely by flight. It is not to be supposed that very many of them can come from the more Southern states; I have seen them, however, from New Orleans and Mobile—from the cotton plantations of the South, as well as the sugar-growing regions. I have been engaged seven years in promoting education, and most of the time by means of common

schools. I have established schools among them where they are numerous, and at the same time have endeavoured to operate against prejudice, so as to introduce them, if possible, to schools existing among the white people. Their asylum in Canada, with one exception, is a very desirable one. The climate of Canada, especially the more South-Western districts, is mild and salubrious, and the transition to them from the more Northern slave states is but very slight. They are generally, a healthy, athletic, and vigorous-minded people. I am bound in duty to state, that there exists amongst the white inhabitants of Canada a vast amount of prejudice against colour. In certain places—as, for instance, Kingston and Toronto, and a few others, where the preponderating influence is English and Scotch, there is but very little ground of complaint; prejudice obtains only to a faint degree; whilst in other parts, especially along the frontiers and the West, the prejudice is intolerable. I will give a specimen in the Western District. On the River Thames there are some two or three steam-boats running, and in neither of these is a coloured man admitted as a cabin passenger, however respectable he may be; nor is he allowed, on account of his colour, to come to the first or second table. I was passing down the river, and a gentleman from the Western District of Canada, of respectable appearance, refused to come to the public dining table, because an Abolitionist, who had eaten with coloured people, was going to dine at it. He carried his prejudices so far as to proscribe white persons who had eaten with blacks. I told him that as he declined to eat at the table with me, because I had eaten with blacks, he might have the privilege of the second cut. He refused to come, and required to have some food brought up for him and his company. In the unmerciful town of Mersea the inhabitants refuse to have coloured persons settle among them. A very excellent and amiable man, an agent of the Bible Society, the Rev. James Richardson, told me that he addressed a meeting on behalf of that institution, and on returning to his lodgings took occasion to advert to the right of coloured persons to instruction and education, upon which the good lady of the house remarked, "It is well that you did not suggest that to the meeting, or you would have got no money for the Bible Society." Not long since, I was travelling in a stage, and there were two or three gentlemen with me, one of whom was of sable hue. On sitting down to dinner at St. Catherine's, the landlord, Mr. Stevenson, came into the room and demeaned himself in the most shameful manner, insulting us for "introducing a new regulation," as he said, in sitting down with a black. We were obliged to bear the insult as well as we could. The coloured youth generally are shut out from the white schools; they are not suffered to be educated in common with the white people. We have founded an institution of learning on the manual labour system. I would here remark, for the satisfaction of those who intrusted money to Mr. James Cannings Fuller, that we have made a purchase of 200 acres of land of first rate quality, erected a public building, and three small dwelling-houses. During the last year we have made improvements, and brought twenty-five acres under cultivation, and in the course of the winter we received and instructed sixteen young men of colour, every one of whom, I believe, without exception, was a fugitive from slavery. We have the testimony of the principal teacher that they have made very desirable improvement, that they have behaved themselves very respectfully, and that the blessing of Heaven has so far attended our efforts. We are now anxious to secure the means of sustaining this new institution, which bears the name of the British American Institute of Science and Industry; and also for promoting the general welfare of the coloured population by means of common schools. I have here a testimonial, signed by one hundred and fifteen coloured men in the vicinity of our new

institution, about seventy of whom have been in the military barracks at Chatham as soldiers; but at the time I left they were expecting their discharge. The testimonial is as follows.

"To the British Philanthropists.—We, the undersigned coloured citizens and soldiers of Chatham, Canada West, do hereby express our sincere thanks to our friends in England for the interest they have manifested in our welfare, as a people, and for the means they have already furnished in aid of the education of ourselves and our children. We fondly hope that an enduring interest will be felt in our behalf, as by reason of prejudice we do not enjoy privileges of education in common with the white population of Canada. We also commend our long-tried and faithful friend, HIRAM WILSON, to the confidence and kind regard of the British public."

Amongst their names there is one that I would read with emphasis—it is DANIEL CHINN, *brother in-law to the late vice-president of the United States.* R. M. JOHNSON held him in slavery; he accompanied him as a body servant to Washington for about twelve years, and after being baffled again and again respecting his freedom, which had been promised him, he took occasion to slip down to Freedom's Ferry at Detroit, and across to Canada, where he became a free man, and for some time has been a soldier at the barracks at Chatham, where, in case of war, he must have fought against his own brother-in-law. I have with me the proceedings of a Convention held at London, Upper Canada, representing the coloured people, calling for the formation of an institution on the manual labour system. We have happily brought the institution into being, and a very large number of those coloured soldiers at the time I left were exceedingly anxious to gain admission into it, for the purpose of changing their condition as soldiers, which, as regards their morals, is not a very great deal better than that of slavery. I have also a letter from a coloured youth who is now a student at Oberlin, but who has been engaged for some time in teaching his brethren in Canada. His name is NEWMAN, and I will read a few lines from his letter.

"Tell the dear people in England that our united cry and petition is, that they will remember our bonds, and to give us what help they can to get an education, which is the key, and the only key to unlock the handcuffs of the American slave-drivers. Tell the friends, of our bonds, tell of our ignorance, tell of our stripes, tell of our sorrows, and tell them we don't know where to look for help. If our friends in England will not hear our complaints, if they turn away from us, we are certainly done, and there is no hope for us, but we must die in American slavery."

I have a letter from that distinguished abolitionist, J. G. BIRNEY, dated April 22, 1843, of which the following is an extract:—

"The most active and prominent abolitionists of Britain are by no means uninformed of your long-continued, and no doubt effective, labours in behalf of the Canadian fugitives from slavery in the States, from the time when, in conjunction with the other noble-minded students at Lane seminary, you forsook that institution where you were preparing for the ministry, and went out into the world—with that world against you—unaided, to scatter the seed of liberty, and do forbidden deeds of mercy, rather than surrender the right to treat the poor and despised coloured people as men and brethren.

"All these things they well know, and I take on me to say, were you to traverse the globe you would find no people who would more wisely, and of course, more generously appreciate what you have done, and the principles from which your conduct has proceeded, than British abolitionists. I deem of great importance your success in raising up a literary institution of high cha-

racter, at the point which you have, judiciously I trust, selected to make the attempt."

I am yet to learn whether or not this pleasing statement of British philanthropy will be realised. It is the intention of Mr. J. C. FULLER and myself, unitedly, to solicit the aid of British philanthropists in carrying on this work of improving the condition, and elevating the character of the refugees in the British possessions of North America, especially by means of this institution, which is so loudly called for. I believe that if ever there were an institution on the face of the earth which ought to be sustained and enlarged, so as to accommodate a greater number of inmates, and prepare them for usefulness, this is one. I am happy to say that Lord MORPETH's observations within the sphere of our agency, has induced him to double his subscription of 1840. I cannot but think that a deep and generous sympathy will pervade the British community on this subject. It appears to me important that while on the one hand the military barracks are inviting the refugees, and on the other, the Manual Labour Institution, that the latter should have the preference, and therefore that it should be encouraged. I have felt ardently desirous of expressing to the Convention, my views and feelings, in regard to this feature of the enterprise now in progress for the destruction of slavery. The slaves who possess the strongest minds are those who escape to Canada, and hence the great encouragement to educate them. There are now two or three very efficient agents traversing the Northern states, who were fugitives to Canada. They are now lecturing in the Eastern states. I allude to the CLARKES, whose father was an Englishman. It is of great moment to train up for the anti-slavery conflict, those who have themselves suffered in the wretched state of slavery. In the temperance reform the tee-totallers who have come out of the ditch can best tell the miseries of drunkenness; and it is of importance that we should have those to advocate emancipation who can reveal the invisible horrors of the prison-house. I have, since I left the Lane seminary, been the servant of servants; and am willing to be the servant of British philanthropists—to do your bidding, to act in accordance with your wishes by operating in the most efficient and powerful manner within the limits of my feeble capacity, against slavery, and against that terrible prejudice to colour which prevails to so great an extent in Canada. I wish you to feel that the responsibility of carrying on this work devolves on this Convention, and on those in this kingdom who sympathise with us. We do not ask American abolitionists to withhold their hands, or to excuse themselves from doing this work; but we especially call on the friends of humanity throughout Great Britain to enlist in this enterprise according to their means, and to render that amount of aid which their wisdom may dictate.

Mr. CHARLES JAMES METCALF.—I beg to move

"That a committee be appointed to report on the subject now brought before us, to consist of the following delegates:—Rev. H. WILSON, J. C. FULLER, J. CREWDSON, Captain STUART, W. JOHNSTON, J. MARRIAGE, jun. W. T. BLAIR, J. RICHARDSON, and the Rev. Dr. RITCHIE."

Rev. JOHN STOCK seconded the motion.

Captain STUART.—This question particularly relates to matters within my knowledge. Two years ago, I travelled among the refugees in Canada, and found that, universally amongst them, Mr. WILSON was regarded as their father, minister, brother, servant, and friend. I commend him to British anti-slavery hearts, and through them to the country.

Mr. SCOBLE suggested that the Committee should also take into considera-

tion how far the fugitive slaves in Canada would be affected by the 10th Article of the Washington treaty.

This being understood, the resolution was put and agreed to.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

Mr. SCOBLE.—As far as I have been able, I have collected information with reference to the abolition question in these Republics.

URUGUAY, (MONTE VIDEO.)

By the 131st Article of the Constitution, it is declared :—

First, That all children, born of slave parents, shall be free; and,

Second, The importation or traffic in slaves is prohibited after the 10th September, 1829.

By this it was considered that slavery would become extinct in the present generation. But, since the abdication of the Emperor of Brazil, numerous individuals having emigrated to this republic, bringing with them their property and slaves; at first, the Government, desirous of promoting emigration, wilfully shut their eyes to small numbers disembarking in the character of body servants, &c. In the course, however, of a very short time, the slave-dealers of Rio de Janeiro, ever upon the alert to take advantage of circumstances, commenced a traffic by introducing slaves, under the denomination of sailors, in Brazilian vessels, or servants to Brazilian passengers, and claiming protection in this traffic under the interpretation of the word *property*, in the 147th Article of the Constitution, which says, "Any individual is at liberty to enter the republic, to reside in it, or to leave it *with his property*, observing the laws," &c. &c. Those claims set up by Brazilian subjects, and supported by their political agent in Monte Video, led to a correspondence between the Government of the Republic, and that of Brazil, which terminated in the adoption, by the House of Representatives, (in the former country,) on the 26th March, 1832, of the following law :—

Article 1. All slaves that shall be introduced into the territory of the Republic, after the promulgation of the present law, shall, by the same Act, be free,—Except, 1st, Sailors of foreign vessels, entered on the Muster Roll. 2nd, Slaves to foreign agents,—the one and the other shall remain slaves whilst they continue in the same service. 3rd, Slaves belonging to passengers, previous to the expiration of six months, will be protected by the office to which the case belongs. 4th, Slaves that had belonged to the Republic, and shall return with the same masters that exported them, within the term of two years.

Art. 2. Those slaves excepted in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd cases of the foregoing Article shall be free, from the moment that their masters shall sell or exchange them. And those slaves comprehended in the 3rd class of the 1st Article, if not exported within six months, shall, after the expiration of that term, by the said Act, be free.—*Slave-trade Papers, Class B*, 1832, *p.* 79.

BUENOS AYRES.

The following are copies of the decrees promulgated by the different Governments of Buenos Ayres, since the declaration of its independence in 1809, for the prevention of the slave-trade and the abolition of slavery.

Law upon the Introduction of Slaves.

Buenos Ayres, 15th May, 1812.

Article 1. The importation of slaves into the territory of the Republic, is absolutely prohibited.

Art. 2. Those slave ships which shall arrive within the term of the year, reckoning from the 25th of the present month of May, shall be ordered instantly to quit the ports.

Art. 3. After the year's expiration, the expeditions fitted out for this purpose shall, on arriving on our coasts, be confiscated, the slaves by them conveyed shall be declared free; and the Government will undertake that they shall be employed in useful occupations.

Art. 4. All the authorities of the state are specially enjoined to see that this decree be duly observed and executed, which shall also be published, circulated, and preserved in the archives of this Government.

Law upon the Introduction of Slaves.

Buenos Ayres, 4th February, 1813.

The General Assembly prescribes, that all slaves coming from foreign countries, in whatsoever manner introduced, shall from this day forward be free, provided they but even tread the soil of the United Provinces.

Decree prohibiting the Exportation of Slaves.

Buenos Ayres, 3rd December, 1816.

The extent to which the practice of exporting slaves from these provinces to foreign parts, has been of late carried in this neighbourhood, having arrested the attention of the Government, and considering, as it does, that the circumstance above named, proves that there is a design on foot to evade the measures which have been passed, and ought to be taken henceforward for the employment in any contingency of this useful arm in the military service of the country, during such time as the conflicts which menace these provinces may require it, it has been determined, that from this day forth, the exportation of the said slaves be prohibited under severe penalties, whether it be carried on by natives of this country, or by subjects of other powers, always reserving to them the right of disposing of them as they may think fit within the territory of the Union; and in order that this Act be not evaded under any pretext whatsoever, it is declared, that henceforth, slaves belonging to persons residing out of these provinces, shall come beneath its regulations.

Let this be communicated to those whom it concerns, and also be published, in order that it may reach the notice of all.

Buenos Ayres, 3rd September, 1824.

The abuses which begin to result from the Decree of the Sovereign Assembly of the 11th of January, 1814, explanatory of that of the 4th February, 1813, being evident to the Government, it has, for the purpose of uprooting these abuses in their early growth, resolved on, and now decrees the following :—

1. Such persons as shall arrive in this province from foreign countries with slaves, in the capacity of servants, must draw up an account of them for presentation at the Police Office.

2. It shall not be in their power to sell them or hire them out, whatever be the term applied to them, to any person in the country, not even on the condition of removing them from it.

3. In the event of the infringement of any of the preceding articles, the slave shall be considered free, conformable to the Decree of the Sovereign Assembly of the 4th February, 1813.

4. The Procurator General Protector of the Poor, will exact the fulfilment of the provisions of the said Decree, in all the cases which may come beneath his notice.

5. On the reception at the Police Office of the account required by the first Article, the owner and introducer of the servant-slave shall be furnished with a certified copy of the account taken.

6. It shall be incumbent on every person falling under the enactments of the preceding Articles, at the time of his departure from the country, to present at the Police Office, the slave whom he should have introduced, or to give notice of the place of his residence.

7. The Captain of the Port shall take care that, at the time of his making the usual visit to ships arriving from foreign ports, the persons passengers in them be made acquainted with the provisions of this Decree.

8. Let this Decree be transcribed for the use of those it concerns, and be inserted in the Official Register.

(Signed,) HERAS.
MANUEL JOSE GARCIA.

Law of the Government of Buenos Ayres, declaring the Slave-trade to be Piracy.

The Honourable Junta of Representatives of the Province of Buenos Ayres, in the exercise of the ordinary and extraordinary powers with which it is invested, has sanctioned and decreed as follows, which shall have the force and effect of law :—

Article 1. The traffic in negroes on the coast of Africa is declared piracy.

Art. 2. The citizens of Buenos Ayres, who, after the publication of this law, shall engage in the traffic in negroes, shall be punished as pirates.

Which, by order of the Honourable Body, is communicated to your Excellency for the consequent effects.

God preserve your excellency many years.

(Signed) MANUEL PINTO, President.
JOSE SEVERO MALAVIA, Secretary.

Hall of Sessions, Buenos Ayres,
15th November, 1824.

His Excellency the Governor and
Captain General of the Province, &c. &c. &c.

Decree.

Buenos Ayres, 15th Oct., 1831.

The Provisionary Government, considering the commerce and traffic in black slaves upon the coast of Africa as extinguished, does not impose any restrictions upon the free transfer, so that it be justly made, of every slave who may have been already, or who shall be introduced into this province in the capacity of servant. And in the exercise of the ordinary and extraordinary powers with which it has been invested by the Honourable Chamber of Representatives, has determined on and now decrees the following.

Art. 1. From this time forth the transfer in this province, provided it be justly made, of every slave who is actually, or who shall be introduced into it in the capacity of servant, subsequent to the publication of the law of the supreme constitutional General Assembly of the 4th of February, 1813, is freely authorised; every other disposition to the contrary being, as it ought, annulled in consequence.

Art. 2. Let this be communicated, published, and inserted in the official register.

(Signed) ANCHORENA.
BALCARCE.
GARCIA.

Decree of the Government of Buenos Ayres, for the Prevention of the Slave Trade.

Buenos Ayres, 26th November, 1833.

When the Government, by its decree of the 15th October, 1831, which annulled that of the 3rd September, 1824, granted permission to import such slaves as might be imported in the class of servants, it was very far from anticipating that this measure, which was adopted for the purpose of improving the condition of the slaves, who are, without doubt, benefited by being placed under the protection of our laws, would have afforded a pretext for infringing them and oppressing humanity. These considerations, and the knowledge that the Government possesses, that, under the appearance and denomination of servants, black slaves are introduced from the coast of Africa, and from other points where they are an article of contraband, make it a duty to prevent the commission of such acts, and it therefore resolves and decrees the following.

Art. 1. The enactments prohibiting the traffic in slaves are declared to be in full vigour, more especially those contained in the law of the 15th Nov., 1824.

Art. 2. At the time of visiting all vessels coming from foreign parts, the Captain of the Port shall require a list upon oath, of the slaves on board, with a specification of their masters.

Art. 3. The list required by the preceding article shall be immediately communicated to the Office of Police, where the proprietors shall present themselves with their slaves, and give an account of them.

Art. 4. If the excessive number of newly-imported slaves, introduced by any individual, shall induce a suspicion that they may have been imported contrary to law, the Chief of Police shall direct that a brief statement of the fact be drawn up, and shall inform the Government of the same for its resolution thereon; making the proprietor meanwhile responsible for the existence of the negroes, and prohibiting their transfer to any other proprietor.

Art. 5. The slaves which shall be introduced, in whatever manner, contrary to the provisions of the present decree, shall be declared forfeited, and shall be awarded *enpatronato* to the informer, on conditions established as a general regulation.

Art. 6. The Captain of the Port shall take care that, in the act of visiting vessels on their arrival, their captains and passengers shall be advised of the contents of the present decree, in order that they may not allege ignorance of the same.

Art. 7. Let this be communicated and published, and inserted in the official register.

(Signed) Viamont.
Manuel Garcia.

COLUMBIA.

Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Grenada.

Columbia, influenced by a generous and enlightened philanthropy, and encouraged therein by the inspiring example and exhortations of her immortal liberator, Don Simon Bolivar, identified the cause of her political independence with that of civilization and humanity, by prohibiting, by a solemn law of Congress, issued at Cucuta on the 21st of July, 1821, the import and export of slaves from her territory, and by, at the same time, establishing effectual means for the gradual extirpation therein of slavery itself.

The three sections into which that Republic has subsequently divided have most honourably persevered in, and carried out, the provisions of this law. In

fact, the extinction of slavery in Venezuela, New Grenada, and the Ecuador, is notoriously treated by them all as a primary object of their national morality and policy.—*Slave-trade Papers, Class D, (further series,)* 1840, *p.* 36.

VENEZUELA.

Extract from the Report of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Chamber of the Senate, relative to the Treaty concluded with Great Britain on the extinction of the traffic in Slaves.

"The Constituent Congress of Columbia, even before witnessing the expulsion from the territory of Venezuela of the soldiers of the Peninsula, at the moment of sanctioning the fundamental code of the Republic, gave a most unequivocal proof of the interest existing on the situation of the slaves, by the law of the 21st of June, 1821, on manumission.

"It was not easy to make an act for the extinction of servitude without violating the right of property, but to do all possible towards it compatible therewith, the first article opens the doors of freedom to the children of the slaves, born after the publication of the law in the capitals of provinces. Hence the results are so beneficial and just, an arrangement will in a few years free all the inhabitants of Columbia, and be duly inscribed as such in the public registers. The 7th Article clearly and positively prohibits the introduction of slaves in any manner whatever, and assigns penalties to the transgressors; and those which follow have for their object the formation of a fund, destined exclusively for the slaves, who had the misfortune to be born previously, and consequently are not comprehended in the law cited.

"The social compact that united Venezuela with the rest of Columbia is broken; if then some laws fell into disuse, and others were expressly derogated, still that on the manumission did not suffer; on the contrary, all its dispositions were not only confirmed by the Constituent Congress of Venezuela, on the 2nd of October, 1830, but by it the condition of the slaves was ameliorated, and the fund, of which we have already spoken, augmented, by the property of those persons who died intestate, not leaving relations within the class prescribed as heirs by law: and should this fund not be found sufficient to manumit at least 20 slaves, the amount was to be supplied out of the public treasury."—*Slave-trade Papers, Class D,* 1839, *p.* 39.

PERU.

Translation of a law registered at page 16, vol. i. of Collection of Laws of Peru, transmitted to Foreign Office with Mr. B. Wilson's Despatch, of January 2nd, 1835.

Lima, August 12, 1821.

1. All children of slaves born, or who hereafter may be born in the territory of Peru subsequent to the 28th July of the present year, in which it declared its independence, comprehending the departments which are at present occupied by the enemy's forces, and belonging to this state, shall be free, and shall enjoy the same rights as other Peruvian citizens, with the modifications which shall be stated in a separate case.

2. The register of the christening of those born shall be an authentic document of the restitution of this right.

Let it be printed, published by proclamation, and circulated.

Given in Lima, this 12th day of August, 1821, second of the liberty of Peru.

(Signed) San Martin.
Bernardo Monteagudo.

Translation of a law registered at page 83, vol. i. of Collection of Laws of Peru, transmitted to Foreign Office with Mr. B. Wilson's Despatch, No. 3, of 2nd January, 1835.

Lima, November 21, 1821.

Consequent upon the principles of philanthropy which all the Governments of the civilized world have ere this adopted,—anxious to avenge the human species from the outrages which it has suffered in the ages of error and darkness now gone by, and which have ceased for ever, I order and command the following:—

1. Every slave that, from this date, shall arrive in the independent territory of Peru shall become free from the dominion of his master, merely by the act of setting foot on its soil.

2. The Captains of Ports, wherever there may be any, and the Presidents of the departments, are especially and strictly charged to cause this Decree to be made known to the slaves who may enter Peru by any of the free ports or frontiers of the independent territory, that ignorance of this resolution may not deprive the interested parties of the benefit of their liberty.

Let it be printed, published by proclamation, and circulated to whom it may concern.

Given in the Protectoral Palace in Lima, November 24, 1821.

(Signed) San Martin.

By order of his Excellency.

(Signed) B. Monteagudo.

Law enacted November 27, 1839.

The citizen, Augustin Gamarra, Grand Marshal of the national armies, Provisional President of the Republic, &c. &c. &c. Whereas, the General Congress has issued the following law:

The General Congress of Peru considering,

1. That emancipated slaves, being left to themselves, generally lead an idle life, producing as a necessary result a want of the means of subsistence;

2. That, in possession of an opportunity of educating their children under the protection of their former masters, they abandon them to ignorance and to misery;

3. That, remaining under their protection and care, fostered by just and beneficent laws, they will enjoy the advantages of liberty, and will become useful to society and to themselves;

4. That, by a sudden change from a state of dependence to a state for which they are not prepared, they will run the risk of falling into excesses, to the corruption of public morals, and which must be productive of fatal consequences to themselves;

Decrees—

Art. 1. The children of slaves declared free by the decree of the 12th of August, 1821, shall remain under the protection of the owners of their fathers, until they obtain the age of 50 years.

Art. 2. The patrons shall have the right of retaining in their service the emancipated slaves mentioned in the foregoing article, without any authority having a right to deprive them thereof, except in cases of extreme physical or moral cruelty, as determined by law.

Art. 3. The masters shall afford to the emancipated slaves in the country the same succours as to their slaves, and one dollar, equal (at the exchange of 48*d.* per dollar) to 4*s.* per week, after they attain the age of 25 years; and in towns shall give them half the amount of wages which they pay to a servant.

Art. 4. The children of emancipated slaves shall be educated at the expense of their masters, affording them the means of acquiring some art, trade, or useful craft, and in the meantime enjoying their services.

Art. 5. The masters can cede their patronage by any of the means sanctioned by the laws for the transmission of rights, and with the same obligations as prescribed by law.

Let it be communicated to the Executive Power that they may order its fulfilment, and direct it to be printed, published, and circulated.

Given in the Hall of Congress at Huancayo, November 27, 1839.

(Signed) Lucas Pelicer, Dep. Pres.
Jervasio Alvarez, Dep. Sec.
Augustin Galliano, Dep. Sec.

Wherefore let it be printed, published, and circulated.

Given in the House of the Supreme Government in Lima, on the 24th December, 1839.

(Signed) Augustin Gamarra.

By order of His Excellency.

(Signed) Manuel Ferreyros.

—*Slave-trade Papers, class D, (further series,)* 1840, *pp.* 37, 38.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I have a most important paper to present on this subject. It contains an answer to queries which were drawn up with the view of ascertaining the present state of the abolition question in the Brazils. It is impossible at this late hour to read it, but I will place it on the table. The British Government have protested against the illicit introduction of slaves into that empire, and have also urged on the Brazilian authorities the necessity, and indeed the duty, of granting entire freedom to the liberated Africans termed *Libertados*, who are dealt with precisely in the same way as the *Emancipados* are in Cuba. The British Government is thus legitimately exercising its influence to procure the liberty of two millions and a half of slaves in Brazil.

Mr. J. T. PRICE moved,

"That this Convention refer the report on Brazilian slavery, and other questions connected with it, to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with a view to an address being prepared by them, to the people and Government of Brazil, or to dispose of in such other way as they may deem advisable."

Mr. G. W. ANSTIE seconded the resolution, which was put, and agreed to.

The Convention then adjourned.

SEVENTH DAY'S SITTINGS, TUESDAY, JUNE 20.

(MORNING.)

JOHN CROPPER, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes were read and confirmed.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

Mr. J. T. PRICE.—I have now to move,

"That in lieu of the resolution of yesterday, directing the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to address the people and Government of Brazil, the following gentlemen be a committee to prepare the draft of such an address, to issue from this Convention:—Messrs. T. GARLAND, G. STACEY, G. PILKINGTON, J. T. PRICE, and W. BALL."

Mr. W. BALL.—I second that resolution with great pleasure. I felt rather uneasy at the subject being disposed of so hastily as it was last night.

The resolution was then agreed to.

LETTER FROM REV. J. H. JOHNSON.

The Rev. T. SCALES read a letter from the Rev. J. H. JOHNSON, who had been appointed one of the vice-presidents, regretting that sudden illness had prevented him from attending the Convention, and expressing his unabated attachment to the cause.

SLAVERY IN TEXAS.

Rev. A. A. PHELPS.—I had no intention of saying anything in relation to the matter of Texas, but within a short time some information, which I think will be interesting to the Convention, has fallen into my hands, throwing light upon the present state of feeling in that country in reference to the question of emancipation. I suppose it is well understood that the friends of the "peculiar institutions" in the slave-states are resolved on the annexation of Texas, if the measure can possibly be carried. It is with them a question of life or death. If Texas remain a *slave* country, and has an independent existence, it never can be planted and brought under cultivation by immigration from the free states, or from free countries. It must depend mainly upon emigration of men and means from the slave states; but those states have neither the one nor the other to spare sufficient to develop the resources of Texas. But if they had, just in proportion as they exported their slaves and their capital into Texas, bringing its products, especially cotton, into the markets of the world, just in that proportion would Texas be a competitor with themselves; so that, as they built up Texas as a distinct slave-holding country, in the same degree they would tear down themselves. On the other hand, if Texas is to have a distinct existence as a *free* state, it is equally a question of life and death, for the moment its freedom is put on a firm footing, that moment Texas is to the Southern states what Florida was — a refuge for runaway slaves: it brings the abolition sentiments and influence of freedom also to their very door. I need not enlarge to show the effect of this on the slave system in those states.

I suppose that the condition of Texas now, is such that it cannot continue in its present state: it must either, by virtue of its annexation to the United States, become a slave-holding country, or it must have a distinct existence as a free state, or become a free state by returning to Mexico, and being incorporated with it on the condition of restoring freedom in the same way that it existed previously to its separate existence. My impression, from the information I have received, is, that the Texans would prefer an independent existence as a free state. Texas may be divided into two or three portions, only one of which is fitted for slave cultivation; the higher and upland parts being adapted for that cultivation which obtains in a free country. If slavery be abolished, there will be a tide of emigration from the free states of America and from Great Britain, which will create a demand for land, now held by planters and other large landed proprietors, and enable them to release themselves from their present burdened and bankrupt condition. For this reason, they would prefer that Texas should become a free state and have an independent existence, rather than return under the jurisdiction of Mexico. The time has been, when in Texas, as well as in the Southern states, it was at the peril of a man's life to whisper abolition. That time in Texas, at least, has gone by. Her necessities, clamouring for relief, have awakened discussion. But, as I have said, the Southern states cannot endure the existence of Texas as a free state, and will prevent it if possible. And in confirmation of this, I may here repeat a statement concerning Florida, which I received a few years since from a member of Congress, who spoke from his own knowledge. He said, that when Florida was in the possession of Spain, slaves were in the habit of escaping there; and when there, could not be recovered, and it was a great annoyance to the slave-holders. Previously to this, in 1802, the United States had purchased Louisiana,—including all the French possessions in that part of the country. It was claimed, though the claim was not then enforced, that that purchase included, not simply the portion now called Louisiana, extending to the Sabine, but in addition to that, the territory now called Texas. The claim was made on the ground, that a Frenchman passed up the Rio Del Norte, and made the first settlement. The claim remained still unenforced, and the question unsettled, at the time that the present Louisiana was received into the Union. At the period at which Florida was purchased, the slave-holders sent letters to the Executive at Washington by hundreds, saying that their slaves were all escaping to Florida, and by fair means or foul it must be brought into connexion with the United States. The subject was discussed in Congress with closed doors, and the resolution was taken to make the purchase. But the question arose, how can we get the authorities of Spain to part with it? With the ingenuity for which Yankees have a reputation, it was resolved to drive as close a bargain as we could, and in order to induce Spain to yield Florida, we were to renew the claim to Texas, which was also Spanish territory; and when we had urged the claim with sufficient earnestness to bring them to terms, we were to say, we will cease our claim to Texas, if you will yield Florida. And so, the purchase was effected, and the slave-holders of Georgia and the Carolinas saved from the annoyance of a house of refuge at their door for their fugitive slaves. The rev. gentleman then read several extracts from Texan and New Orleans papers, issued in April and May of the present year, showing that the Texans, urged by their necessities, were seriously discussing the question of emancipating their slaves, and making Texas a free state, with a view to emigration from the free states and from other free countries, as the best and only means of speedy and permanent relief; and that the defenders of slavery in the slave states, had taken the alarm, and were intent on suppressing the move-

ment by every means in their power, especially by resolving the whole into the "omnipresent influence" of the British Government, and the "meddling spirit of British mock philanthropy."

Mr. STACEY.—On receiving these documents of so recent a date, it was thought advisable that no time should be lost in communicating with the Secretary of State for foreign affairs. That interview took place yesterday afternoon. The Earl of ABERDEEN devoted three quarters of an hour to hear the substance of the statements read to-day, and to listen to the propositions that were made to him, as to the influence which the British Government might legitimately exercise in carrying out the great object of the abolition of slavery in Texas. He assured us that no proper means should be spared to effect that end. He informed us, that Texas stood in the same relation to this country as Spain, or any other independent nation; that Government must, therefore, in its negotiations, proceed by a fair open interchange of diplomatic intercourse with the representatives of that country. His own opinion seemed decidedly in favour of the view, that a crisis had arrived in the history of the Republic of Texas, in which British influence might fairly be brought to bear upon it, in relation to the subject of slavery. The deputation who waited upon Lord ABERDEEN, were fully impressed with the belief, that Great Britain, through her Government, would be sincere in her efforts to bring about the result at which this Convention aims.

Mr. N. D. MAILLARD.—When I was in Texas, the extraordinary subject of emancipation was whispered throughout the country. There would be no difficulty now in effecting it, for at this moment there are only about 15,000 slaves, and out of that number about 13,000 are hired from the United States. The 2,000 might be easily emancipated without compensation. Those who hire slaves are extremely poor, and pay for them very high wages. I believe that, if slavery were abolished, those men who hire slaves would very soon find themselves in possession of free servants; and the slaves would be sent back to their owners. I assent fully to what has been said, that the abolition movement is the child of necessity. Governor HOUSTON showed me the outline of the plan which it was intended to propose to Congress. It is there distinctly set forth, that the Texans were to be allowed to hire slaves from the United States, and that after they had served the time contracted for they were to be returned, but they were not to be treated as slaves are generally. In any communications which take place with Lord ABERDEEN, the greatest care ought to be exercised in laying before him every view of the question, in order that he may know precisely what is the system of emancipation that is proposed. I believe that there is no country in the world where slaves are exposed to such cruelty, and so badly treated, as in Texas. We have been told that the Texans chiefly consist of the lowest order of men from the United States, and I believe that the statement is true. They are outcasts from the Western States; they are hard-hearted, extremely unjust, oppressive, and unfeeling towards their slaves. Instead, therefore, of wishing to see slavery perpetuated, I am desirous that the efforts of this Convention may be successful in producing its complete overthrow.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD.—I beg that the Convention, while they receive the statements contained in the papers read by Mr. PHELPS as matters of very great interest, will also take them with great allowance and caution—

"Timeo Danaos et donaque ferentes."

The Texans are a set of traitors, and many of the leading men among them have escaped from the hands of officers in the United States. The whole thing may be a ruse or pretence for getting people to Texas, with the view of better-

ing their condition; and not being able to return they will saddle upon them slave institutions.

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—The annexation of Texas to the United States is deemed by us to be the *articulum stantis vel cadentis* of slavery; it is that by which slavery is to stand or fall in our country. I have attempted to explain the absolute necessity of political power and pre-eminence to the continuance of slavery. It is that which sustains it, which enables it to sustain itself against the assaults of the world; and when that is gone, then all other influences which bear against slavery will come upon the slave system of America with unbroken force. By our constitution (as I have before briefly explained I will recur to it,) each state is entitled to have two members of the federal senate. That arrangement gives to each state, large or small, equal political power in that branch. Delaware, with its 78,000 inhabitants, has as much as the state of New York, which numbers two and a half millions. It is not necessary to go into the reasons of this arrangement, but when it was first made it was in fact a compensation to the North for the representation of the slaves of the South. Those who listened to my remarks, the other day, will put the two together. When the constitution was formed, each senator of the North represented 125,000; each from the South, 123,000 free people. In the progress of things, the growth of the North being so much more rapid than that of the South; each Northern senator now represents 368,000 free people, and each Southern senator only 178,000. The preservation of this unjust equality of power in the senate is, therefore, of the utmost importance to the slave-holders; it is an object so great, that they will never give it up; for if they do, they lose their political control of the government, which, by their own admission, is indispensable to the continuance of slavery. There are various reasons for their eagerness to obtain Texas. One is, the necessity of having more land; because the agriculture of slavery is impoverishing in its character. The system is this,—they clear off a piece of new land, as we call it, that is, of the forest. The burning of the wood, branches, and leaves, fits it to receive a crop, such as cotton, and it produces a vigorous growth. The next year it is scratched over, either with a hoe, or a sort of rude implement, called a plough. Let me describe a slave-holder's plough, as represented by a gentleman who observed the process of ploughing in the South; and if there are any farmers here they may be amused by it. The master of the place was looking on; they had a rude instrument of wood, with no iron about it; to that there were attached four horses; it was stubble ground, and it scratched about three inches in depth. They had a negro to each horse: they had a negro to hold the plough, a negro to clear the weeds from what they call the *coulter*, and over them, the negro driver. Under this management the land, in from five to twenty-five years, is exhausted; the greater part is then useless, and either the cultivation is abandoned, or it is cultivated at a loss. It becomes what they call "old fields," bushes spring up, and as they grow to trees, it again becomes a forest. The Assistant Postmaster-general of the United States, a resident of Maryland, describes a field of rye, which he saw some slaves gathering, to show how completely the top of the land is worn out. He said, that he thought it looked very discouraging to harvest such rye. He enquired of the owner how many bushels he thought he should get to the acre. He replied, two bushels. "Why," said this gentleman, "that will hardly pay you; you must sow a bushel of seed." "Oh no, the land would not bear so much as that; we never put more than a peck to the acre." There are extensive regions all through Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, that have been thrown into "old fields," and the finest deer hunting that there is in the United States is on the old fields of Virginia, within 40 miles of Washington.

This process of wearing out the soil advances constantly, and as they go South they come to those parts where its sandy nature makes it of more brief duration, and the consequence is, they are obliged to look to see where they are to go next to get land. According to the best calculation I can make, in 50 years the whole of the land in the South that is available for agricultural purposes will become burnt over by this destructive process, and then where will they look for land but to Texas? Another reason, to which I will briefly advert, for the annexation of Texas is, to procure a market for their slaves. Judge UPSHUR, the present secretary of the navy, said, 14 years since, in the Convention of Virginia, that the annexation of Texas was necessary to raise the price of the slaves. Mr. GHOLSON said that it would raise them 50 per cent.; but put 50 per cent. into the hands of these needy, seedy planters, and you may understand that it is no small object with them. They must have a market for their slaves. According to the experience of the past, Virginia and South Carolina cannot sustain a slave population of more than ten to the square mile. Kentucky and Tennessee, being more Northern than the latter, are exporting slaves largely, and having a surplus of human commodity when the slaves are only four to the square mile. If the more Southern states continue to increase their slaves according to the ratio of the past, they will reach their maximum in twenty years, beyond which they must have a market for the export of slaves, or they are undone. I will not go more at length into the question of political power, except to say that the slave-holders are now just coming to the end of their rope; and if they should find anything uncomfortable at the end of it, it is "an order of providence," of course. We have now two Northern territories, Wisconsin and Iowa, to be admitted into the senate. In 1838, a representation was made that the territory of Iowa in the far N.W., even beyond where brother KELLOGG comes from, towards sun-down, needed a government. The slave-holders rose against this; they had no territory to balance against Iowa when it became a state; they insisted upon it that it was never going to be settled; that it was inhabited by nothing but Indians; that it had no necessity for a government. In 1835, it had not begun to be settled by a civilized population; but in 1838, it demanded a government organisation; and in 1840, it showed a population rising 40,000 souls, and must now be admitted as a state into the Union, and thus have a representation in the senate whenever it chooses to ask for it. The reason they do not ask for it is this, that now the United States pay the civil officers of those territories, but when they become a state they must pay their own; they are willing, therefore, till some pressing occasion arises, to remain a colony. But we have adopted a policy, unlike that of old King GEORGE; that is, when a province gets tired of being a colony, then we make an independent state of it at once. We have these two territories, Wisconsin and Iowa, ready to come into the Union at any moment with an average of 40,000 free people in each, and the only territory that the slave-holders have to balance it is that of Florida, which has but 28,000 free inhabitants, and with all the ingenuity of Southern slave-holders, they cannot make two and two more than four, and they cannot make 25,000 a reasonable balance to 80,000. Thus they are shut up to the necessity of having Texas annexed, to produce the balance. You may say that according to the general theory of our government, the constitution of the United States protects the rights of the minority as well as the majority, and therefore the slave owners ought to rest upon the guarantees of the constitution, to which they are very fond of appealing in argument, but, as it appears, upon which they place no actual reliance, because they insist that the security of slavery depends not on constitutional guarantee, but upon their holding the balance of power in the senate. On the floor of Congress, in the face of Northerners, they say to them, "We have no confidence

in your integrity, we have no confidence in your fidelity to the constitution, in your willingness to abide by your own compacts, and therefore we demand that you shall buy Texas to put it into our hands as a rod to scourge your own backs." They say this, in substance, on the floor of Congress, and I grieve to add, they say it with impunity. I will not extend this part of the subject, but I might show by quotations how great is the jealousy on this ground. There is a fourth reason for the annexation of Texas, to which I wish to call the attention of the Convention for a few moments, because it brings out a feature of the case that has not yet arrested notice, namely, that it is necessary to do something to ennoble slavery, by a bold push, a dash that shall attract the astonishment of the world. To seize Texas and to ravage Mexico would be certainly congenial with the spirit of slavery, and is in fact the last card which they have to play. This idea was thrown out in the *Charleston Mercury*—the organ of Mr. Calhoun, the leader of the slave interest. It was thrown out in 1837, but it was rather a startling announcement in those days of peace, and did not meet a prompt response. It was not till 1842, that men were found bold enough to stand up before the world, and declare that that was their policy. In a speech made by Mr. Wise on the subject of Texas in April, 1842, this was fully announced. Had I time, I would read extracts from that speech that would surprise you, to think that a man competent to be a member of the American Congress should ever utter such sentiments; and it would surprise you much more that a man who had uttered these sentiments should be actually nominated by the president of the United States to hold the responsible trust of American ambassador to France, evidently for the purpose of carrying out the dark and damnable conspiracy against liberty, in which the slaveholders of the world are now engaged, and of which the plunder of Mexico and the re-establishment of slavery in Texas is a part. Calmly and complacently he said, that if he had five millions of dollars, he would go through the valley of the Mississippi, raise recruits that would carry on the invasion to Mexico, and the gold of the convents and churches they could plunder in the contest would support the rest of the war. [Lord Morpeth here entered the Convention, and was loudly cheered.] I am most happy that precisely at this point I should have this particular interruption, because the thing which I have next to say is the very thing which I was more particularly desirous to say in the hearing of Lord Morpeth. The plan of the slave-holders at the beginning of the year 1842, was indicated by the speech of Mr. Wise. It was to make a dash that should raise slavery up before the public mind with the grandeur of conquest and make it a great affair, instead of the poor, puny, pocket-picking, negro-robbing character which it now maintains in the eyes of the world. There was one man on the floor of Congress that stood in the way, and that man was the former president of the United States, John Quincy Adams, 75 years old, and yet retaining a vigour of intellect and a force of eloquence, that I do not know where they are to be equalled. Prompt, ready, all his faculties in their full force, he had come to the fixed determination, as he had the opportunity, that he would resist this nefarious conspiracy at whatever hazard. Having served his country with honour for near sixty years, and having a reputation and a good name to leave as the inheritance of his children, and having the desire which is natural to his age to pass his few remaining years in quiet and in reputation among his countrymen, he put it all at hazard, and threw himself deliberately and conscientiously into the breach, not knowing what might be the result. He knew that he was in a slave country; he knew that he was surrounded by men who had no reluctance to shed blood; men who are duellists, men who are bullies, men who are fighters by profession, who go armed with a bowie knife, and dirk, and pocket pistols, that they may have the means at hand of gratifying

their revenge or madness. He knew among them were assassins, men that would not shrink to take the life of any man unarmed and in the dark. In the negotiations respecting a duel which took place, one of our representatives of the name of MARSHALL,—an honoured name with us,—said of his antagonist, "I wish I had him in Kentucky, that I might kill the dog without the trouble of fighting him." This very man led the onset against Mr. ADAMS. I will not go into particulars of the mode in which the attack was made, but the whole force of the slave party was brought out against him with such a torrent of vengeance as would have overwhelmed, I do believe, any other man in the world. He stood alone. I say it here—although I have been much persecuted at home for saying it—when he put his life and his character on the issue of the battle. I know that afterwards his old friends rallied around him, but it was after he had struck the blow, and after the enemy had begun to give way. The persecution which raged against him, attempting to cover his grey hairs with the censure of his country, lasted many days—I think two or three weeks, and was witnessed, I believe, from day to day by the noble lord (MORPETH), who, I venture to say, regarded the transaction in all its bearings with the greatest interest. In the end he discomfitted his enemies, and compelled them to withdraw their persecution with conscious defeat. They admitted that he had gained a complete triumph over them. Still, however, they were bent on a purpose which I wish you distinctly to understand; it was this,—to gain Texas by a war with Mexico, with a full understanding that it would result in a war with England, and that they were to be sustained by the alliance and resources of France. All these things were shadowed out fully in the speech of Mr. WISE, to which I have referred. I was an eye-witness to the whole of these transactions. I was called to leave Washington for a few days, in March, 1842, before we knew the result of the discussion in the French Chambers with regard to the Quadruple treaty; for that was part of the same conspiracy. I left Washington with a sad heart, with the feeling that the transactions of one single day might cast the die that would be followed by all these tremendous consequences. In the month of April, the subject came up again on the question of sending an ambassador to Mexico, and another speech was made by Mr. WISE. Previously to this, there was another matter in debate, the case of the *Creole*, and the determination was avowed to plunge the country into war on that question alone, if all the rest were settled, and it was distinctly declared by the leading men, especially of the South, without distinction of party, that we must have compensation for the slaves in the *Creole*, or we must have war. Some resolutions were presented declaring that slavery was no part of the constitution of the United States, that the Government had no authority to negotiate about slaves, denying entirely the competency of the Federal Government to know anything about slaves as property. Those resolutions were presented by Mr. GIDDINGS, and the House, in the heat of passion, censured him for merely presenting them. He indignantly resigned, and appealed to his constituents. He went home to a constituency of 50,000 voters, carried the question to them, and was by them triumphantly returned to his seat. The mere presenting of the resolutions pierced the inflated balloon, which the slave-owners had thrown up before the country; and when I returned to Washington a few days afterwards, it was astonishing to see how tame they had become in comparison with what they were three weeks before. But still, the project was not abandoned till Mr. WISE made his speech in April, and was replied to by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, again carrying defeat and discomfiture to the slave-holders, so that the idea of plunging the United States into war for slavery and the slave-trade, was for the present abandoned; although, as I intimated before, the necessity of the case shows that it can only be aban-

doned for temporary purposes. With regard to the very interesting and important information that has been communicated by Mr. PHELPS and Mr. STACEY, I do not undervalue it; but I know the slave-holders; I know their necessities; I know their desperation; I know, that if by any means they can obtain Texas, they will do it; and I must state, although I am unwilling to say anything contrary to the current of feeling, that if slavery were abolished in Texas to-day, I should not feel any very sanguine anticipation, but that in three years it would be re-established. There is the whole American nation at the beck of the slave-holders; the Government of America is in the hands of those who would send such a man as Mr. WISE as Ambassador to France. By fraud, by force, by treachery, or by any other crime, if they can obtain that territory, so imperious are their necessities, and so desperate their characters, that they will stick at nothing to accomplish it. Illinois was from its origin a free state, and the fundamental law on which it was constituted—a law that was declared unalterable by any means—was, that there should neither be slavery nor involuntary servitude in that state, yet three several times the attempt has been made in that state to trample on the fundamental principle of its own organic law, for the purpose of establishing slavery in its bounds, and once it was only by a hair's breadth that we escaped the calamity of seeing Illinois become a slave state. With regard to Texas, I trust that everything that can be done will be done to secure the abolition of slavery there—it will greatly increase the embarrassments of the slave-holders, and dishearten them amazingly. Feeling, as we do, that the time must come, and that at no distant day, when slavery shall be abolished in the United States, I should have confident hopes that its suppression in Texas would be the prelude to speedy emancipation in our whole country; but I must add, that so long as slavery exists in America, so long Texas will be a source of danger and perplexity to the nation, and to the cause of liberty in the world.

Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN.—I never presented myself to address an audience under such embarrassment as I feel at the present moment. It is the last day of the Convention, and a vast deal of important business remains to be transacted. The subject of Texas has been handled with great force, and in the apprehension of many persons who have heard my friends, they have left but little to be said. But, in compliance with the wish of several friends, I will add to the remarks of my colleagues, a few suggestions upon this very important topic. I have been exceedingly rejoiced to hear the new and interesting intelligence that has been presented from the United States with reference to Texas. It appears that discussions are going on in that young country with reference to the abolition of its present constitution, which perpetuates slavery, and the formation of a new and free constitution, that will ensure human liberty to all the inhabitants of that land. By the papers published in New Orleans—some of the most influential papers in the slave-holding districts—we see the apprehensions entertained by Southern politicians, with reference to the new movements in the Republic of Texas. They look upon them with dread, lest they should issue in the formation of a free state, and thus an everlasting barrier be erected to the progress of slavery, which they are desirous of carrying to an indefinite extent through that immense region. It is well known, that if a stop be put to slavery in Texas, it must speedily die out in the Southern states of America. I have seen papers not alluded to by Mr. PHELPS, published in the latter part of May, containing extracts from Southern papers. The papers of both political parties in New York, and other places at the North, speak of these movements with the utmost joy and delight. They look forward with hope, believing that light will break in on that far distant country, and that measures will be taken there that will lead to eman-

cipation from slavery on the whole American continent. I have been very much gratified to hear of the result of the interview yesterday, with one of the Ministers of the Crown—the Earl of ABERDEEN—and of the very favourable reception which he is represented to have given to the deputation who waited upon him. I hope that he will adopt such measures, in conjunction with the people of that infant country, as will lead to the most favourable termination of the Texan question. The importance of this subject cannot be over-estimated. Here is a country as large as France, and I can assure the Convention, from authentic sources, that it has a climate as mild as France, and a soil as fruitful as Egypt. The territory is sufficiently large to make six states of the size of Virginia. In this Republic there are now but 80,000 white inhabitants, and only 20,000 slaves. There are only two towns of any magnitude, and they have only from 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants—Austin, the capital, and Galveston: the other inhabitants are dispersed over the country. It is true that Texas has been called the refuge of Nazarenes; it has acquired a bad name, and when anything is said in favour of it, the question is asked, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" In some parts of the United States, when a writ is issued against a person, and he cannot be found, it is said that the officers endorse it, "G. T. T.," "gone to Texas." This is to indicate the character of the man, and the place to which he has fled. But there are in that country men of intelligence, men of character, men of philanthropy, and men who wish well, not only to that country, but to the world. The Texans are represented to be in great pecuniary distress; they have nothing but lands. It is said that they are willing to become even a colony of Great Britain, or anything else, if they can but be relieved from their present situation. Until something is done, their lands are of no value, and the country will remain in a state of impoverishment. They cannot move a step,—immigration is suspended,—people are coming out of the country faster than others are going in,—and the excitement that has been produced on the Anti-slavery question prevents any Southern slaver from removing there with any portion of his slaves: for he is afraid that they will be wrested from him and made free men. It is true that the Southern politicians are making urgent efforts to have Texas annexed to the United States. There is no doubt that the most influential people of Texas would be glad of this annexation. It is also true, that the last effort now making by the politicians of the United States—the slave-holders—is, to annex that large and youthful country to America, because it is impossible for slavery to exist long in the United States, unless that be done; it will die out, unless the planters can procure Texas, and there emigrate with their slaves, and grow cotton and sugar to an extent equal to the demand of other parts of the world. Several persons of influence in the United States, themselves owners of slaves, have published an address, alluded to by Mr. LEAVITT, unfolding their design. A reply was made to this document by twenty-one members of Congress, and was signed by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, who is eulogised there as the NESTOR of America, solemnly protesting against the measures disclosed, and warning the Americans of the designs on foot, to annex that country to our Republic. It has been intimated, that they do not mean to wait for the usual tardy progress of political events; but at the next Congress, President TYLER will recommend more prompt action,—that it will be done by the senate of the United States through a treaty, and be announced to the country, and consummated almost before the people are aware of the design, still less aroused on the subject. Mr. GILMER, late Governor of Virginia, and other gentlemen, have replied to this document signed by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and his colleagues, and they say, "notwithstanding all that has been said, we are determined Texas shall be annexed to the United States; and if the Northern politicians are fearful of

sustaining damage by its annexation, and the consequent formation of five or six states, let them have recourse to measures for taking Canada." Yes, they have the presumption to utter this, and they will risk a war with this country, if needs be, for the attainment of their projects. It is certain, therefore, that Texas will become annexed to the United States unless some speedy attempts are made by the Government and people of England to prevent that measure, and to assist the Texans themselves in forming that Republic into a free state. Should slavery be abolished in Texas, immigration would pour in from all parts of the civilised world. Already, influential men from Germany have been into that country, made inquiries, and completed arrangements—in case events of this kind take place—to promote emigration from Germany. Texas, under such circumstances, will become a great agricultural country, and cotton and sugar may be produced there cheaper, probably, than by any other nation upon the face of the earth, and in abundance sufficient to supply the whole world. It has a sea-coast 600 miles in extent. Now, therefore, is the time for Great Britain to use her influence for the benefit of Texas, and the cause of human liberty. There never was so good an opportunity before for Great Britain, by her political, moral, and fiscal power, to step in and not only redeem that country from slavery, but establish freedom there for ever. In an interview, which I had the day before I left America, namely, the 1st of June, with JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, at his residence near Boston, he told me, in a conversation on this subject, that he considered the intelligence which you have heard to-day the most important that had reached him for the last 25 years. He said that since the question had been agitated in the United States, it had never exhibited so interesting an aspect as at the present time. He added, " I deem it the duty of Great Britain, as a Christian nation, to tell the Texans that slavery shall be abolished in that country. Any Christian nation has a right to tell that people, in this age of the world, that slavery shall not be planted in that young Republic, there to strike root and flourish, after all the efforts that have been made to abolish the system in other parts of the world." He said this with emphasis, and I asked permission, which he granted, to repeat it wherever I might go. He further said, " I assure you, that at the next session of Congress this will be the principal topic of discussion, and I will resist the annexation with all the power that God has given me. I will confront the Southern men, if it leads to my expulsion." He is 76 years of age, but he retains his youthful vigour, and he uttered these sentiments with a determination, that is a pledge to all who know him, that he will carry them into effect; that he will not falter. Is it asked what the Government of this country can do? The gentlemen who waited on the Earl of ABERDEEN informed us, that he said he could do nothing in an under-handed way; that a treaty existed with Texas, and that the British Ministry must treat that country just as they would treat Spain; but that all that they could do consistently they would be glad to do. General SANTA ANNA has admitted his willingness to acknowledge the independence of Texas, if Texas will allow the nominal jurisdiction of Mexico, or something that will save her honour. If Lord ABERDEEN would make a proposition to acknowledge Texas, provided she assimilated her constitution to yours by the establishment of liberty; and if an intimation were given to the capitalists of London, that if they would furnish money at 3½ per cent. to the Texans, on receiving good security, and which they have it in their power to offer, this country would guarantee its payment, the object would be effected. Government could enforce the payment, which it has not been able to do in the American states, and for this reason, they are not independent sovereignties. Had those states been independent sovereignties, they would never have presumed to act as they have done. If the British Government would give such an intimation, and form a

treaty with Texas, as a security for the fulfilment of the contract, the end in view could be attained in three months. Ought not the moral, political, and financial power of Great Britain, to be exerted in this exigency for the accomplishment of such an object? Have we not a right to ask the people and the Government of this country to step forward, and, in connexion with the most respectable and influential people in Texas, who are agitating this question, strike a blow that will not only be for the benefit of Texas and the United States, but the whole civilised world? JOHN QUINCY ADAMS stated, that if slavery were abolished in Texas it would speedily fall in the United States, and if it fell there it would expire throughout Christendom. Before I sit down I wish to make an appeal to the people of England, through those who now hear me, to use their influence for the accomplishment of this end. I appeal to the Christians of Great Britain, of every denomination, as individuals, to use their influence, as praying men, with that great Being, who holds the destinies of nations in his hand, to lead Christians in the United States to co-operate with them in effecting this great object. And lastly, I appeal to the people of this country, of every class, to use all the moral power they possess to sustain the present Ministry in carrying out this design; or, if they will not do it, to assist in forming one that will. I will not enlarge on this topic, but I do feel that the Government and people of Great Britain have it in their power now, to strike a blow greater than that which they struck when they emancipated 800,000 slaves in the West Indies. They can do it without any expense to themselves—without any bonus of £20,000,000. We ask no such thing; but if, on receiving good security, and in a way by which payment can be enforced, a small loan were granted to the impoverished people of Texas, it would induce them to embrace with all their hearts any reasonable proposition that might be made directly by Great Britain, or through Mexico, who may act under her advice; and then, in a short time, we may be able to celebrate the jubilee of freedom throughout the American Continent.

Mr. THOMAS GARLAND.—I have to propose,

"That in the deliberate judgment of this Convention the annexation of Texas to the United States would be used by the slave-holding power of the South for the purpose of extending the internal slave-trade, and thus perpetuating slavery on the American continent; that it is, therefore, most earnestly deprecated by this body, as one of the greatest calamities which could befal the human race, and ought to be strenuously resisted by all the friends of justice and freedom, on both sides of the Atlantic, by every available and legitimate means.

"That this Convention, having learned from various sources that a lively interest is awakened and gathering strength throughout Texas in favour of emancipation as essential to the prosperity and security of that state, is persuaded that the British Government, which has already recognised its independence, might at this crisis render the most important aid and encouragement to the cause of human liberty and happiness by giving countenance and sanction to the efforts of those who are struggling to terminate slavery in Texas, and constitute it a free state; and this Convention earnestly recommends to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to consider how they may best serve this cause, and especially to memorialize the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs on the subject, and to assure him that any measure which the Government, in its discretion, may adopt for the promotion of the abolition of slavery in the republic of Texas, and which may not be at variance with the principles of this Convention, will meet with the very cordial support of the anti-slavery body."

It sometimes happens in meetings of this kind that time suddenly rises to a high premium (in allusion to the presence of Lord MORPETH, who had just entered the Hall), and it would be inexcusable if I were to appropriate to myself any considerable portion of a commodity which is now become so

valuable. I cannot, however, propose this resolution without adverting with feelings of gratification to the conviction which is evidently growing in the minds of men throughout the world, that slavery, looked at merely with reference to its influence on political interests, is a cause of weakness rather than an element of strength. I may refer, for a moment, to the two European countries most deeply implicated in this iniquity. Has the condition of Spain and Portugal been improved by it? On the contrary, what nations can be named whose ancient splendour contrasts more strikingly with their present decrepitude? One feels at a loss, in speculating on the political phenomena of those countries, to guess by what strange fatality it is that every attempt to mould their social institutions into solid or permanent shape, is rendered abortive; that no sooner is a new form of constitutional power created than it crumbles away under the hands of its framers. But when I glance across the Atlantic, and see their demon-ships, freighted with their live cargoes of human victims, I think we have not much further to go to find a solution of the problem. In the judicial dispensations of Providence it is not to be wondered at that they who are known only as tyrants abroad, should be crouching in bondage at home; that their path traced in rapine and in blood upon every shore they visit, they should, on their own, be drinking so deeply of "the cup of trembling;" nor is there any music more grateful to the ear of humanity than the volcanic rumblings and up-heavings going on under a throne that is founded in unrighteousness.

RESOLUTION RESPECTING JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Rev. T. SCALES.—The name of one man has been mentioned by our American friends as standing pre-eminent in connexion with this great and sacred cause—a name not only dear to Americans, but I am persuaded also dear and precious to Englishmen, and to the lovers of liberty and the promoters of human happiness all over the world. It is the name of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. (Loud applause.) I feel that it would be a most appropriate sequel to the resolutions just passed in reference to Texas, were this Convention to express its sentiments of respect and regard for that great and good man, and to give utterance to its fervent wishes and prayers to Almighty God, that his invaluable life may be spared, and that he may be permitted to continue his advocacy of this noble cause till he beholds it conducted to a happy and triumphant conclusion. It is not necessary, I perceive, that I should say more to induce the assembly to adopt a resolution to that effect.

Lord MORPETH.—The value of your time as well as my own would prevent me from intruding myself upon your notice, but in consequence of the resolution unexpectedly suggested by one of your Secretaries I cannot deny myself the privilege of requesting that my name should appear as the mover of a resolution in which I so entirely and heartily concur, and which I think it will be a becoming act in such a Convention as this to adopt. It has been my privilege to hear JOHN QUINCY ADAMS engaged in those conflicts, his ardour and perseverance in which form the appropriate topics of your commendation. I have seen him stand up undaunted among difficulties which might well have cowed an intellect less courageous and zealous. I will not say more concerning him, eloquent as he is, truly tried as he has been, than that it will be his highest honour that his enemies—for I do not disguise the fact that he has them—are only his enemies because they are, at the same time, enemies to the advance of human freedom. I have therefore the pleasure of moving,

"That this Convention views with extreme interest the important position relative to the cause of human freedom now held by the venerable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, formerly Pre-

sident of the United States; and while admiring the moral heroism with which he has thrown himself into the breach, we will not cease our prayers to the Giver of all good gifts, that his hands may be strengthened for the great work to which he has given himself, and that his valuable life may be mercifully prolonged until he shall witness the abolition of slavery, not only in his own country, but throughout the world."

Rev. T. SCALES.—Will the Convention permit me the honour of seconding the resolution?

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—I rise merely to say that I know from intimate, and often daily communication with JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, his deep devotion to this object above all others. The great leading desire of his heart is that he may live to see it accomplished. I hold in my hand a note that I received from him half an hour before I left my office to come on board the ship that brought me to your shores. His health was somewhat impaired by the labours of the last session of Congress, for he is an assiduous working man in the Congress of the United States. Indeed he is the first man in, and the last out of his place every day from the beginning to the end of our tedious session. Being desirous to know the state of his health at the latest moment before I left the country, I sent to him in the morning to inquire how he was, and received a note in answer, as follows:

"16*th May*, 1843.

"Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT,

"My dear Sir,—My health, I hope, is improving. I have only to say, God bless you and your enterprise, for which I have no other prayer to make than that its success may herald the hour of my *nunc dimittis*.

"J. Q. ADAMS."

These are the sentiments he cherishes towards this Convention, and towards our great enterprise; and the concluding words express, I have no doubt, the constant desire of his heart.

Mr. L. TAPPAN.—I cannot forbear saying, that when JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was making his defence against the celebrated attack by the Southern slave-holders, I had the unspeakable pleasure of seeing Lord MORPETH sitting at his right hand, affording him encouragement by his presence, and infusing into him more than usual vigour. I cannot but hope, that that was only emblematical of the powerful support that will be given by the people of this country to the anti-slavery men of the United States, while they are devoting their energies to the extermination of slavery in that country, in Texas, and throughout the world.

The audience then rose spontaneously, and carried the resolution by loud acclamation.

RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.

Mr. J. STURGE.—I rise to lay before the Convention a series of papers on this interesting subject; but at this advanced stage of our proceedings, I will only read a letter from JOHN CLARKE, a minister, now resident at Brown's Town, Jamaica. Mr. STURGE then read the letter, which contained a gratifying statement of the beneficial results accruing from emancipation in the West India colonies. I will now, continued Mr. STURGE, call on JOHN CLARKE, who has also resided in the West Indies, and is about to proceed as a missionary to Africa, to give us some further information on this subject.

Rev. J. CLARKE.—Having visited Jamaica last year on my way from Africa to England, I can testify to the truth of all the statements contained in that letter. The change effected in that island is truly delightful. When travelling through various parts of it fourteen years ago, I recollect on one occasion being benighted, and there was not a house to be met with for many

miles; but now, near the same place, there are at least fifty small and beautiful cottages standing on the road side; and when passing them last year, being well-known to the inhabitants, I was stopped from time to time, and welcomed by their kindly greetings! In 1839, the year in which sickness drove me from that island I so much loved, I procured a piece of land, consisting of 142 acres, in order that a free village might be erected. To show our loyalty and our love to our Queen, we called the village VICTORIA. On my visit last year, I found there about one hundred families, the streets were laid out, and the people appeared happy and comfortable. They were employed a part of the week in building their own houses and cultivating their own grounds, and the other part in hiring themselves out to those who treated them well, and gave them that remuneration for their labour which they considered just. They were not extravagant in their demands. Most of them were giving their labour nearly four days a week, at one shilling sterling per day. The instruction which is being imparted is of great importance, and some thousands attend the schools. I received a letter from Jamaica this morning, stating that a new station, which I formed, was able to support a minister and a schoolmaster. They are anxiously looking for my return on my way to Africa, that I may lay the foundation-stone of a new chapel, which they are collecting money to build. The light of the gospel is now spreading in that island, in a way it never did before. Crime has very much diminished; there are comparatively few who are guilty of serious misdemeanours. Time after time, the magistrates have assembled in the different Court Houses to hold the Quarter Sessions, and there have been either no cases to lay before them, or only two or three of minor importance. This has occurred in the various districts throughout the island. I spent a fortnight in Demerara, and there I saw great improvement. Although, on visiting the gaols, I regret to state that I found many prisoners, some of whom were charged with serious crimes; still there was a large amount of happiness and comfort among the working population generally. Several pieces of ground have been bought, and on some of them they have commenced erecting free villages. One town they have called WILBERFORCE, and another ALBERT. They were manifesting a spirit of industry and diligence, and a great desire for instruction, both for themselves and their children. I will only add, that freedom, as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, is working well in the West India islands.

Colonel NICHOLLS.—I can testify that those people who are only getting one shilling a day, have sent us 500*l.* to promote the objects of the African Civilization Society. Is that the people whom you would swamp by emigration from Africa?

Rev. J. CLARKE.—I have been requested to state how the newly enfranchised people became freeholders. My people placed their money in my hands to buy land, and as soon as one-half the purchase-money was raised I bought it, had the title-deeds made out, and gave my security for the other half, which they were to pay during the ensuing year. The land was then divided into small portions, and cottages erected. It being ascertained that their lands and houses together were worth 10*l.* a year, they recorded their title to the land, and certified the value of the property. After they had been in possession twelve months, and recorded their right three months, they were entitled to a vote, both in vestries and for members of the House of Assembly. This power is increasing, and we hope will work for good in the island of Jamaica.

Rev. W. DUGGAN—(A coloured man from Jamaica.)—Mr. CLARKE, who was once my pastor, has given a correct description of the comforts enjoyed

by the newly emancipated race to which I belong. The people of Jamaica are industrious, and when they remember the immense sum of money voted by this country for their liberty, their hearts are filled with joy, and they pray that God would pour down his blessing upon your exertions to exterminate slavery from every part of the world. I have had no education; I am a self-taught man; but having been converted under the instrumentality of Mr. Gordon, a Baptist missionary, when he left Jamaica, I was the humble individual who kept the congregation together. I only arrived in London yesterday, and I hastened here to assure you that your money has not been expended in vain. The peasantry are clothed very differently now to what they were when under slavery. You will see husbands and their wives thronging the roads to their places of worship. I was a tailor, and used to sell them old coats, but now they will have the best cloth that can be purchased. They are quite willing to work. They are branded with laziness, but this charge arises from those tyrannical feelings which existed in the time of slavery, still dwelling in the hearts of the old planters. They cannot bear to look at freemen; as they cannot order them about as they used to do, without remunerating them for it, it goes as a dart to their heart. Because they cannot lacerate their backs as they did before, they lacerate their names and characters. They say such a man is a desperate character, because he maintains his right. Because he says "I will not take this money; it is not adequate to my labour," they say he cannot be spoken to now. Are those men good for nothing, who can earn 3s. a day on their own property, and are yet satisfied to take 1s. 6d. from their master? They will work as hard as strength and health will enable them at crop time. If property is not cultivated, gentlemen know the reason. It is because they have driven the people from it by so taxing their houses and gardens as to leave them but little to receive for their wages. The people became so indignant at such conduct, that they refused to work. They took them before the magistrates, and got judgment against them, and their horses or asses were taken away from them. The people then said, We have got a few shillings for work, let us go and get a few acres of land. Thus they have been driven to independence. Emancipation in the West Indies has been like the children of Israel coming out of Egypt: the oppressors have pursued them to the border of the river. But for this they would not have left the properties. There were cocoa and walnut trees planted by their ancestors, and they idolised the spots on which they grew. But new comforts are springing up every day. In one parish, a wood nearly 20 miles in length, which had never been cultivated for the last hundred years, is now a beautiful railroad, as it were, of cottages. I said the other day, in coming past them, Who would have thought, three years ago, that I should stand upon this beautiful spot? But there is one thing yet wanted. Do you wish to see the glory of what you have done for Jamaica handed down to posterity? Help them then with a little more education. Many cannot discern their rights, and liberty is trodden down for want of it. There would have been many Whitfields and Rippons and Watts' in Jamaica, had they enjoyed education; but for want of it their names have been forgotten. I appeal to you to give our children education that will qualify them for stations in society. There are a few black gentlemen in public situations in Jamaica. But how were they brought there? By the voice of the people. There is an earnest desire to learn to read. You will not see a little boy go to mind pigs or sheep without his spelling-book. I therefore call upon you not to forget us, after you have already done so much on our behalf, and for which we daily express our gratitude on our knees.

Mr. SAMS.—I hope this appeal of our African brother respecting the education of the coloured population in Jamaica, especially of the youth, will not be lost

sight of. We must all consider it, I think, a most important, and exceedingly desirable object, and I trust that we shall all bear it in mind, and avail ourselves of opportunities, as we are able, to promote it. Without education they are likely to be continually borne down, and to labour under difficulties that would otherwise be much lessened.

Mr. BUFFUM.—I simply rise to move,

"That the several papers which have been presented and referred to, be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with a view to their publication."

Mr. EDWARD PALK seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Convention then adjourned.

SEVENTH DAY'S SITTINGS, TUESDAY, JUNE 20,

(AFTERNOON.)

JOHN CROPPER, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Rev. J. W. WAYNE read and then moved the adoption of the following,

ADDRESS TO WHITE PROFESSING CHRISTIANS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA RELATIVE TO THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THOSE STATES.

"Respected Friends,—This Convention being fully persuaded that the whole human race sprung from one common father, it being declared in the Scriptures of truth, that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell upon the face of the earth;' and that the Saviour 'tasted death for every man;' and believing also that all true Christians of every colour and every clime, by virtue of their relation to Christ, possess a higher and nobler affinity, seeing that in him there is 'neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free;' that therefore they are no longer 'strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God;'—this Convention has heard, with deep regret, that there still exists in the United States strong and injurious prejudices against people of colour, and that those prejudices are manifested in various ways by white people of all denominations in that country.

"From many deeply interesting statements which have been made to this Convention, and from many facts of history corroborative of those statements, it is evident that people of colour are equally capable with the white classes of men of attaining to mental and moral excellence, and of receiving and enjoying the blessings of true religion through the teaching and influence of the Holy Spirit, and hence have a just claim to equal rights and privileges.

"This Convention would therefore respectfully, earnestly, and affectionately entreat the white population of the various religious denominations of the United States, to labour to remove those obstacles to the improvement of the coloured classes which now operate to their disadvantage; to strive diligently to lay aside those prejudices which are dishonourable to them as men, and utterly unworthy of the Christian character; and that henceforth they will treat with

kindness their coloured brethren, co-operate with them in their praiseworthy and persevering efforts for the improvement of themselves, and the welfare of others, and mingle with them as fellow citizens and fellow Christians in the exercise of amity and peace. Such a line of conduct will ensure the approbation and esteem of the genuine friends of liberty and religion throughout theworld."

Mr. SHOTWELL seconded the adoption of the address, which was carried unanimously.

Rev. T. SCALES read the annexed,

RESOLUTIONS ON SLAVERY IN THE DUTCH COLONIES.

"1. That this Convention has learned with much satisfaction, that there are a large number of persons in Holland who are convinced of the duty of delivering the slaves in the Dutch colonies from the unrighteous bondage in which they are at present held; and that measures have been already adopted to spread a knowledge of this iniquity in that country, as one important means of promoting its termination.

"2. That this Convention hereby records its gratitude to those who have thus laboured, and earnestly recommends to all the friends of the slave in Holland, whether members of the legislature, or in more private stations, to omit no means of promoting, to the extent of their power, the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the Dutch East and West Indies; a measure which, in the opinion of this Convention, is imperatively required to satisfy the demands of justice and humanity, to remove from the nation a deep dishonour and crime, and to advance the interests of Christianity in regions extensively involved in Pagan ignorance, and exposed to the no less deplorable influence of a detestable oppression practised by nominal professors of the Christian faith.

"3. That this Convention trusts that the friends of the anti-slavery cause in Holland will be cheered in their exertions by the success which has crowned the efforts made in the same cause in Great Britain, by which the happiness of nearly 800,000 human beings, formerly plunged in the deepest sufferings, has been secured, and their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement greatly advanced; owing to which, under the Divine blessing, millions of slaves in British India, and tens of thousands in Ceylon, now are, or they trust will shortly be, in the enjoyment of civil rights and their attendant blessings."

On the motion of Mr. J. ALLEN, seconded by Mr. HOWELLS, the resolutions were adopted unanimously.

Rev. T. SCALES read the following address:

TO HIS HIGHNESS THE BASHAW BEY OF TUNIS.

"The grateful address from the General Anti-Slavery Convention assembled in London from various countries, to concert measures for the total destruction of slavery and of the slave-trade in every part of the world.

"Highness,

"It has been with extreme pleasure and gratification, that we have learned your Highness' most noble resolution to efface the foul blot of slavery from your entire dominions; and the fact that there are indeed no longer any of our fellow creatures permitted to be imported as slaves in any part of the country under your authority. This your conduct is the more cheering and delightful to us, because we are well aware that you are by this righteous procedure actually relinquishing a large annual revenue. The fact that even the destruction of the very slave market is effected, is a further proof of the completeness

and elevation of your Highness' views as to this cruel and degrading traffic, the merchandise of our fellow-creatures. The noble sentiment from which you have done it—'for the glory of mankind, to distinguish them from the brute creation,'—places the conduct of your Highness, in this respect, in noble contrast with that of a Republican chief magistrate on the other side of the Atlantic, who is himself a holder of slaves.

"Go on, high and worthy prince, until you have also completed your praiseworthy and noble intention of terminating *slavery*, as well as the slave-trade throughout your dominions. The benignant Parent of the universe, we cannot but believe, will abundantly reward you in thus endeavouring to destroy a most gigantic and crying evil, and to secure the happiness of that hitherto deeply injured class in your country who were, and yet continue to be, unable to help themselves.

"May the blessing of the oppressed captive rest upon you and yours, and if consistent with the Divine will, may you long live for the benefit of your land—happy in yourself, and a blessing to those around you!

"Signed in and on behalf of the great Convention referred to, from various parts of the world, and now sitting in London, this 20th day of June, 1843.

"THOMAS CLARKSON,
"Chairman of the Convention."

Mr. SAMS.—I move that that address be adopted.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I beg to second that motion, and to state, that to Sir THOMAS READE, the British Consul at Tunis, we may, in a great degree, attribute the abolition of slavery there.

Rev. J. LEAVITT.—The sentiment of the Bey of Tunis that he abolished slavery "for the glory of mankind, to distinguish them from the brute creation," is so noble that I wish to have it put forth wherever it can be made to shine in the face of the people of my country. This sentiment, of what we used to call a barbarian chief on the coast of Africa, ought to be contrasted with the sentiments of the chief of a Republican nation who is himself a slave-holder. There is, however, a feeling abroad in America, that he is the last slave-holder who will occupy that position.

The address was then carried unanimously.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ.

Rev. T. SCALES read the following letter from WILLIAM ALLEN.

"*Stoke Newington*, 20*th* 6*th month*, 1843.

"My dear friend, SAMUEL GURNEY,

"Have the kindness to assure our dear friends of the Anti-Slavery Society, that I cordially feel their sympathy with me as expressed in their note, received this morning. They may rest assured that nothing but bodily indisposition could have prevented me from joining them upon the present deeply interesting occasion.

"I regret that our beloved THOMAS CLARKSON should have been unable, from age and bodily infirmity, to enjoy the satisfaction of once more meeting with his friends for the promotion of this great cause. I trust, however, that a consciousness that the great work of his life is, through the Divine blessing, making a sure and a steady progress, will prove a source of comfort and satisfaction in his declining days.

"I remain, thy ever affectionate,
"WM. ALLEN."

On the motion of the Rev. J. CARLILE, seconded by the Rev. J. W. WAYNE, the letter was ordered to be inserted on the minutes.

Mr. S. BOWLEY read the annexed address,

TO THE CHRISTIAN PROFESSORS OF EVERY DENOMINATION IN AMERICA, AND IN ALL OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE THE INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY EXISTS.

" Dear Friends and Brethren,—Under a deep sense of the duties and responsibilities which, as professing Christians, devolve upon us, we affectionately address you on the momentous subject of slavery; to promote the immediate and universal abolition of which we are now assembled in Convention.

" To attempt to prove, in these days of light and knowledge, that the institution of slavery, with all its foul and evil influences on the oppressor and the oppressed, is a most unjust and cruel outrage on the inalienable rights of humanity, and the sanction of it a flagrant violation of the precepts of the gospel, would be little less than an insult to the understandings and feelings of Christian professors of any country or of any name. If there are, however, among the professed followers of the merciful Redeemer, those whose eyes may be so far blinded, or their consciences so far seared by interest or ignorance, pride or prejudice, as still to sanction or uphold this unjust and sinful system, we would earnestly entreat them, not only for the sake of the suffering slave, but for their own soul's sake, to abandon at once and for ever a course so hateful in the sight of Him who 'hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth;' and who hath given his only-begotten Son 'a ransom for all,' without distinction of colour or of clime. We feel bound thus faithfully to warn all those professors of the Christian name who may hold, or justify the holding, of their fellow-men in bondage, in the firm and solemn belief that we shall hereafter be judged, not by the standard which our wilful ignorance or interested prejudice may have induced us to adopt with secret misgivings, but by that righteous standard which our blessed Lord unalterably fixed when he said, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;' a standard upon which the light of truth has now so clearly shown, as to leave every Christian professor without the shadow of an excuse for continuing or upholding the mildest system of personal slavery. In those countries, however, where Christianity is professed, but where slavery still exists, there are many who may acknowledge its cruelty and injustice, who would shrink from any active participation in its guilt, and who profess, and we believe sincerely profess, to desire its speedy and entire abolition. To you, our fellow-professors of this most important class, upon whom, in America more especially, the question of the safe and speedy, or protracted and dangerous abolition of slavery greatly rests,—we earnestly yet affectionately entreat you to remember, that under existing circumstances silence may be guilt, and inactivity or indifference may be sin. We would therefore beseech you, brethren, prayerfully to consider how far you are faithfully bringing the convictions of your own minds to bear on the sentiments of the community at large upon this great question. It is in vain to expect that slavery will be abolished by the government of any free country, until there has been raised against it that force of public opinion which gives the moving principle to legislation, and the executive power to law. And since each member of society, however obscure, assists in forming for good or evil this sum of public opinion, how deeply important is it that every individual in a professedly religious community should use all his influence and his energy to raise the tone of moral and religious feeling around him, to at least that Christian standard which he himself acknowledges.

"In thus encouraging you to the performance of your duty as members of civil and religious society, permit us to observe that it is one thing silently to retain a sentiment in our own bosom, it is another to declare it boldly and openly to all around us;—it is one thing to pass over without observation the erroneous sentiments that may be expressed in our hearing, and it is quite another thing fearlessly, yet meekly, to counteract such sentiments by the honest expression of our own. It is very easy to stand silent spectators of the earnest efforts of a few devoted men, struggling against fearful difficulties to obtain the end for which we may more secretly profess to be anxious; but it is not so easy amid the prejudice of a slave-holding nation zealously to co-operate with their arduous labours on behalf of a poor, despised, and injured people. We are not insensible to the trials of your position, discountenanced as you may be in the performance of your duty by the sneers or ill will of the majority who surround you; but bearing in mind that it is mainly by the uncompromising performance of your individual duty, that the majority will be reduced; that you each form a link in that chain of influence which is all powerful to shatter or rivet the fetters of the enslaved, we fervently entreat you to come forth in the meekness, but in the firmness and the boldness of the Christian character, and regardless alike of the smiles or the frowns of others, endeavour to do your part towards turning the tide of national feeling in favour of the oppressed and injured slave.

"It may be there are those amongst you, who, in their anxiety to discountenance what they may conceive to be the injudicious zeal or improper conduct of some who have been very active in the abolition movement, have declined to take any part themselves in this work of justice and humanity. There may be others who go still further, and hesitate not to judge and condemn, on professedly religious grounds, those who may feel conscientiously bound to the zealous and public advocacy of this righteous cause. Without attempting to judge in these matters, we will venture respectfully and kindly to express our conviction, that this state of feeling arises as much from pride and prejudice on the one hand, as from indiscretion or impropriety on the other; and that at any rate the weakness or the violence of others can form no valid excuse for our own inactivity in a righteous cause; it ought rather to induce us, to throw into every truly good and benevolent work, the protective influence of our own example. Christianity consists not in a mere profession of doctrines; it is an active and benevolent principle, a principle of love to God and man, which should ever prompt us to imitate the example of its blessed Author, whose life was devoted to relieving distress, mitigating human suffering, and bursting the physical as well as the spiritual bonds of poor suffering humanity. Oh, then! may all party feeling, all personal prejudice, all suspicion of motives, be washed away by the spring of love and charity in each individual heart; and may these springs, uniting in one mighty stream of Christian benevolence, sweep from the soil of America, and from every country of the world, the blood-stained spot of slavery. In the cheering belief that the abolition of this nefarious system is pursuing its onward course throughout the world, this Convention would desire to encourage rather than rebuke, to commend rather than condemn; but we dare not conceal from you our painful conviction that in the United States of America more particularly, the progress of emancipation has been greatly retarded, and the oppression of the free people of colour greatly aggravated, by the prevalence of that unjustifiable prejudice against colour to which slavery has given birth, and which is as opposed to the law of Christian love, as it is disgraceful to a people who boast of their perfect equality of civil and religious rights. We know how hard it is to withstand the influence of education, and the current of popular feeling; but we would entreat you to struggle against this baneful prejudice, and fervent are our desires that you

may seek and obtain that assistance of Divine grace, which alone can subdue the pride of the human heart, and enable us to consider every country as our country, and every man our brother: and especially would we call upon you to extend that care over the education of your children, as will most effectually preserve the rising generation from imbibing prejudices so inimical to social happiness and national prosperity.

"In conclusion, dear friends and brethren, fellow professors of the Christian faith, we commend the hapless slave to your Christian sympathy and aid; and oh! if the spirit that has escaped from his toil-worn frame, should meet our own at the judgment-seat of Christ, may we each in that solemn hour, when we shall need the shield of Infinite Mercy for ourselves, feel the cheering assurance that we have done all in our power to shield from oppression and suffering on earth, our fellow-candidates for the mercy of heaven.

(Signed) "Thomas Clarkson,
"*London, June* 20, 1843." "President of the Convention."

Mr. FULLER.—In the name of two millions and a half of slaves, in the name of every abolitionist in America, I return my sincere thanks for that address.

Mr. ARNOLD BUFFUM.—That document has spoken the sentiments and feelings of my heart. I came here with an earnest desire that something might go forth from the Convention that should reach the understandings and consciences of professing Christians, in our country, in a very special manner; and who, while they profess to be as much opposed to slavery as anybody, are doing nothing to bring about its abolition. The address which has been read appears to me so very excellent, that I can have no doubt but that Divine goodness overshadowed the mind of the penman. It breathes the genuine spirit of the religion of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captives, and to set at liberty them that are bound.

Mr. BLAIR moved, Mr. L. TAPPAN seconded, and the Rev. GEORGE EVANS supported the adoption of the Address, which was carried unanimously.

REPORT RELATIVE TO SLAVES ILLEGALLY RETAINED IN BONDAGE IN THE COLONIES OF PORTUGAL AND SPAIN. ADDRESS TO THE REGENT OF SPAIN.

Mr. RICHARDSON.—I think it right to state, lest an erroneous impression might be produced, that the Committee have ascertained that there is a great probability of obtaining distinct evidence as to the individuals who are illegally held in bondage in Cuba. It was thought, in the first instance, that that evidence could not be procured, and that the only remedy for the breach of treaty which has taken place was the emancipation of all the slaves. I have now to read the following addresses.

Portugal.—"That this Convention has learned, with great satisfaction, that many statesmen of Portugal acknowledge the fatal influence of the slave-trade on the prosperity of the Portuguese possessions in Africa, and the duty of abolishing this odious commerce; that the Viscount Sa de Bandeira and Count Lavradio have submitted to the Chamber of Peers a measure for the abolition of slavery in the Portuguese Possessions of India; that a commission appointed to consider this measure, consisting of the two noblemen above named and the Duke of Palmella, have recommended the early abolition of slavery in those regions, and that the same measure be extended to the Portuguese territories in Africa; and finally, that one of the most influential and best-informed persons

in the Cape de Verde islands has voluntarily liberated more than fifty slaves, who are now working for him as free men for hire.

"That this Convention expresses its grateful sense of the services rendered to the cause of humanity and justice by the noblemen who first brought the subject of slavery in the Portuguese Dominions under the notice of the legislature of Portugal, and to the Duke of PALMELLA. This Convention also records its warm approval of the act performed by the individual in the Cape de Verde Islands, who set the example of liberating the slaves formerly held by him.

"That the Convention, while thus expressing its sentiments on the gratifying intelligence which has been communicated to it, would earnestly desire to impress upon both Government and individuals the duty of immediate and entire restoration to freedom of all who are at present held in the condition of slaves in the Portuguese Dependencies, not only as a measure which justice and humanity require, but which would be most consistent with a sound and enlightened national policy."

SPAIN.—"That this Conventiou has heard, with deep sorrow, the deplorable situation of 600,000 human beings, unjustly held as slaves in the Spanish islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, of whom upwards of 400,000 are held in bondage, not only in defiance of the laws of God and man, but of the obligations of a treaty, purchased at a costly expense to Great Britain.

"That the Convention has at the same time derived satisfaction from the knowledge, that there are a few noble-minded persons in Spain, some of whom are members of the Cortes, who desire the termination of this enormous system of iniquity, and likewise from the knowledge that the British Government have demanded the restoration to freedom of those who have been introduced in violation of the existing treaties, as well as those who have been rescued from slave vessels.

"That this Convention earnestly commends to the friends of humanity in Spain, the important task of making known to their countrymen, without delay, by the press and in the chambers of the Cortes, the dreadful wrongs endured by those who are held as slaves in the Spanish colonies; and the duty of passing an act for their immediate emancipation—an act, by which alone the ends of justice and humanity can be satisfied—and sustain alike the honour and truest policy of the Spanish nation.

"That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to every member of the Spanish Cortes, and to the known friends of the Anti-slavery cause in Spain and in the island of Cuba."

ADDRESS TO THE REGENT OF SPAIN.—"The Anti-slavery Convention, now holding in London, beg leave, respectfully, to represent to the Regent of Spain, that the Convention has learned, with deep sorrow, the deplorable condition of upwards of 600,000 human beings unjustly held in slavery in the West India Islands belonging to Spain; among whom, it is believed, there are not less than 400,000 who are the victims, and the descendants of the victims, of the contraband slave-trade: a traffic which has been carried on for so many years, in violation of the laws of Spain, and in contravention of the treaties between Spain and Great Britain. These negroes, consequently, are illegally held in bondage; and, besides these, there are thousands who have been captured by British cruisers on board of Spanish slavers, who are equally entitled to their freedom under the provisions of these treaties, but who are also held in bondage in Cuba, under the name of Emancipados.

"The Convention beg leave also to represent to the Regent that, in addition

to the two classes already named, there is a considerable number of colonial British subjects who have been illegally removed from British West India Islands to Cuba, where they are held in slavery, but who by law and right are entitled to their freedom.

"On behalf of these three classes, the individuals of which can be easily identified, and on behalf of all others held as slaves in the Spanish West India Colonies, in defiance of the claims of humanity and justice, the Convention respectfully, but earnestly, entreat the Regent of Spain to use his powerful influence to promote their immediate and entire emancipation, and thus secure to them the most sacred rights of man. By such an act of justice, the noble Spanish nation would free herself from the curse of slavery, and would promote the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of islands, which are considered the brightest jewels in the Spanish Crown."

Mr. W. H. MOWRY moved, and Mr. I. CREWDSON seconded, the adoption of the address. Carried unanimously.

REPORT ON THE TENTH ARTICLE OF THE WASHINGTON TREATY.

Rev. Dr. RITCHIE presented a report on this subject.

Mr. L. TAPPAN.—Great apprehension has been entertained by the friends of liberty generally, in America, with regard to the tenth clause of this treaty arising from this circumstance—some of the members of Congress who, after the occurrence of the *Creole* case, were most loud in their demand for satisfaction from the British Government, were the first to move the adoption of this treaty. I allude more particularly to Mr. CALHOUN. The venerable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS said, the day before I left America, that he was full of alarm as to the practical operation of this article. It is well known that, among other attempts to recover fugitive slaves, one plan resorted to is that of alleging crimes against them, and pursuing them as felons. In that way they are frequently recovered, and carried back to slavery.

Rev. HENRY TAYLOR.—I have the deepest feeling of satisfaction, and even of gratitude, in reviewing, as we have been enabled to do during the sittings of this Convention, the progress which the anti-slavery cause has made during the last three years. I have great pleasure in seconding the adoption of this report, and its reference to the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society. I am one of those who have learned from painful, and somewhat extended experience, to put no confidence in any Government under the sun, and, more especially, with reference to the question of slavery. The 10th Article may not have been consented to by the representative of Her Majesty, with any thought that it would be used to the disadvantage of coloured people: but it appertains to ourselves, who are British subjects, to see that it shall not be perverted to that end. I trust there is no presumption in saying, that if any Government attempts, through the medium of that Article, to return one man who has escaped from bondage to his former degradation and cruelty, we will raise a cry from Dan to Beersheba, which will make their ears tingle.

Mr. STANDFIELD.—As an Irish delegate, I have to express the deep regret and sorrow with which anti-slavery bodies in Ireland heard of the introduction of the obnoxious 10th Article of the Washington treaty. They wondered how the representative of our gracious Queen—the ambassador of a free Government, could be so far hoodwinked, as to deliver up the victim, who had simply escaped the grasp of his oppressor, under the pretext of the man having committed a felony. I wonder how any enlightened ambassador, could be so far blind to his duty to the free Government which he represented, as to suffer the envoy of a slave-holding Government so far to get the better

of his understanding, as to obtain the insertion of that Article in the treaty. I believe that that treaty never would have been sanctioned by the Government of the United States, had not Mr. WEBSTER succeeded in getting that Article introduced. But we live in strange times. With great sorrow did I read in the Parliamentary proceedings of the House of Lords, that a noble and learned lord, hitherto considered as a friend of emancipation, felt it to be his duty to move a vote of thanks to Lord ASHBURTON for concluding that treaty, without taking the slightest notice of this obnoxious clause—the effect of which, the anti-slavery community believe will be to enable slave-holders to regain possession of their victims. He alluded to the *Creole* case, and said that it was beset with great difficulties, inasmuch as we had no right to interfere with the internal slave-trade of the United States carried on by land, and that the coasting trade was somewhat similar. I may state a strange occurrence regarding the noble and learned lord. The Belfast Anti-Slavery Society transmitted to his lordship two petitions for presentation to the House of Lords, one was against the scheme of emigration from Africa, which we believe to be portentous with evil consequences to its inhabitants. The other was against the recognition of the 10th Article of the treaty in question, neither of which did he present; and when I, as one of the Hon. Secretaries of the Society, wrote a respectful letter to the noble lord to know whether he had received the petitions, because I had not seen any account of them being presented in the House of Lords, he, in his dignity, did not condescend to favour me with a reply. I will contrast his conduct with that of the Duke of WELLINGTON, whom of late he so much eulogizes. I once had occasion to write his Grace relative to a petition, and he sent me a prompt and courteous answer.

Mr. BUFFUM.—The public sentiment in Rhode island was so strong in opposition to slavery, that the slave-holders could not take up the flying fugitive as a slave and carry him out of the state. On one occasion, about fifty years ago, sitting by the fire in my father's house, we heard a noise in the street; we ran out to see what was the matter, and we found there a wagon; a coloured woman had just jumped from it, the deputy sheriff and another man were following behind on horseback. They had sprung from their horses and seized her, and were attempting to force her back to the wagon. My father inquired what were the circumstances, and we learned they were these:—A lady, formerly of Providence, in Rhode Island, had married and settled at South Carolina; she went home on a visit to her parents and friends, and brought with her this young woman—a slave. After being a few days in the state, the young woman learnt that she was in a free state; she fled from her mistress, went into the country, and engaged herself in service about three miles from my father's house. Such was the strength of the anti-slavery sentiment in that region of the country at that time, that it made it utterly impossible to take a person of colour out of the neighbourhood as a slave. The mistress made oath before the magistrate, that this woman had stolen—describing it—an article of dress which she had upon her person; on this affidavit a warrant was issued, and was put into the hands of the deputy sheriff, who went and arrested her, not as a slave, but as a thief. The officer said he was taking her to a magistrate, to have her tried for the theft which she had committed. The woman in defence said, "Yes, I know I have stolen my body, but I have stolen nothing else;" and added, "you are not taking me off because I have stolen anything, but you are taking me back to my mistress to send me to Charleston, and to Charleston I will never go. I beg that you will take my life, that is all I ask for; let me die, but I will never go into slavery." There she was in the hands of an officer as a thief,

and we could not rescue her. She was forced into the wagon, and carried into Providence that night. The next morning, without being carried before a magistrate, she was put on board a vessel, and sailed with her mistress for Charleston; but, before the sun went down, her body lay at the bottom of the briny sea, making true her words, that she would rather die than return to slavery. Should this article of the Washington treaty receive such a construction, that coloured persons who have fled from the Southern states may be subject to be arrested as thieves, and committed to the hands of American authority; although death may be preferable, yet they may not all have an opportunity of plunging from the deck of a vessel, and terminating their existence. I trust that this subject will receive that attention from the abolitionists of this country, which its great importance demands.

Dr. LUSHINGTON.—I think it right candidly to express the opinion I entertain on this article. The article itself, taken independently of its operation upon fugitive slaves, is a common and ordinary one in treaties, and for almost centuries past has been introduced, with respect to contiguous states, for the purpose of preventing that which would otherwise be the case—great criminals escaping over the borders. Where such an article, still confining my observation to states where there is no slavery, is properly guarded by excepting political offenders, who ought not to be given up, I think it is beneficial rather than otherwise. Now, with respect to the treaty itself, we are to take into consideration the fact, that many fugitive slaves from the United States escape into Canada, and of course it is the interest and the inclination of the masters to get them back. The treaty is wholly silent as to its operation on fugitive slaves. I should have been infinitely better pleased if the 10th article had particularly excepted slaves, and for this plain and obvious reason, they are clearly distinguished from all other persons accused of crime. They are incapable of defending themselves according to the laws of the country into which they may be restored, and, therefore, I should have been most anxious, whatever might have been the nature of the charge preferred against the slave, that that slave, if tried at all, should have been tried by British law within the British territory; and, if he were guilty, punished according to the weight of his offence. But to deliver him up to the hands of those from whom he could expect neither justice nor mercy, is that to which I would never have consented. It is, however, but justice to Lord ASHBURTON, and to those who have approved of the treaty, to say, that it does not contemplate, either in words, or in its fair construction and meaning, the surrender of a fugitive slave; but if mischief arises, and injustice be done to the fugitive slave, it will be in one or two ways, which I am now about to point out. In the first place, the master may invent false charges and accusations against the fugitive slave, and with so much ingenuity, and supported by so much specious evidence, that a governor, or those who exercise the power of the Government here or there, may think themselves bound in duty to order the slave back for trial, not because he is an escaped slave, but an escaped criminal; and he will not have justice done to him. If the authorities in Canada and the Government at home were to allow slight charges against fugitive slaves to be sufficient grounds for restoring them back to the United States, be assured that the master would not fail to bring some charge of petty felony against them. If a government, however, did its duty, this last event could not take place, because a man ought not to be returned simply on an accusation—there should be adequate and sufficient proof adduced that he is guilty. I well remember an admirable practical illustration of this, which took place in the United States some years ago. A true bill was found against a man who had committed murder in Ireland; he fled to America, and we demanded him back, in order to put him on his trial. The

Government of the United States said in reply, "You must furnish us with sufficient evidence to prove, to our conviction, that he is guilty, or we will retain him and protect him against you." They did investigate the case, and they refused to give him up. I never perused an abler paper, one, in my opinion, more consistent with the law of justice, or more honourable to the character of the United States, than that paper in which they refused to surrender up this person to our Government. Were that course pursued, a part of the evil would be avoided; but still I am bound to say, that there is a point connected with the case of a fugitive slave, for which not even the foresight of the Government at home, or of the executive abroad, could adequately provide. I refer not to the common charge of stealing a horse or stealing clothing—because, were an individual to be surrendered on such grounds, it would be an abuse of authority, and not its exercise—but to instances which might be brought forward of a party committing murder to effect his escape. That case would puzzle any Government whatever. I think that this treaty is open to great abuses; I do not say that it necessarily follows from its words that it would be abused, but I think that there is such a chance of abuse, that it is the duty of those who are most anxious to protect the slave who has escaped from the bonds of captivity to a free country,—it is the duty of those who wish to make the British name honoured and respected, and British possessions a place of refuge for him who has achieved his freedom, to urge, that before the article be adopted there should be an exception of fugitive slaves in so many words, or such regulations superadded, as to render it impossible that this abuse should take place. I think it would be wise to frame your resolutions with truth and earnestness, but yet with temperance; not to attribute to the treaty more mischief than it is probable it may produce, but at the same time to guard against consequences which, in my opinion, are, to a certain extent, probable, and, to a much greater extent, possible.

Captain STUART.—I think that the article is so worded, that British subjects will be made kidnappers for American slave-holders.

Mr. L. TAPPAN.—I think it due to Lord Ashburton to say, that his Lordship has declared, that if he had understood that the treaty endangered the liberty of fugitive slaves, he never would have consented to it. I have also authority for saying, that his Lordship has recently written to an eminent person, expressing his regret that the clause was worded as it is.

It was then suggested, that the Committee should retire, and reconsider the report, and, at the request of the Convention, Dr. Lushington accompanied them. The following is the document, which, on the motion of Mr. CARROLL, seconded by the Rev. H. TAYLOR, was unanimously adopted.

"We represent that the Tenth Article of the Washington Treaty is highly calculated to produce the greatest injustice, cruelty, and oppression to a class who are entitled to the protection and commiseration of all just and Christian men; namely, the slaves who have effected, or may hereafter effect, their escape into the British dominions, and are or may be under the protection of British law. We entertain this opinion for the following reasons:

"1st. Because fugitive slaves are distinguished from all other classes of foreigners, who may take refuge under British law, by this *most grievous distinction*, that, if restored for trial, there cannot, and will not, be any just trial: the slave-laws of all slave countries prevent it,—and the bitter prejudices and corrupt interests of the free classes prohibit it. Great Britain would deliver them up, not to justice, but to injustice, in the garb of legal proceedings, if indeed even such a form should ever be adopted. Fugitive slaves have, therefore, a much stronger claim to protection than political offenders, who are always

excepted from such an article, whatever their crimes, and, in no small degree, on the same ground that fugitive slaves are entitled to be excepted, viz. because impartial justice will not be administered to them.

"2nd. Because it is the interest of the masters, urged by a supreme and irrepressible desire to regain their alleged property, to exhibit false charges, and to support them by fictitious evidence; which charges and evidence, however fallacious, must be acted on *primâ facie*, since the accused party would have no means of rebutting them, and in this manner the grossest injustice would be inflicted.

"3rd. Because it would be impossible for the British Government to ascertain whether the crime really committed was not merely a necessary means of effecting escape from slavery."

Mr. BALL read the following address

TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL.

"The friends of the African race met in Convention in London from various parts of the world, to deliberate on the most effectual means for promoting the universal abolition of slavery, have been deeply affected with the information now laid before them of the continued existence and almost unparalleled extent of slavery within the empire of Brazil.

"Under a solemn impression that slavery is a sin against God, and that it is the bounden duty of every nation where Christianity is professed, to do all in its power to put an end to this atrocious system, this Convention earnestly entreats the government and people of Brazil to terminate at once slavery and the slave-trade within that great and influential empire.

"It is their firm persuasion that a measure of complete emancipation is called for by that 'righteousness which exalteth a nation,' and which constitutes the surest foundation of its prosperity; and they feel emboldened to urge such a course upon the Brazilian empire, from having witnessed the beneficial results, to all parties, of abolition in countries where slavery has been extinguished.

"Such an act of mercy and of justice would not only ennoble the Brazilian name and character, but would, we feel assured, be followed by multiplied benefits, and by the blessing of God."

Rev. WILLIAM GLEADALL moved, and Mr. GEORGE LAISHLEY seconded the adoption of the address, which was carried unanimously.

FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR VISITING SLAVE STATES.

The Rev. J. LEAVITT.—There is a matter that I have not put into the form of a resolution, but which is of considerable consequence. The subject is, that of the unjust laws which are passed by slave-holding governments, with regard to persons of colour coming within their limits for lawful and peaceful purposes. Perhaps nearly all the slave states of our American Union, the colonies of Cuba, Porto Rico, and, I dare say, the government of Brazils, have passed these laws with regard to persons of colour that come within their territories. Florida has a law that any coloured person coming by sea—the steward, the captain, or even the owner of the vessel—into any port is to be imprisoned, and the vessel is chargeable with all the costs, and if he does not depart from the territory in ten days, having first paid all the fees and costs of imprisonment, he is to be sold as a slave for ninety-nine years, and the proceeds are put into the county treasury. The laws of Alabama and other states are very similar. By a recent law of Louisiana, of which New Orleans is the chief city, being the largest sea port in the Mexican gulf, persons are required to visit every

vessel coming within certain limits, and if they have a coloured person on board, the same course is to be adopted. The subject has been brought before Congress by merchants from the North, in consequence of the inconvenience which their vessels have suffered in going to these ports. In the sickly season it is found advantageous to have coloured seamen, who stand the effects of the climate much better than white men. A committee of Congress, a majority of whom, in the proportion of seven to two, reported that these laws were unconstitutional and not of force, but no further proceedings were taken upon it in Congress, and perhaps will not. It is our intention, however, not to let the matter sleep: we intend by every lawful means to attack the system, in the hope that by-and-by we shall be able to throw it over. These laws make no distinction of nationality. Cases have occurred in Charleston and elsewhere, where British coloured seamen have been taken from a British vessel for this purpose. Some remonstrances have been made, and I believe they now contrive, in some way, when a British vessel comes to port, to do, as I suppose Lord Ashburton's letter requires the magistrates in Nassau to do when shipwrecked slaves come there—not to see them. We are making use of this practical exception of theirs in favour of British vessels, taunting them with being afraid of Great Britain, with being colonies to Great Britain, and throwing back upon them the charge which they are very fond of making against us, for their subserviency to Britain, and bowing to her flag. They are very sore, and will soon be brought to the alternative of enforcing the law against British vessels to the utmost in self justification, or repealing the laws themselves as the only way of escape out of the difficulty. I would suggest that the subject of the laws of slave-holding countries, which are oppressive in regard to free persons of colour visiting them on their lawful business, be commended to the special attention of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. I do not see, at this late period of the Convention, what more can be done.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE TREATMENT OF COLOURED PEOPLE IN CANADA.

"The Committee on behalf of the coloured population of Canada, who are mostly refugees from American slavery, beg leave to present, for the adoption of the Convention, the following resolutions:—

"1st, That, while we sincerely deprecate the necessity which impels our coloured brethren of the Southern states of America to emigrate in the most difficult and perilous circumstances to the British North American possessions, for personal liberty and protection; we most heartily rejoice to know, from authentic information, that by the favour of Heaven upon their praiseworthy struggles for personal freedom, and the kind interposition of vigilance committees, and sympathising friends, who aid them in their flight, their facilities of escape, and consequently, their numbers are rapidly increasing.

"2nd, That the consideration that twelve thousand or more have already secured to themselves a measurably comfortable asylum in Canada, and that this number is increasing at the ratio of about one thousand per annum, who mostly enter the province in a deplorably destitute condition, should awaken in the bosom of every Christian philanthropist, British and American, those feelings of sympathy and interest, which will liberally devise and vigorously prosecute the requisite measures for promoting their intellectual and moral improvement, as well as physical comfort.

"3rd, That, although we repose the fullest confidence in the fidelity and efficiency of the present Executive of Canada, we cannot forbear expressing the deep solicitude we feel for the protection of the refugees; inasmuch as the recent surrender of the injured Nelson Hackett to the slave power, *contrary to British law*, loudly calls for vigilance on the part of every friend

of justice and humanity, to prevent for ever hereafter the recurrence of a similar act."

Mr. BOWLEY moved, and the Rev. H. TAYLOR seconded the adoption of the above resolutions, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. ANSTIE presented the following report from the Committee on the

CASE OF THE CREOLE.

"The case of the *Creole*, involving, as it does, questions affecting the dearest rights of humanity, has been well and successfully discussed by the friends of abolition in England and the United States of America. The principal ground of alarm appears to have arisen from expressions used by Lord ASHBURTON, in correspondence with Mr. WEBSTER, the American Secretary of State. We have given a careful attention to their representations, and are satisfied that the language used was harsh on both sides; but consider it not intended to sanction any departure from the fundamental principles of law, or the language used, as involving any abandonment of the rights hitherto asserted and maintained in favour of negro slaves, who, under any similar circumstances, have sought refuge in the British colonial possessions.

"At the same time we venture to recommend the members of this Convention to enter their solemn and public protest against any conventional arrangement between the two countries, which shall tend to lessen the light and glory which beam from the shores of every British possession, for the hope and succour of the enslaved of any colour and of every country."

Mr. CHARLES H. LOVELL moved the adoption of the report.

Rev. EDWARD ADEY.—Owing to an unavoidable absence from this Hall when the report of the Committee on Danish slavery, of which I am a member, was presented to the Convention, I avail myself of the privilege of seconding this resolution, for the purpose of stating that I am deputed by the Moravian Missionary Society to assure you, they deplore most sorrowfully, they deprecate most solemnly, the evil and extent of slavery in the Danish West India islands, and from the day that they received the reasonable and righteous remonstrances of the Baptist Missionary and the Anti-Slavery Societies, they have adopted every moral and practicable means for the purpose of accelerating the downfal of slavery in those islands. I beg, moreover, to state that the Committee of that most ancient and most respectable society, together with all their missionaries, will yield to no Christian and benevolent bodies in Christendom in their abhorrence of the accursed sin of slavery, and that since the sitting of this Convention, the Secretary, the Rev. P. LATROBE, has availed himself of a conference with the Danish ambassador, and the Governor-General of the Danish West India islands, who listened to the representations and appeals of that rev. and excellent Secretary, and pledged themselves that nothing should be wanting on their part to promote the abolition of slavery. The Governor-General, who only left London on Wednesday last, said, that if England would receive the produce of the Danish West India colonies, the abolition of slavery there would be effected totally and immediately by his Government. I rose, however, more particularly to exonerate the London Committee of the Moravian Society from the imputation of blame in reference to a connivance at slavery in their missionary settlements. The Rev. P. LATROBE has requested me to state, that if the emancipation of the pious members of Moravian churches in St. Thomas' could be effected by money, money would not be wanting;

but the Government of Denmark has resolved not to allow of emancipation on any condition, but their own decree, declaring that if the Moravians were excepted by the payment of money, others would claim the same favour. But we have every reason to expect, that if you will persevere in your exertions, employing your moral and pacific influence, you will ultimately succeed, and the Moravian Missionary Society will second your endeavours in every possible way. It is due to the Moravian Missionary Society to state these facts; and allow me to avow, that I have ever been the ardent friend of all evangelical missionary societies, and a constant attendant at anti-slavery conferences, and I will yield to no man in my attachment to the object which the present Convention is intended to promote. I trust that no reflections will be cast on the Moravian Missionary Society; at the same time, I am ready to acknowledge, that the recent representations and powerful appeals of the esteemed Treasurer of the Anti-Slavery Society, in his speech on Danish slavery, are worthy of our most serious attention. In answer to an enquiry from Mr. SCOBLE, I conclude by assuring you that a reply will shortly be sent by the Committee of the Moravian Missionary Society to the communications that have been addressed to them by the Anti-Slavery Society.

The report was then adopted.

CUBAN AND BRAZILIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. WILLIAM ALLBRIGHT moved,

"That the Committee to whom were referred the papers on the slave-trade with Cuba and the Brazils, recommend that the said papers be referred to the special attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society."

Mr. JOHN STEER seconded the resolution, which was then put, and agreed to.

CIRCULATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I have a short resolution to move; it is this,

"That under a conviction, that it is the duty of societies formed for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, to do every thing in their power to distribute them among the inhabitants of all countries without distinction, this Convention affectionately and earnestly recommends to all the Bible Societies in America, and elsewhere, to make use of every opportunity in their power to promote the circulation of the Bible among all the coloured and free population of the United States, and elsewhere."

Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON.—I wish to have the privilege of seconding the resolution, and to take this opportunity of saying that I have received greater kindness and courtesy from the Bible and Religious Tract Societies of England than I ever did from those of America.

Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN.—As Mr. PENNINGTON has alluded to the Tract Society, I wish to state the following fact. A young man went to Charleston and offered a tract to a coloured man working on board the vessel, not thinking that the man was a slave, or that he himself was violating any law. He was arrested and taken before a magistrate on the charge of giving a printed paper to a slave. The magistrate told him that no doubt his intentions were good; that he had no idea of tampering with the slave; but that he had acted contrary to law, and he therefore deemed it his duty to send him to prison for six months. About the same period of time the people of Charleston transmitted a thousand dollars to the American Tract Society, to enable it to distribute tracts among the heathen in different parts of the world. That fact has often been stated in America, and never contradicted.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I remember glorifying the American Bible Society for its declaration that it would give the Scriptures to the whole world.

Mr. FULLER.—Without any preface I will relate a fact. An officer went to hold an inquisition in the state of Virginia, and when he arrived at the spot there was no Bible to be found on which to panel the jury, and swear the witnesses. He took his horse and travelled thirteen miles, inquiring from house to house for a Bible; at last he met with an old woman who had one, but he could not induce her to lend it him until he promised to return it that night; so that he had to travel twenty-six miles. This fact appears on the evidence of an agent of the Bible Society. In another report he states that civilization is fast retrograding wherever a Bible is not to be found.

The resolution was then put, and agreed to.

DOCUMENTS RECEIVED FROM AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS.

Mr. SCOBLE presented three papers; one received from Judge JAY, one from THEODORE WELD, Esq., and one from SAMUEL WEBB, Esq., which he moved should be made a part of the records of the Convention.

Rev. H. WILSON seconded the resolution, which was put, and agreed to.

DUTY, SAFETY, AND POLICY OF THE IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

Mr. GARLAND moved,

"That, in view of the facts and documents which have been laid before this Convention, it is desirable that a document should be prepared on the duty, safety, and policy of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in all countries where it exists, and that it requests that JOSHUA LEAVITT, G. W. ALEXANDER, AMOS A. PHELPS, and JOHN SCOBLE, do prepare such document, to be laid before the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to be by them disposed of as may best advance the objects which this Convention has in view."

In moving this resolution I beg to advert to a subject not immediately connected with it, but to which it may be permissible to allude—the harmony with which the proceedings of the Convention have been conducted now almost to their close. With the widest differences and freest expressions of opinion, there has yet prevailed a remarkable unanimity of feeling. Perhaps this has in no small measure been owing to the presence of the fairer part of our assembly. It seems to me as if it would, indeed, be a vain experiment to attempt the introduction here of any element of discord, for when I look beyond the delegates' benches to the calm benevolent faces of the ladies, there appears to be something in them that would operate as an extinguisher upon any angry feelings, should they chance to arise. And I would venture to suggest it as an admirable arrangement for all public assemblies could they be fenced in, as we are here, by so interesting a circle of what I may term moral non-conductors, by whom any discordant feelings might instantly be neutralised. I throw out the hint for the consideration of any scientific gentleman who may be present, and disposed to avail himself of it, although it is scarcely probable that he will find such rich materials for his experiments as we have been favoured with on the present occasion.

Mr. J. T. PRICE.—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. I think it would contribute to promote the object we have in view, not only throughout the United States, but throughout the world, if several papers were issued from this Convention. I apprehend that we are drawing towards the close of our proceedings, and as it may not fall to my lot again to address the Convention, I feel inclined to say a few words to those who have come across the Atlantic, and whom I may not see again. I have felt that while we have

been deliberating, we have had much cause for thankfulness, and to take fresh courage in the work in which we are engaged. I hope that we shall keep our eye directed simply to Christ, the great Head of the church. I am persuaded that if that be done, it will contribute to wear down anything in the nature of asperity which may arise in the mind from little differences of opinion amongst abolitionists. I should rejoice if one result of our meeting together, and communicating with our friends from America, were the annihilation of the differences existing on this subject across the Atlantic, and thus prepare the way for their concurrent co-operation. I hope that the time is not far distant when that co-operation will be general and simultaneous throughout that great country. If we should meet again three years hence, I hope it will be found that our exertions during the interval have been so blessed, that greater strides will have been made, in carrying out our object, than has been the case even during the last three years. I am inclined to think that slavery is not a long-lived monster: I hope that we have seen symptoms this day denoting its early destruction.

The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

Mr. SCOBLE presented a paper, by Isaac Taylor, Esq., on Slavery in relation to Religion, &c.

CUSTODY OF THE RECORDS.

Mr. JAMES FINLAY moved,

"That the records of this Convention be committed to the custody of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, together with all the documents presented to it, and that it be left to that Committee to make use of them, by printing and publishing, as they may deem expedient, with a view to promote the objects of the Convention."

Mr. MARK MOORE seconded the resolution, which was then unanimously carried.

FORMATION OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

Mr. ROBERT W. CHILDS moved,

"That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the anti-slavery cause would be much promoted and strengthened by the formation of anti-slavery societies, founded on the principle of the fundamental guilt of slavery, and of the moral duty of immediate, thorough, and universal emancipation.

"That in order to carry into practical operation the above resolution, the delegates and friends of this Convention be requested to assist in the formation of such societies in their respective cities and neighbourhoods."

Captain STUART seconded the resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

IMPRISONMENT OF FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR

Rev. J. LEAVITT moved,

"That the unjust laws of slave-holding states and countries, imprisoning or otherwise punishing free persons of colour, for no other crime than that of coming peaceably within their territory on lawful business, are violations of the Comity of Nations, and ought to be effectually remonstrated against by the Governments whose subjects and citizens are liable to this injury."

Mr. SCOBLE seconded the motion, and it was carried unanimously.

HOLDING OF A FUTURE CONVENTION.

Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN.—I would reciprocate the remarks made by Mr. Price with reference to the American delegates. I can say for one, and I

hope I have the concurrence of the delegates, that it has been my highest happiness to come from my own country to attend the Convention, and see so many friends whose names are familiar to you. I hope that we shall return to carry on the cause of human liberty, and that the bonds of friendship that have been formed here will be strengthened by future intercourse. I feel that these Conventions are attended with the most important results, and that what has now been done will be spread before the community, in the United States, in a way that no private exertions of our own would have enabled us to diffuse it. The proceedings will be read by many hundreds and thousands, whose attention would not otherwise have been directed to this movement. I would especially urge—referring to the remarks that have fallen from my friend—that in all our future efforts we should not rely too much upon ourselves, but look up to God for his blessing on all our discussions and all our acts, for the promotion of human liberty and the downfal of slavery throughout the world. I entreat that Christian friends will bear us on their hearts at a throne of grace, that we may return home in health and safety to our friends, and there co-operate with the advocates of liberty in this country, till slavery shall come to a perpetual end, and the reign of freedom prevail over the civilized world. I have to move,

"That, in conformity with the precedent of the Convention in 1840, it be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to call another Convention, similar in character and objects to the present, whenever, in their judgment, the cause would be promoted by it."

Mr. H. C. HOWELLS.—I second that resolution most cordially. I do hope that, as the whole of American abolitionism is not represented in this country, some effort will be made to unite conflicting elements, and to bring all that love the cause of humanity, and who cherish feelings of regard for the down-trodden slave, to act on some common principle. I do think that this is a matter of great importance. Some of the noblest and most devoted friends to the cause of the slave are not here represented; and though there may be a considerable difference of opinion between them and others on many points, yet I do not consider that they are so widely sundered but what they might meet on some common ground. I do not anticipate that there will be more than one other Convention before we shall be called upon to rejoice in the blessing of God crowning our feeble efforts in the United States, as well as throughout the world; every thing augurs well for it; and the results of the Convention, I doubt not, will be attended with the Divine blessing. The friends in America will read with solemn deliberation what has here been done, and will look to God, for the aid of his Spirit, to enable them to carry out, in detail, the great principles which have been here adopted.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I may state, for the information of our American friends and delegates, that the Committee did not restrict their invitation to any party in the United States; on the contrary, they made it perfectly general.

Mr. FULLER.—If I had had any doubt as to the propriety of attending this Convention, the letter of JOHN SCOBLE would have brought me here.

Mr. L. TAPPAN.—I hope that when the abolitionists of the United States have laid down their weapons of hostility, a Convention will be forthwith summoned to be held in the United States, that the right hand of cordial friendship may be extended to all, and that thenceforward abolitionists may unite as one man in the prosecution of their glorious object.

The resolution was then put and carried.

THANKS TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Mr. ANSTIE.—I beg to move,

"That this Convention would assure the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of their gratitude for the judicious arrangements made in the convening and conducting this Convention, and for their general attention to the interests of the cause of human freedom."

I have been much pleased with the untiring exertions of these gentlemen. I have frequently made a visit to Broad-street to see them, and it has been a source of great pleasure to me to witness the same persons constantly labouring in this work, and animated by the most benevolent motives.

Mr. FULLER.—Coming from where I do, and circumstanced as I am, I am somewhat entitled to second such a resolution as this, and I do it in good honesty, my friends. I am in the custom of attending anti-slavery meetings from time to time, so that I am not in entire ignorance of what the committee is doing. I address my Maker often times when receiving accounts of the honesty and good faith with which they have carried out the proceedings of the former Convention. Although there may have been some little difference of sentiment in what some of us have said here, I have been astonished at the success which has resulted from the proceedings of the last Convention. I have, and do, in a great degree, attribute the success of our common cause to the manner in which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has carried it forward. We have now come towards the close of our present proceedings, and I hope and believe that they will be true to the cause; for while true to it, they are helping it forward in America, far beyond what they can conceive. I trust that the Divine blessing will rest upon the efforts of abolitionists, both here and there.

The resolution was then put, and carried by acclamation.

THANKS TO THE SECRETARIES.

The Rev. J. CARLILE moved—

"That the best thanks of this Convention be presented to the gentlemen who have kindly acted as Secretaries, for the ability, zeal, and impartiality with which they have discharged the duties of their honorary office."

Rev. J. BIRT seconded the resolution, which was also carried by acclamation.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I feel, and I am sure we all feel sensible, of the tribute you have paid us; but I can assure you that I find my reward in my work, and that the more I am enabled to serve this cause, the more I feel blessed and honoured. I could have wished to have discharged the duties which you have devolved upon me—and I doubt not the feeling is common to my colleagues—with more efficiency than they have been rendered. We have, however, endeavoured to fulfil our duties impartially, and to the best of our ability, with a view to the success of the great and glorious cause in which we are all engaged. That there should be differences of *opinion* when we meet in this way does not surprise me; but that there is only one *feeling* pervading the assembly, I am certain. I wish to express to our American friends how entirely we are one with them in the promotion of their great object; and if I might whisper anything to them, it would be this; that we wish they were more at one, and united among themselves. I do not, however, venture either to admonish or

to exhort them. I rejoice that there are such noble spirits in America. We have cherished the names of many of them, who attended the former Convention, and there are those who have been with us at this time, who have made an impression upon our memories and our hearts that will never be obliterated. We rejoice in every step of their progress. We rejoice to think, that since the last Convention was held, their cause has been advancing; and though there may be many impediments to retard it, yet it must advance, for it is the cause of God, of truth, of justice, and of humanity. He who sits above is watching over it, and his blessing will conduct it, ere long, to a happy conclusion. One of the American delegates has anticipated the period when we shall come together to celebrate our jubilee. Some of us, even old in the service, may live long enough to participate in the joyous thanksgivings of that day: nay, it may be the will of God, that the very father of our cause, old as he is, may be spared a few years longer, and permitted to witness the crowning result of his devoted efforts; so that he too may sing, with John Quincey Adams, "*Nunc dimittis.* Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." The names of these two great men may very properly be associated thus. In how many features of character do they resemble each other! Oh that they may be spared to celebrate together that holy and glorious triumph of universal freedom to which their lives and labours have so eminently contributed, and which is so intimately connected with "glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards men!"

THANKS TO THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Mr. EDWARD FOSTER.—I have been requested to move,

"That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the gentlemen who have acted as Vice-Presidents, for the ability and impartiality with which they have presided over the proceedings."

It has afforded me high gratification and delight to mingle with you on this occasion, and take any part in the interesting proceedings. I trust that I have been much edified while I have been privileged to be with you, and that my feelings in favour of the cause of freedom are stronger than ever; it is a glorious cause, and I trust that the expectations we have formed will be more than fully realized.

Mr. STANDFIELD seconded the resolution, which was put to the meeting by Mr. J. STURGE, and carried by acclamation.

The Rev. J. LEAVITT.—As I am unaccustomed to votes of thanks, I hardly know whether it is proper that I should say a word upon this resolution; I may, however, state that such a vote as this, at the close of this Convention, is a source of great gratification; it shows that we have come harmoniously to the termination of our business on this grand occasion. It is a great thing to assemble such a meeting as this; the world is looking at it; but it is a greater thing to close in harmony. The results of the proceedings of this day, and indeed of all the preceding, have been to my view exceedingly beneficial to our cause; the engagements of this day have, from the beginning to the end, been such as greatly to cheer my heart; I feel that this Convention has done well, and that all the labour, all the expense, all the anxious care, all the earnest prayer that it has called forth, have been usefully employed, and have been owned and blessed of our heavenly Father.

THANKS TO THE PUBLIC PRESS.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—I have a very short resolution to propose, but it refers

to a class of persons to whom we are much indebted, viz., a certain portion of the public press, who, by their services, have rendered our cause essential benefit. I therefore move,

"That this Convention would present its thanks to the Proprietors and Conductors of that portion of the Metropolitan Press which have recorded its proceedings, and to the Gentlemen of the Press by whom the Reports have been furnished."

Rev. J. W. WAYNE seconded the resolution, which was then put and unanimously carried.

Mr. BLACKBURN (Editor of the Globe).—It has been suggested to me that I am expected, in the absence of others better qualified, to acknowledge the vote of thanks which the Convention has been pleased to tender to the Press and to the Reporters of its proceedings. As one of the Conductors of a metropolitan journal, allow me to say that the Editors of the public journals feel great obligation to the Anti-Slavery Society, and especially to its Committee, for the very important documents which they issue from time to time, and which supply to us, fraught as they are with facts, the materials which we work up from day to day. I have sat here for several hours to-day. My understanding has been enlightened by the statements which have been made of the proceedings of the Society; I trust the affections of my heart have been kindled at that altar the fire of which is divine, and animates the human spirit which is brought within its influence with pure and lasting benevolence. I retire from the Convention earnestly hoping that the great Being, from whom cometh every good and every perfect gift, may cause his blessing to rest on the proceedings; that the object at which you aim may be accomplished; and that all engaged in the work may be rewarded with ultimate and abundant success.

THANKS TO THE FINANCE AND PRESS COMMITTEE.

Mr. BALL.—I wish to move,

"That the thanks of this Convention are hereby presented to the Finance and Press Committee for their zeal and attention to the arduous duties committed to them."

Rev. JOSEPH HARDING seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Rev. J. CARLILE briefly acknowledged the resolution.

THANKS TO SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ.

Rev. ROBERT ROFF moved,

"That this Convention feel pleasure in assuring SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., of their gratitude to him for the readiness with which, in the necessary absence of the honoured President, he consented to preside, and for the ability and impartiality with which he has discharged the duties of his position."

Having admired the impartiality with which Mr. GURNEY has conducted that part of the proceedings over which he has presided, I do with the utmost cordiality propose the resolution for the adoption of the Convention.

Mr. WILSON CREWDSON seconded the resolution, which was put and carried by acclamation.

CONCLUSION.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—I rise under a very solemn and serious impression as to the close of the Convention. We have had, during seven days, questions of

great and vital interest brought before us; we have had a full and free expression of individual opinion and individual sentiment; and I think I am warranted in saying, that, by the blessing of God, we have had in all things essential, unity; in all matters upon which there existed room for difference of opinion, we have had delightful forbearance; and I think I may safely add, that in all things, we have had charity. We have brought our deliberations to a close, and every one will cordially respond to the sentiment, that we owe to the special grace of Him whom in "this work of faith and labour of love" we serve in the gospel of His Son, all that harmony and fraternal feeling which have characterised our entire proceedings. I think we are bound, as Christian men, devoutly to express our united sense of gratitude to God for the harmony and peace we have so largely enjoyed, as well as for the delightful issue to which we have come, and the glorious results with which our deliberations are likely to be followed. I trust that after all that has been done, and all that has been said, there will be a growing conviction of the necessity of simple and entire dependence upon the promised grace of God for all that is wise in counsel, and effective in operation, in carrying that counsel into effect. I will read a minute, which I submit, with great respect, to my fellow labourers, will be an appropriate conclusion to our proceedings; and which I propose should be placed for permanent record among the minutes. It is this:—

"In closing its important proceedings, the Convention would not separate without devoutly recording its gratitude to Almighty God for the many indications of Divine favour which have attended its successive sittings. The assembling of so many friends of freedom and of man, in this city, not only from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, but also from the United States of America, and from other lands, and especially the essential unity that has prevailed during their protracted discussions, demand from the members of this Convention devout expressions of thanksgiving and praise. And recognising the utter inefficiency of any means which human wisdom may devise for the accomplishment of their object, this Convention desire to cherish a deep conviction of the necessity of the Divine blessing in the successful prosecution of their great undertaking; while equally convinced that God is pleased to accomplish his purposes of mercy by human instrumentality, the members of this Convention would solemnly pledge themselves never to swerve from their purpose, nor relax in their efforts, until by the employment of means, *moral*, *religious*, and *pacific* in their character, in humble dependence on the blessing of God, slavery and the slave-trade shall be extinguished throughout the world."

The delegates then sat for a few minutes in devotional silence, after which the Convention was dissolved.

APPENDIX.

SPEECH OF LORD MORPETH.

The Right Hon. Lord Morpeth, when called upon to address the Convention on the third day of its sittings, requested permission to reserve the statement of his sentiments until the meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This was held in Exeter Hall on the day succeeding the dissolution of the Convention.

Bancroft Libra

It having been moved by B. Hawes, Esq., M.P., seconded by Col. Nicholls, late Governor of Fernando Po, and carried by acclamation, that his Lordship should take the chair, he spoke to the following effect:—

Notwithstanding the flattering prelude to the motion which you have just been pleased to adopt, I feel that I could much more easily find good reasons why I should not fill this chair on the present occasion than why I should occupy it. It seems, however, to me, that it will be best not to attempt an uphill argument by contending against my own convictions, but to leave the whole responsibility to those who have been mainly instrumental in making the selection. If, indeed, in the presence of so many whose pretensions to this distinction would have been far more numerous and far more powerful, in consequence of services rendered, of labour expended, of the successes achieved in the great cause which has now assembled us together, I could suggest anything in the way of excuse for standing where I now am, I might find it perhaps in the circumstance, that it has happened to me, within the space of a year, to have had some opportunity of observing, by personal inspection, something of the operations and effects of slavery, under somewhat varying modifications and forms. It is true that I did not go to the New World across the Atlantic, where I spent a year, upon any mission or with any view specially directed to the subject of slavery; although so prominent an institution in the relations of society could not fail, wherever I encountered it, to excite my attention and my interest. But as I have said, the observation even of so pregnant a subject as slavery can hardly be said to have been among the direct objects of my expedition. While I remained in the districts referred to, I did not judge it to be any part of my business to obtrude any opinions unasked and unbidden, (withhold them when asked or invited, or dissemble them at any time, I hope I never did,) with respect to institutions and

relations existing in the internal policy of the governments, or in the recesses of the social life to which I was both admitted and welcomed. Nay, further, even since my return I do not feel, I have not felt myself authorized to take up the office of an adviser or admonisher to foreign communities, or to prescribe to them the course which seemed consonant with my own sense of duty, and which I might wish to see imposed upon them by theirs. Indeed, I think whoever in this country addresses himself to the subject of slavery abroad would do well to premise, and I hope I shall bear it in my own recollection, that whatever may have been the character of our later proceedings with respect to slavery, we can hardly yet consider ourselves qualified to use a tone of unmixed self-righteousness in our own case, or of unqualified reproach in that of others. Not to mention other grounds of national opprobrium, or other calls for national amendment, which unhappily are by no means wanting in our internal economy, on the subject of slavery itself, I feel that the impression of the by-gone stain has been too recently effaced, the records of it are too distinctly visible through long periods of our annals, commencing almost at the very origin of the slave-trade itself, staining, even, I fear, the glories of our virgin reign, culminating to the very height of infamy in the part we took in the Assiento treaty; above all, riveting this great crime and curse upon our distant dependencies, especially upon the North American continent, whose retention and enlargement of it form at this day a prominent subject of complaint—all these things, sincerely repented, I believe; amply atoned for, we have reason to hope, still leave such a pressure of shame and responsibility behind them as ought, in propriety, to take from our lips all tendency to rail and revile, and to confine our accents to those of persuasion, of entreaty, of encouragement. We do not pretend to feel ourselves authorised to cast the first stone; but we do feel constrained to say to others, "Go, and sin no more." And as we do not pretend to an immunity from blame with respect to the past, so neither do we assume, notwithstanding what it has been permitted us by a gracious Providence to do, that we can safely afford to dispense with strict vigilance and persevering caution as to the future, in maintaining what has been done, and in performing what yet remains to be accomplished. That the steps which have been recommended, and I hope set on foot, for effecting the final abolition of all the remaining vestiges of ancient slavery in the East Indies, for watching, at least, and guarding from all approach to abuse any scheme for the transfer of labour from Africa to the West Indies, should be fully carried out and completed; that our negotiations with foreign powers shall not be compromised by any unwarrantable concessions, or by any misplaced compliances, even though they may come under so specious a title as "The Comity of Nations:" these and other points will be nowhere more keenly and more sensibly felt than among the present assembly. Still, however, after all, while I do not dissemble the load of responsibility which originally attaches to my own country; while I would refrain from gratuitous attack upon the internal polity of foreign states; yet I must say that here, on the soil of England, under the roof of Exeter Hall, from the chair of a meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at the close of a Convention which has summoned and collected its associates from every quarter of the world, from every condition, and class, and colour, with no qualification for admission, with no Shibboleth of partizanship save an enmity to slavery wherever it is to be found, wherever it is to be attacked, wherever it is to be eradicated, I feel that I must not and cannot be silent; but that it is a real, a solemn duty, faithfully, soberly, and without exaggeration, for the cause, for the truth's sake, and for your sakes, without unnecessary length or delay, to record the impressions which I derived from the opportunities I had,

cursory and imperfect as I admit them to be, of perusing the features, and witnessing the workings of slavery upon its own soil, and beneath its own influences. I had some transient glance of the system among the rice fields of Carolina, and the sugar plantations of Louisiana. I saw the system, perhaps, in its most matured development, at one of its prominent head quarters, in the island of Cuba; upon those beauteous shores which nature seems to have intended and fitted for a terrestrial paradise; where, such is the prodigal richness of a tropical vegetation, and such the unclouded brightness of a tropical climate, that to live there I felt almost that I could be a slave, but not a slaveholder. Returning to the American Union, I passed up the stream of the gentle Ohio; and I saw upon one bank a series of slave states,—on the other, a series of free states; and I am bound to say, that the comparative appearance of progress and prosperity, of all that constitutes power and happiness, seemed to be just in that proportion which the most ardent friend of freedom would desire. I then came to another and still fairer stream, the St. Lawrence, which separates not the free and slave states of the American Union, but the free states of the North American republic, and the provinces of the Queen of Great Britain. Now in which of these districts, under these designations, might it not at first, at least, be expected that a regard for human rights would most extensively and scrupulously prevail? I could not help being much struck with a circumstance which I saw mentioned in a book, written by a person certainly not actuated by any unfavourable prepossessions against either the political or social institutions of America, or by any overwhelming prejudice in favour of monarchical or aristocratical government,—I mean our excellent and accomplished countrywoman, Miss Martineau. It was stated by her that she was told by the captain of a steamer that plied on the Niagara river, immediately between the American and the British shores, that the finest sight in the world was the leap of the fugitive slave to the shore when the ship neared the British territory. I address myself to you, the citizens of the United States; can reams of argument or torrents of declamation put more forcibly or vividly before you the whole gist of this great subject? How long will you let it be so? Perhaps I ought to check myself; I know there are positive enactments of your constitution, which you are not at liberty to contravene; I know that there are obligations to independent and co-ordinate communities, by which you may be bound: but till you have proceeded to the utmost limits which the letter of your constitution allows,—so long as you suffer the slave-gang, the line of your manacled slaves, to be seen under the actual shadow of the Capitol of Washington, the seat of your central empire and your federal legislation,—so long as you stretch the broad arm of your union, with a somewhat hesitating and uncertain hold, it is true, above the slave-trade itself, as it is carried on from one of your coasts to another, and even upon the bosom of that ocean which you are so fond, and so justly fond, of terming free,—so long as you allow of these, and other gratuitous compliances with the exactions of slavery, do you not deserve to have this picture, which I have just portrayed to you, set before you?—that the finest sight in the world—and, mark well, this was said within the very sound of the downward dash of Niagara—the finest sight in the world is the leap of a fugitive slave from the vessel that separates him for ever from the shore of your republic, and places him upon the soil subject to the crown of Great Britain. He may have come toil-worn, crouching, panting; but the consciousness of acquired freedom, of a master left behind, and who never again can grasp him, gives to the mere motion and muscle of his limbs a play, an elasticity, and a moral effect that are nothing short of sublime. You must all of you be aware that a treaty has of late been concluded between the

United States of America and this country. I hope that I shall not be disposed to deviate into any topics foreign to the immediate purposes of this meeting, or connected with the general politics of countries; still, to clear myself of misconstruction, I may observe that I am on the whole inclined to view the terms of that treaty more favourably than some of those with whom in public life I have been most accustomed to act; at all events, I cordially rejoice at its completion. But there are one or two points connected with it which seem to me to demand attentive, and even jealous scrutiny. One of them relates to the class of persons whose case I have just been considering, the fugitive slaves into Canada. I believe that the stipulations for carrying into effect the mutual delivery of criminals, technically termed *extradition*, between one country and another, before they can be ratified, must come under the consideration of our Parliament. I hope that there the particulars by which it is intended to carry them out will be most carefully considered. It may be—probably is in itself a most desirable arrangement, suiting the convenience, as well as the "comity of nations;" but especial care ought to be taken, lest there should be allowed to lurk in its provisions any loop-hole for facilitating the re-delivery of the fugitive slave. Nothing can be more distinct—I need hardly labour to impress upon this meeting—than the fugitive from slavery, and the fugitive from justice: it is sufficient to name them—slavery, and justice! The danger is, lest the plea for the one should wear the semblance of the plea for the other. I am inclined to hold, and I believe I am justified by the formal decision of our colonial authorities in so holding, that nothing which is essential to effect the escape of the slave,—the appropriation, for instance, of his master's horse,—of what his master would call his property, the slave having none,—the wages he ought to receive for his labour, therefore of so much of his money as may be necessary to speed his flight,—of his master's clothes, for the clothes are considered not his own but his master's, at least, frequently so; nothing, in short, essential to his flight ought to constitute a ground of his re-delivery by our authorities to his master. I am myself disposed to think that any conventional arrangement made under such circumstances ought to have made special exemption of the case of slaves, even though they should be duly charged with a distinct criminal offence which would have made a free man subject to capture and delivery; and for this plain reason, because in the case of the free man we consign him to the ordinary course of settled, recognised, and pre-ascertained law; while, in the case of the slave, we cannot indeed be sure that we do not consign him to far more than legal retribution. There is terrible experience to prove this, the details of which I do not feel called upon to trouble you with, but which must be but too familiar to many whom I address. However, what I have now said has not been with a wish to incite this country to contravene any engagement by which we may be already bound. I have said it with a view of specially directing attention to the provisions by which it may be designed to carry it out; and in any case I rejoice to think that this article of the treaty is only to continue in force for a limited period, so that opportunity may be given for its revisal if not for its abrogation, if during the term of its continuance experience should convict it of having ministered to abuse in this most important and delicate particular to which I have adverted. The only other point which I will just in passing mention in connexion with the treaty, or rather with the negotiation of Washington, is the case of the *Creole*. The case itself is left, as I understand it, precisely as I would have it; that is, in the unquestioned confirmation of the act of our colonial authorities, and the unconditional freedom of the insurgent slaves who entered into the British waters; but in the letters that passed between Mr. Webster and our plenipotentiary, some hints were dropped of fresh

instructions being issued to our colonial governors. If such instructions, with any variety as to the interpretation of existing laws and obligations, should be issued, I do trust that the attention of the friends of liberty will be steadily directed to their contents, for if there is one principle, one position which I hope that the people of this country will ever hold fast and keep impregnable, it is, that upon no inch of ground within the lawful jurisdiction of England the foot of a slave shall be ever planted, and that the full immunities of the laws of our own realm, the free access to the right of *habeas corpus* may never be diluted, by any accommodation, interpretation or compromise, however lowly may be the suppliant who seeks it, or however powerful the claimant who pursues him. I rejoice to hear, and I am sure that the meeting will also rejoice to hear, that the most recent despatches from abroad which have arrived seem to hold out indications of a growing and favourable opinion with respect to the abolition of slavery where, perhaps, it least would have been expected, in the republic of Texas. I am not sufficiently conversant with the details, at all events they are of too recent development, to allow of our speculating with any certainty upon their precise character, or their possible results. But if there is truth in them, there are collateral circumstances connected with the question of slavery in Texas, which would invest them with the deepest interest. It would be almost impossible to calculate, or foresee, even, the beneficial consequences; but on this, as on every other subject, it will be the part of wisdom not so much to anticipate as to observe, and follow out the wonder-working hand of Heaven. If those who are assembled here feel, I trust they do, an assured confidence that the time will come when the full sun of freedom shall shine upon all the children of slavery; it is not for us to pronounce whether on the horizon that is now darkest, the rays of the dawning may not first burst forth. I must remember that ample, and indeed unbounded, as the topic of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade all over the world must be, still I should very unworthily occupy the chair in which your kindness has placed me, if I were to take up a disproportionate period of the time for which, and for more than which, there are so many adequate claims. It is, indeed, impossible to look upon an assembly like this, without the deepest and most thrilling interest, considering all of whom it is composed, and all at which it aims. It has not been brought together for any purpose of festive celebration, or for the ordinary business of men, or for the common-place politics of nations. It is a great Amphictyonic council of human freedom, met however for nobler purposes than ever animated the conclaves of Greece, because its purpose is to rescue the miserable, to raise the abject,—in one word, to bid the slave go free. Its name and title make no express reference to religion, but I doubt not you will agree with me in thinking, that it could have been brought together under no other symbol than the cross of the Redeemer. It comprises in the thick array behind me, many of the successful veterans in our own past struggles—I would, indeed, that it could have comprised the most successful and enduring of them all—I need not mention Thomas Clarkson; and not to name others in the full maturity of life and vigour, I wish it could have comprised one who has been our energetic and indefatigable fellow-labourer in all our contemporary struggles—Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. These men have lived to see our country adopt and complete their work, and are now looking with intense and kindred earnestness to see the same high enterprise prosper among the nations. Mingled with you are some of the representatives of the anti-slavery feeling amongst our nearest neighbours—the great and civilised nation of France. It has been our lot to measure our forces together on many a battle field, and in many an ocean conflict; but I trust that those times of the world have

now come, in spite of all that may have been said or may have been felt, which are to see us embarked in a higher and holier rivalry. Those of them who have favoured us with their presence this day, may safely assure their ardent and accomplished countrymen that they will have met within these precincts, at least, with no desire for fresh enlargement of national territory, and with no disposition to grasp at exclusive commercial monopolies. We ask them to accompany us in putting an end to that slavery which is a more dark and abiding mischief even than the earthquake which has desolated their Guadaloupe; to combine with us in sweeping from the common sea the bloody slave flag; and in so glorious competition, I trust the feeling of every one will be, that it is right for us to do all in our own power, and yet rejoice to see ourselves out-stripped. I trust that our friends the Dutch and the Danes are taking measures for the rapid, let me say final extinction of slavery in their colonial territories. We have also the gratification of seeing amongst us many delegates from—perhaps I may not call them neighbours; for at least they have testified their sincerity to the cause by a voyage of from 3000 to 4000 miles across the Atlantic—many delegates from America. They came to show their sincerity in that cause which — again to omit the names of younger soldiers under the banner — has been commended to them by the last accents of the dying CHANNING—and is still inspired by the aged but untiring energies of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. I have feared, perhaps, that in the course of the remarks which I have been led to make, I may have reflected with something of acrimony—for which I believe they would be the first to acquit me—upon American slavery. But at the conclusion of these observations, I must call upon all my hearers to render the homage due to the efforts of American anti-slavery. I should be the last of all persons to derogate from the honours justly earned by our own philanthropists and statesmen; yet there are few who can adequately estimate the peculiar perils and trials which beset every step in the path of the American abolitionist. Slavery is not with them as it was with us—with an ocean interposed—but it is at their doors. Even where there is no slavery, free coloured persons are not a rare sight as with us, but they exist in swarms; and I am not sure whether I was not, during my sojourn in America, more painfully struck with the condition and treatment of the free coloured people than even of the slaves themselves. I knew that slavery existed, and I went prepared for it; but I shall never forget the sort of swell of heart I felt upon the very first evening of my arrival in Charleston. When, upon hearing, a short time after the sun set, a deep-toned bell, and on inquiring what it was, was told that it was the curfew, I began to think that the world had gone back, and that we had got to the feudal times of the old world. After the tolling of that bell no free person of colour could be seen in the streets without the privileged pass of a white person. I am not here to maintain the propriety or uphold the expediency of every thing that has been done by American abolitionists: all I contend for is, that they live in circumstances of the utmost delicacy, difficulty, and danger; and, at all events, they are fully competent to defend themselves. What is it that they have not arrayed against them? Fashion—and let no one deride its potent influence in any country—ridicule, the withdrawal of business, the loss of friends, the severance of domestic ties, reproach, the imputations—to which noble minds are particularly sensitive—of hostility to their country, personal violence, the scourge, the bowie-knife. These are some of the dangers that beset them; and, as if this were not enough, English writers, English visitors, English residents, seduced probably by the frank and graceful hospitality of the Southern planters, to the charms of which I am fully sensible,—they feel, too, that they must join in the jeer, and swell

the chorus of obloquy. And what is still worse—I speak it to the shame of a people for whom, in other respects, I feel the most cordial sympathy and attachment, and yet I cannot conceal the truth—that a great proportion of the Irish emigrants are classed amongst the most determined opponents to the advancement of the negro race. But in spite of all such obstacles—aye, and of greater than these, that noble band will go on with gradually swelling numbers, with growing hopes, with self-sustaining, because heaven supplied energies. Tokens and symptoms of success are gathering every day and every hour around your way. It is not for me or for any mortal lips to speed you as you go. If you do want an incitement, I might supply it in the words of one of the tragic writers of our common language:—

" ——— The poor forsaken ones,
Shall they be left a prey to savage power,
And cry to heaven for help, and not be heard?
Gallant, generous band,
Go on, pursue, assert the sacred cause;
Stand forth, ye proxies of all-ruling Providence;
Saints shall assist ye with prevailing prayers,
And warring angels combat on your side!"

Rev. THOMAS SCALES presented the following poetic Address to the Convention, which had just been published in the *Christian Examiner, and Advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty;* a monthly journal, edited by a Member of the Convention :—

TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

Ye deputies of freedom's friends,
Oh weary not! for ye
Pursue a work on which depends
The hope of liberty.

Oh! rouse the world: on every shore
Let freedom's banners fly;
Tell every slave to weep no more,
For tyranny must die.

Too long has earth been over-trod
By those who have combined,
To steal the heritage which God
Has giv'n to all mankind.

But manhood now is in the fight;
And justice leads the van;
And nations *peacefully* unite
To guard the rights of man.

Oh ye, who would from every land
Blot out the name of slave,
On—on! and liberty shall stand
Upon oppression's grave.

Up, France! and break the captive's chain,
Such task is worthy thee;
And may the glory which you gain
Lead others to be free.

America! upon your shore
The fetters clank: arise!
And let your noble eagle soar
Unsullied to the skies.

And Britain! gird you in your might;
And swell the battle cry:—
On, Freemen! forward to the fight,
For tyranny must die.

See venerable Clarkson wear
The wreath which he has won;
And, kindled with his zeal, prepare
To do as he has done.

Yes, ye who labour to redeem
Humanity from woe!
Your glory is not like the gleam
Ambition can bestow.

There comes a voice from every zone,
A voice that ne'er shall cease,
'Till freedom trumpets from her throne
The jubilee of peace.

LIST OF

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION,

AND FROM WHENCE THEY CAME OR WERE DELEGATED.

Those marked with a * were not present.

*Abbott, Benjamin, Esq.	Lewes, Sussex
Abdy, E. S., Esq.	Bath
Adey, Rev. Edward	Herts and South Beds Baptist Association, and Leighton Buzzard Anti-Slavery Association
Aldis, Rev. John	Southwark Ladies' Auxiliary
Alexander, Henry, Esq.	Cirencester
Alexander, G. W., Esq.	Treasurer of the Brit. and For. A. S. Society
Allbright, William, Esq.	Exeter Ladies' Auxiliary
Allen, John, Esq.	Liskeard
*Allen, William, Esq.	Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
Allen, Stafford, Esq.	Ditto
*Anderson, David, Esq.	Exeter Ladies' Auxiliary
Angus, Rev. Joseph, A.M.	Baptist Missionary Society, and for Western Baptist Union, Jamaica
Anstie, George W., Esq.	Devizes
*Aris, Joseph, Esq.	Croydon
*Arundel, Rev. John	London Missionary Society
Ashby, Thomas, Esq.	Staines
Ashby, Frederick, Esq.	Ditto
Ashton, Rev. Robert	Home Missionary Society
*Ashurst, W. H., Esq.	Glasgow Emancipation Society
Aveling, Rev. Thomas	Stoke Newington Ladies' Association
Balfour, James, Esq.	New-street, Marylebone, Baptist church
Ball, William, Esq.	Member of Com. of British and For. A. S. Society
Barnes, Rev. William	Brompton, Middlesex
Barrett, Richard, Esq.	Member of Com. of British and For. A. S. Society
*Barrett, Jonathan, Esq.	Croydon
Barrett, Joseph, Esq.	Ditto
*Barrett, Henry, Esq.	Ditto
Bassett, John D.	Leighton Buzzard
Bayley, William, Esq.	Stockton-on-Tees
Beaumont, William, Esq.	Newcastle-on-Tyne
Beaumont, John, Esq.	Member of Com. of British and For. A. S. Society
Beaumont, Abraham, Esq.	Stoke Newington Ladies' Association
*Beck, Edward, Esq.	Aborigines' Protection Society
Bedford, Peter, Esq.	Croydon

*Bennett, Rev. James, D.D.	Congregational Union for Scotland
Bennett, John, Esq.	Ditto
Bennett, Rev. John	Northampton
Bewlay, Rev. Edward	Cirencester
*Bigg, William, Esq.	Banbury
Binney, Rev. Thomas	Congregational Union of England and Wales
Birt, Rev. John	Manchester and Salford
*Birt, Rev. C. E.	Bristol
Blackburn, Rev. John	Congregational Union of England and Wales
Blair, William T., Esq.	Bath
Blanchard, Rev. Jonathan	Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, and for Ladies' Education Society in the state of Ohio
Bowley, Samuel, Esq.	Gloucester
Bowring, J., Esq., LL.D., M.P.	Exeter
Braithwaite, Isaac, Esq.	Kendal
*Brewin, Edward, Esq.	Worcester
Brock, Rev. William	Norwich
Brockway, Alex., Esq.	London Peace Society
Bromley, Joseph W. Esq.	Tonbridge chapel, Congregational church
Brotherton, J., Esq., M.P.	Manchester and Salford
Budge, John, Esq.	Redruth, and for Truro
Buffum, Arnold, Esq.	Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society
*Bulley, Mr. Alderman	Liverpool
Bunter, Rev. John	Brixton Hill Congregational Church
*Bunting, Rev. William M.	Manchester and Salford
Burchett, J. R., Esq.	Tonbridge chapel, Congregational church
*Burgess, Thomas, Esq.	Leicester
*Burgess, Francis, Esq.	Banbury
Burnet, Rev. John	Cong. Union for Scotland, Cong. Union for England and Wales, and Southwark Ladies' Assoc.
Burns, Rev. Jabez	True Teetotal Union, and New-street Marylebone, Baptist church
Burtt, John, Esq.	Finsbury and Hoxton Young Men's Mutual Instruction Society
*Buxton, Sir T. Fowell, Bart.	Member of Com. of British and For. A. S. Society
Buxton, Edw. N. Esq.	Honorary Corresponding Member
Calder, Francis A., Esq.	Belfast
Campbell, Rev. John, D.D.	Evesham Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society
*Candler, John, Esq.	Hon Corresponding Member
Carlile, Rev. James	Bradford (Wilts) Cong. Board of London Ministers, and Cong. Church, Well-street, Hackney
Carroll, Edward, Esq.	Cork, Youghall, and Reading
Chalk, Thomas, Esq.	Kingston-on-Thames
*Challis, Thomas, Esq.	Chairman of the London Missionary Society
*Chapman, William, Esq.	Newcastle-on-Tyne
Chapman, John, Esq.	Praed-street Baptist church
*Charlesworth, Rev. J., B.D.	Ipswich
Childs, R. Walker, Esq.	Liskeard
Childs, Thomas Cave, Esq.	Ditto
Childs, J., Esq. (Bungay)	Denton, Wortwell, and Harleston, Indep. Congs.
Christy, William M., Esq.	Kingston-on-Thames
*Christy, Thomas, Esq.	Croydon
Clare, Peter, Esq.	Manchester and Salford
Clarke, C., Esq.	Banbury Baptist Church and the Banbury A. S. Soc.
Clark, Joseph, Esq.	Southampton

Clark, Joseph, jun.. Esq.	Southampton
*Clarkson, Thomas, Esq.	President of the Convention
Cobden, R., Esq., M.P.	Manchester and Salford
Cocking, Francis R., Esq.	Hon. Corresponding Member
Coleman, Jeremiah, Esq.	Norwich
Collings, Rev. William	Kingston-on-Thames
Collins, Isaac, Esq.	Stoke Newington Ladies' Auxiliary
Compton, Theodore, Esq.	National Temperance Society
Conder, Josiah, Esq.	Member of Com. of British and For. A. S. Society
Cooke, Isaac, Esq.	Liverpool
Cooper, Joseph, Esq.	Member of Com. of British and For. A. S. Society
Cox, Rev. F. A., D.D., LL.D.	Baptist Church, Hackney
Crabb, Rev. James	Southampton
Crewdson, Isaac, Esq.	Manchester and Salford
Crewdson, Wilson, Esq.	Ditto
*Crisp, Rev. J. T.	Bristol
Cropper, John, Esq.	Liverpool
Cross, William, Esq.	Colchester
Crowley, Abraham, Esq.	Alton
Crowley, Henry, Esq.	Ditto
Crowley, Charles, Esq.	Croydon
Curtis, William, Esq.	Alton
Cuzner, Rev. J. S.	Horningsham Congregational Church
Davies, Thomas, Esq.	Metropolitan Collegiate Association
*Dawes, William, Esq.	Oberlin Institute, U.S.
Day, William, Esq.	Exeter
*Day, James, Esq.	National Temperance Society
*De la Rochefoucault Liancourt, Marquis	French Abolition Society
Delf, E. H., Esq.	Coward College
*Denistoun, J., Esq., M.P.	Glasgow Emancipation Society
*Dicker, Thomas, Esq.	Lewes, Sussex
Dixon, Benjamin, Esq.	Congregational church, Felstead
Dobell, Henry, Esq.	Congregational Church, Chelsea
Duggan, Rev. W.	Native Baptist church, Spanish Town, Jamaica
Dunlop, John, Esq.	Edinburgh
Dunlop, John, Esq.	True Teetotal Union
East, George, Esq.	Baptist Church, New-street, Marylebone
Eaton, Joseph, Esq.	Bristol
*Edmunds, R., Esq.	Banbury
Edwards, Rev. John	Kingston-on-Thames
Edwards, Rev. James.	Nottingham
*Elliott, Rev. Richard	Devizes
*Elliot, J. S. Esq.	Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
Ellis, John, Esq.	Leicester
Eltoft, William, Esq.	Manchester and Salford.
Evans, Esq., Ald.	Worcester
Evans, Rev. George	London Itinerant Society
Evans, James Cook, Esq.	Ditto
*Eve, Henry W., Esq.	Maldon
Fairbank, William, Esq.	Sheffield
Ferguson, Rev. R.	Congregational Board
Ferguson, Joseph, Esq.	Carlisle
Finlay, James, Esq.	Newcastle-on-Tyne
*Fletcher, Rev. W.	Fraserburgh (N. B.) Congregational Church

Forster, William, Esq.	Norwich
*Forster, Matthew, Esq.	Newcastle-on-Tyne
Forster, Josiah, Esq.	Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
Forster, Robert, Esq.	Ditto
Foster, Edward, Esq.	Cambridge
Fox, Francis, Esq.	Kingsbridge
Fox, Samuel, Esq.	Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society, and Delegate for Wellington, Somerset
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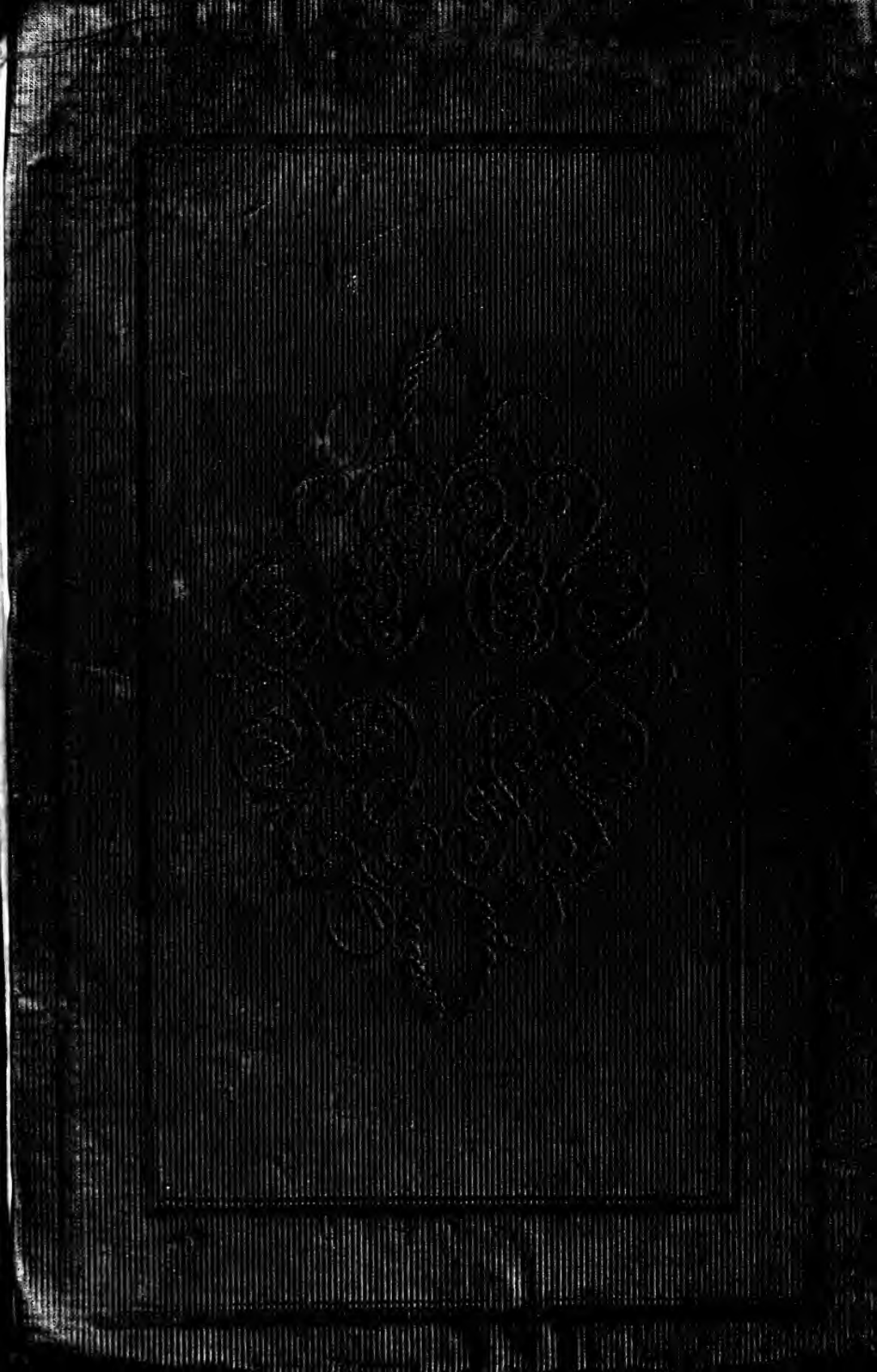
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